

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS



BUILDERS *of* AMERICA



PRICE FIVE CENTS



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I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

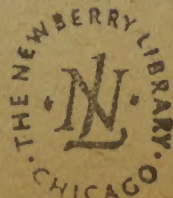
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



WHO'S WHO?



G. C. W. I. U. No. 310

General Construction Workers

Builders of America

Building the United States

The ancient world had its seven wonders. The modern world, the world of capitalism, has seven times seven wonders. And the greatest of these is the building up of the United States of America.

In future generations, when capitalism with its greed and iniquities will have passed away, people will say to each other: Yes, capitalism was bad. It was cruel, stupid, inefficient. But it did one thing: It built the United States. It found a vast expanse of uninhabited country, of prairies, marshes, forests, deserts, and it turned them into a Garden of Eden. It found a few trails made by the Indians and it left in their stead thousands of wide, solid well-built roads, going from coast to coast and up and down the length and breadth of the land. It covered the country with a network of railroads, the like of which had never been seen before. Arid deserts it turned into fertile valleys, taking bountiful harvests from land which had been barren since the world began. By building the Panama Canal it united the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, thus rounding out the work which nature had not completed. Where had stood nothing but the lowly tents of Indians it erected stately cities containing millions of people. Indeed, they will say, the building of the United States—the American Empire—is the greatest of all the accomplishments of capitalism.

But in saying this let us hope that they will not overlook the fact that it was the tireless labor of millions of workers, poorly clothed and fed, and receiving in return for their great exertions but a fraction of what they produced, that made the United States what it is. Thus has it always been down

through the ages. The lowly workers have ever labored hard, in the sweat of their brows, to create the wonders of the world, and somebody else has always been given the credit for them. It took the combined labors of tens of thousands of slaves, working through many weary years, one generation replacing another, dying at the tasks the same as their fathers did, to build the Pyramids, yet when we look up the history of the Pyramids, it is related that they were built by Egyptian emperors.

It is the same way with the United States. Had it not been for the construction workers who built the roads over which the produce of the farmers was taken to the station to be transported to all parts of the country to feed the population, this country would still be where it was a hundred years ago. Had it not been for the countless workers who felled the trees and built the bridges, leveled the earth and laid tracks for our railways, the Middle and the Far West would be still a desert and a wilderness and a mystery to the American people. Had it not been for the tens of thousands of men who for ten years worked on the Panama Canal, thousands of them losing their lives in order to complete this greatest of all engineering projects, the ships which today pass from the Atlantic into the Pacific ocean inside of twelve hours, would still be traversing half way around the world to make the same journey. Let us therefore give credit to whom credit belongs. It was the general construction workers who built the American Empire.

Building the Railroads

The transportation facilities of any country constitute that country's life blood. They may be compared to the circulation system of a human being. When the blood stops running through the arteries, life stops as well. In our present industrial system, when anything happens to retard or to stop the avenues of transportation, the industrial life of the country is in mortal danger. It is to the development of its tremendous railway system that America owes

its predominating place in the world more than to anything else.

In 1830 there were only 40 miles of railway track in the country. Today the net-work of railroads cover 275,000 miles of track. This is two-thirds of the entire railway trackage of the world. To gain an idea of the great money value that these railways represent, it might be pointed out that in 1912 they were estimated to be worth sixteen billion dollars, the whole national wealth at that time being one hundred eighty-seven billion dollars.

Some people entertain the foolish idea that it is the great railroad magnates, the so-called "captains of industry," who built the railroads. They give the credit for developing the Northwest to James J. Hill. The credit for opening the Far West, the Pacific Coast, and for turning the originally arid land of California into a smiling orchard, is given by these same foolish people to the "Big Four"—Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford and Crocker. In the East and the Middle West they will point to other great men—J. P. Morgan, Vanderbilt, Harriman and others. It is owing to the brains, the initiative, the genius of these great men, they will say, that we have our railroads.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. All these men started in the railroad business with practically nothing, but by scheming, by lobbying, by getting concessions from Congress and from state legislatures, by mercilessly overcharging the people, by floating countless fraudulent stocks and bonds they were able to **finance** the building of the railroads. But financing a thing is a long way from building it. It is owing to the tireless efforts of engineers, to the talent and genius of inventors, to the many weary days and months and years that they spent in perfecting better methods of construction, ever improving what had already been done, and last but not least, to the work of tens of thousands of mechanics, engineers, iron workers, bridge builders, carpenters, and laborers, that the roads have been built. The financiers have for the most part been mediocre business men knowing nothing about railroad con-

struction and engineering, intent only upon swindling the public, upon the making of ever more and more money and the acquisition of a power over the life and death of the population never before equalled in history.

Jim Hill and the Big Four

In 1879 James J. Hill entered into partnership with two other Canadians, both of whom have since been elevated into the peerage, and formed the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad. They then bought from a United States Master in Chancery the properties of the bankrupt St. Paul and Pacific—565 miles of operated railroad and over two and a half million acres of the best land—for \$4,380,000, which was one-sixth of what the properties were really worth. In this it must be kept in mind that Jim Hill and his partners had started out “on a shoe string” and that their wealth was accumulated by shrewd manipulation of stocks and bonds and by obtaining great tracts from the United States government, practically free of charge. Later on their holdings were reorganized into the Great Northern Railroad. Then with his share of the profits Hill obtained control of the Northern Pacific and of the great Burlington system. To these he added road after road until in December, 1908, his gigantic system was completed with the acquisition of the Colorado and Southern. He then held in his control trunk lines from the Great Lakes to the Pacific ocean, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, approximately 25,000 miles of track, traversing and dominating an area fitly termed the Inland Empire, of which the proprietors of this railroad system are the virtual owners.

In order to gain an idea of the tremendous profits that have been made by the workers who built the railways and those who operate them for the benefit of the capitalists who own them, we will cite a few figures. Up to 1906, in a space of thirty years, James Hill and his associates had drawn from their railroads over \$407,000,000, exclusive of dividends and

interest. The real profit on the Great Northern in 1906 was 162.4 per cent. On the combined investment, the actual profits made by the Great Northern, Northern Pacific syndicate up to that time were over one billion and a half dollars.

The New Aristocracy

A like story could be told about the Southern Pacific and its subsidiary lines, developed by the "Big Four." They started out in 1861 with a total wealth among them of \$109,000 and now they, or rather their heirs and associates, own practically the whole Southwest.

Our railroads have created thousands of millionaires. Around them are associated the names of the biggest financiers that ever lived—Morgan, Rockefeller, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Hill and others. A new aristocracy has been created. Wealth, power and position have been conferred upon these men to an extent beyond the wildest imagination. In vain have they tried to squander their wealth for years past by marrying off their daughters to the bankrupt European aristocracy. It cannot be done. The dollars keep rolling in so fast that the more they spend the more they have.

But what have the workers got out of it? The men who built the roads, the men who worked long hours at small wages, who went to early graves through hard work, bad food and unsanitary living conditions, what have they to show for their labors? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Most of them have been buried in paupers' graves and their descendants are now riding in search of a job in freight cars or on the roofs and rods of passenger trains over the tracks that their fathers built. And jobs are very scarce, even though wages are being cut to the extent that the workers will soon not be able to earn even the bare necessities of life.

Roads and Highways

Besides building the railways, the general construction workers have also built all our roads and highways, and paved our streets. It would be no use for the farmers to grow food, if there were not good roads over which the produce could be taken to the elevators and shipping points. The progress made in the United States along this line is truly astounding. Thousands upon thousands of miles of road have been built, connecting together every city, town and village, running from state to state and from coast to coast.

The Lincoln Highway, running from New York to San Francisco, was started in 1914. It covers a distance of 3223 miles and runs through eleven states. Already almost \$25,000,000 have been spent in its construction and on maintenance. It is one of the greatest highways in the world, and is more solidly built than any other highway of its length. Paved with concrete, brick, macadam, asphalt, gravel and sand, it will outlast the centuries.

Workers Poorly Paid

But all these roads have been built with the cheapest of labor. The workers employed on them have worked as long hours, or longer, than those in any other industry. Their wages have always been very low. Never have they been high enough to enable the workers to buy anything but the most necessary things of life. Before the war, ten or twelve years ago, these workers seldom received over \$2.00 a day. In the South they have worked for as low as \$1.00 a day. During the war wages went up here as everywhere else, but not to any great extent. Very seldom did they go above 50 cents an hour and only on brick jobs ever as high as 75 cents.

Another thing to be kept in mind is that a great many of our fine roads, along which prosperous people go out riding in their limousines, enjoying the scenery, have been built with the help of convict labor. In 1914, 8341 convicts were employed on road work. These prisoners work, of course, under almost

unbearable conditions and receive no wages for what they do. The food and the treatment which they receive from the guards is of the worst kind. As the glory of the Roman Empire was created by the ceaseless labor of millions of slaves, so also have slaves—for what is a convict but a slave of the worst kind?—helped contribute towards the greatness of the United States.

Bad Food

It is common knowledge among all general construction workers that the food served in road camps is, especially during years when labor is plentiful, of the worst kind. This has always been so because the general construction workers have never been organized and therefore have never been able to enforce their demands for better food. Receiving small wages, being hired and fired at the whim of the contractors, they have always been treated and fed as if they were a bunch of dumb animals. And what is more to the point, they will continue receiving that same kind of treatment until they will take a tumble to themselves and organize. Only through organization can they expect ever to be considered as deserving to receive the same treatment as other human beings.

The coming of the automobile and of the motor truck has made the building of more solidly constructed roads and highways absolutely essential. More roads will continue being built and improved as the years go by. In 1919, \$200,000,000 were spent on modern highways. In 1920 the appropriations for that purpose were close to six hundred million dollars. It is safe to predict that in the five years from 1920 to 1925 this country will probably build 100,000 miles of highway, costing not less than three billion dollars. It is, therefore, evident that increasingly more men will be employed in this industry. It is up to these men, if they want to uphold their manhood, especially in view of the great numbers of unemployed who are at present glutting the labor market due to the inability of capitalism to supply employment to everybody, to organize.

The Panama Canal

The greatest single engineering accomplishment in the United States is undoubtedly the Panama Canal. Started by the United States in 1904, it was completed in 1914 at a total estimated cost of \$375, 000,000. Excavation work had been done on it prior to 1904 by a French company, which sold out its property and rights to the United States in 1902 for \$40,000,000.

The Canal is 50 miles long, and over 230,000,000 cubic yards of dirt were excavated before it was completed. The number of men employed steadily during the ten years averaged 39,000, of whom 6630 died from malaria, yellow fever and other causes. The number would have been very much greater had it not been for the wonderful sanitary work done under the direction of Col. Gorgas.

The construction of the Panama Canal is of tremendous value not only to the people of the United States but of the whole world as well. It was made possible by the tireless efforts of thousands of general construction workers, most of them natives and colored, who worked at small wages under dangerous conditions, in a hot and unhealthy climate, in order that other men and future generations may profit from their labors.

Other Canals

Although the development of transportation by water in the United States has not been given as much attention as it should, because, being cheaper, it would compete with the railways and take away some of their exorbitant profits, yet a good many canals have been built. Chief among these are the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Erie, the Chicago Drainage, the Hennepin, the Illinois and Michigan, the James River and Kanawha, and the Ohio Falls canals, besides a dozen small ones. In 1903, \$101,000,000 were appropriated to rebuild the Erie Canal for the passage of bigger barges, which has since been

known as the New York State Barge Canal. The total cost of construction of the canals mentioned was more than \$400,000,000.

As in the building of the railways, the highways and the Panama Canal, all of this work was done with unorganized labor. Here and there mechanics on the job might have carried a card in the A. F. of L., but that made no difference as far as the great mass of construction workers was concerned. Let us keep in mind that all of this tremendous work has been done on the conditions laid down by the contractors—the master class. The workers have had nothing to say about the wages that they received, the hours that they worked and the conditions that they worked under. They have never been paid any more than to enable them to eke out a bare living and to replenish their strength in order to be able to go through with these great engineering projects, the like of which in magnitude the world had never seen.

Irrigation Projects

Among the other great accomplishments of the general construction workers must be counted the irrigation projects which have reclaimed for cultivation great areas of arid desert land in the western and southwestern states. Up to 1902 this work was carried on under private initiative. In that year the National Reclamation Act was passed and the United States Government entered upon the building of irrigation projects, of which there are now thirty in operation, on a larger scale than had ever before been undertaken in any part of the world. By 1917, \$100,000,000 had been spent and 1,700,000 acres of land had been reclaimed. The annual production of this acreage was estimated in 1919 at \$22,000,000. This must be looked upon as wealth actually added to this country through the labors of the construction workers who built these great water reservoirs, diversion dams, tunnels, canals and flumes.

As a sample of the tremendous outlay of labor that has been required to complete these projects, we will

mention the Salt River project in Arizona. The Roosevelt Dam took five years to build at a cost of over three million dollars. It has a storage capacity of 1,300,000 acre-feet. When needed for irrigation, the water is allowed to flow down the river channel from the dam for forty miles, where it is divided by means of the Granite Reef Dam into two canals, one on each side of the river, which carry it to the irrigable lands. This diversion dam is a concrete weir 38 feet high and 100 feet long. The distribution system includes 823 miles of canals.

Before this land was reclaimed nothing grew there except cactus and sage brush, as the rainfall is only three to ten inches per year. In 1918, 200,000 acres of this land was irrigated. Now all kinds of fruits, cereals and other produce are grown there is great abundance. Among these we might mention alfalfa, sugar beets, garden truck, sorghum, cantaloupes, melons, wheat, citrus fruits and long-fibre Egyptian cotton.

The Yuma project irrigates about 110,000 acres of land in Yuma County, Arizona, and Imperial County, California. It has turned a desert into a real Garden of Eden, where tropical fruits—dates, olives, oranges—as well as corn, cereals, vegetables and fruit of all varieties are grown in great abundance. The yield per acre in 1917 averaged \$105.00.

The same wonders have been accomplished in the arid lands of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington. The fine apples and other fruits produced in the last named state are due almost entirely to the fine irrigation system there.

But let us not forget that it was the lowly construction worker who carried out all this work. He dug the canals and ditches, built the flumes and weirs, constructed the great storage works, and in so doing often lost his life that others may reap the profits of his labor. His wages were always of the smallest, for he had never had either the intelligence or ability to organize. In 1914, before the wave of "war pros-

and its position as the foremost industrial country in the world, yet the treatment that the construction workers—the builders of the American Empire—received, was abominable. The wages were low, the food was almost invariably poor and camp conditions were bad. They had to sleep in dirty shacks, damp tents, or in unsanitary box cars. In very few outfits did they find bath accommodations or clean bedding. They carried their beds with them on their backs. It goes without saying that this was a great inconvenience and that the bindle was always more or less lousy. Thus, with his home on his back, the construction worker tramped countless miles from job to job and from state to state.

Organization

A number of years ago some of the more intelligent and aggressive of these workers, realizing at last that their only salvation lies in organization, formed the **General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310 of the Industrial Workers of the World**. At first it meant hard work for them to make the average worker understand the necessity of class solidarity, but they have succeeded with a great many members of that industry, and now the idea of class solidarity is gaining headway day by day. In spite of the present economic depression, the Union is not only holding its own, but is gaining new members all the time. The workers are at last waking up and realizing that only in union there is strength. **Divided we fall, united we stand.**

What Is Industrial Unionism?

The General Construction Workers' Union of the I. W. W. is an industrial union—not a craft organization. As such, it believes that all the workers in any industry should belong to the same union, instead of being divided separately from the others. The craft form of organization has proven itself to be utterly unequal to wage war against the capitalists. These latter are united into a big organization—the One Big Union of the employing class. The workers,

therefore, should bind themselves together into the One Big Union of the working class. Only thus can they present a solid front to the enemy—and win.

The reason why the workers are so weak today, why they have to accept wage cuts and long hours, is because they are not solidly organized along industrial lines. What few of them belong in craft unions are not able to resist the encroachments of capital because there is no solidarity in their ranks. In the past some of the mechanics in the general construction industry have belonged to craft unions, yet they have not been able to obtain decent wages and conditions from the contractors. Every man employed on the building of railroads, highways, tunnels, bridges, canals, irrigation systems, piers and docks, streets, sewers and subways, no matter what his line of work may be, whether he is an engineer, carpenter, iron worker, teamster, brick-layer, painter or laborer, should belong in the same union. That is the essence of industrial unionism.

The Industrial Workers of the World.

The Industrial Workers of the World, of which General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310 forms a part, is made up of industrial unions embracing all the workers in all industries. There are twenty-nine industrial unions in all—the most important of them being the Agricultural, Lumber, Mining, Railroad, General Construction, Building Construction, Marine Transportation, Metal and Machinery, Textile and Food Workers' Unions. All of them are bound together in the **One Big Union**, but each has its own by-laws and officials.

The I. W. W. does not believe in signing of contracts. It stands to reason that when workers in any one union are bound to stay at work under the terms of a contract for a certain length of time, that they cannot act in unison with other workers. A contract or a time agreement is, therefore, nothing but a scheme on the part of the employers to destroy solidarity in the ranks of labor. Suppose that the

laborers employed on the construction of a bridge decided to go out on strike, but the iron workers and carpenters are compelled, by their time agreements, to continue at work. The chances are very great that the strike of the laborers will be broken, since the carpenters and iron workers will have to continue working side by side with scabs taking the places of the laborers. It is in a great part owing to this treacherous policy of signing contracts that the working class in the United States is today almost at the complete mercy of the employing class.

Low Initiation Fee and Dues

The initiation fee and monthly dues in the I. W. W. are very low, in order that no worker might be prevented from joining the union on account of lack of money. Workers' organizations should not be select bodies taking in only highly skilled mechanics at a prohibitive initiation fee, which is the case with a great many of the A. F. of L. craft unions, but should be formed on the basis of admitting to membership all those who work for wages.

Another big advantage of the I. W. W. industrial unions over craft unions is the transfer system in use, which makes it easy for a member of one union to transfer into another. In the A. F. of L. whenever a worker wants to obtain work at another trade, he has to take out a new card at great expense.

Direct Action

The I. W. W. does not believe in long drawn-out strikes, nor in big union treasuries. It is impossible for the workers to fight capital with capital. It has been found out through bitter experience that these long drawn-out strikes are as a rule failures. The time to strike is when it will hit the employer's pocketbook the hardest. It is foolish to notify the employer weeks ahead of time that the workers purpose to go out on strike, thus giving him time to mobilize his forces and to engage strike-breakers. The best way for the workers to gain their ends is

by short, intermittent strikes, or by striking-on-the-job tactics. This was admirably demonstrated in the I. W. W. lumber workers' strike in 1917. They determined to get an eight hour day, and they got it. How? They hired out to work at whatever hours the contractors stated, but when the eight hours were up they blew the whistle and walked off the job. This was kept up in the very lumber camp affected by the strike, until at last the lumber barons had to give in and the eight hour day was won.

The reason why so many A. F. of L. strikes have been lost, especially during recent years, is on account of the treachery of the union leaders. It could hardly be otherwise, since many of these leaders do not properly belong in the working class. Many of them receive salaries ranging up to \$20,000 a year. They are rich men. The troubles of the poorly paid workers are not their troubles. How is it possible for rich men to fight the battles of poor men? It cannot be done. The sooner the workers wake up to this fact, the better off will they be.

In the Industrial Workers of the World, on the contrary, the wages received by the officials are no higher than those received by the average workers. Thus there is no inducement to sell out the workers, and no cause for petty politics within the organization. The success of the unions' activities is of as great personal concern to the officials as to the rank and file members.

History of the I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World was organized in 1905. Since then it has fought many bitter battles on behalf of the working class. Because the organization takes an uncompromising stand against capitalism and advocates revolutionary industrial unionism, the powers that be have done everything possible to destroy it. A great many members of the I. W. W. have been persecuted and thrown into jail, yet the efforts of the master class have availed them nought. Today the I. W. W. is as strong as it ever has been, and gaining by leaps and bounds. The

doctrine of class solidarity, which it has so faithfully and persistently followed through these many years, has penetrated to the four corners of the globe. Everywhere the workers are coming to acknowledge the correctness of the I. W. W. position. They are beginning to understand that division along craft lines spells defeat, and that industrial unionism—the **One Big Union**—spells victory. The direct action tactics so faithfully advocated by the I. W. W. are being adopted by the workers everywhere.

One of the most successful organization drives ever put up by the I. W. W. was the great Agricultural Workers drive of 1921. In spite of bad conditions and an oversupply of men, the Agricultural Workers' Union gained over 15,000 new members, and obtained far better wages and conditions than if the men had not been organized. These men went into the drive with the "I Will Win" spirit. That is the kind of spirit that will bring home the bacon every time. Is it not time that the general construction workers should do likewise? Is it not time that they should compel the contractors to treat them as human beings? The battle goes to the strong and the race to the swift. **In organization there is strength! Construction workers, organize and you are bound to win!**

The Industries to the Workers!

The evils of capitalism—poverty, misery and degradation—will never be completely abolished until the working class becomes organized strong enough to take over the industries and operate them for use instead of profit. This can only be accomplished by means of solid class-conscious organization. The reason why there are millions of workers out of employment now is because the capitalist system of production is beginning to break down. It is wasteful, inefficient, short-sighted, incapable of supplying the needs of the population and of taking care of the producers. In order to prevent the industries from breaking down completely, which would result in starvation and undreamed-of sufferings for all

the people, the workers themselves have to take things into their hands. This they can do by taking over the industries and operating them for use instead of profit. Let our slogan therefore be: **The industries to the workers!**

Take Out Credentials

The thing that all active members of General Construction Workers' I. U. No. 310 should do is to take out organizers' credentials and get busy on the job. They should do their utmost to spread the gospel of working class solidarity. They should never let an opportunity slip to educate their fellow workers. Only through education can we obtain organization.

Abolition of Bindles

One of the disgraceful sights in California is the bindle-stiff trudging along the road, lugging his dirty pack of blankets on his back. The bindle is not only a nuisance, but is a spreader of disease as well. It is almost impossible to keep it free from dirt and lice. It is inconceivable that any self-respecting man should want to carry his own dirty bed along with him wherever he goes. What is more, there is no necessity of doing it. The only reason why the contractors on the grading camps, dirt outfits, irrigation work and other jobs do not supply the men with clean beds is because the men do not have the courage to ask for them. In order to obtain clean bedding, as well as shower baths and other improvements, all it takes is a stiff back and organization. This was demonstrated by the I. W. W. in 1917 in the lumber camps. They burned every bindle in sight, and the lumber barons were compelled to come across with clean bedding and sanitary conditions. The same can be done in California and everywhere else. The General Construction Workers' Union has set May 1st, 1922, as the day on which to burn all the bindles—live stock and all. Fellow workers, get busy, put your shoulder to the wheel of the great work of education and organization!

Job Branches

In the fall of 1921 and for some years to come there will be a great deal of general construction work to be done. It is, therefore, up to the men to organize in order to uphold wages and improve conditions. In September, 1921, as low as \$2.50 per day was paid in some parts of the country for road work. The hours on a great many jobs have been extended to ten. There is no reason why the men should stand for this. All they have to do is to organize.

Wherever there are a number of red card men on any job, they should hold business meetings on the job and outline a program for carrying on the organization and educational work. This should be done in a systematic manner. The main thing is to create the spirit of solidarity by getting the workers together to discuss conditions and demands, and to make them act as a unit. The holding of business meetings on the job should play a very important part in organization work. Wherever there are enough members, a branch of the General Construction Workers' I. U. No. 310 of the Industrial Workers of the World should be formed.

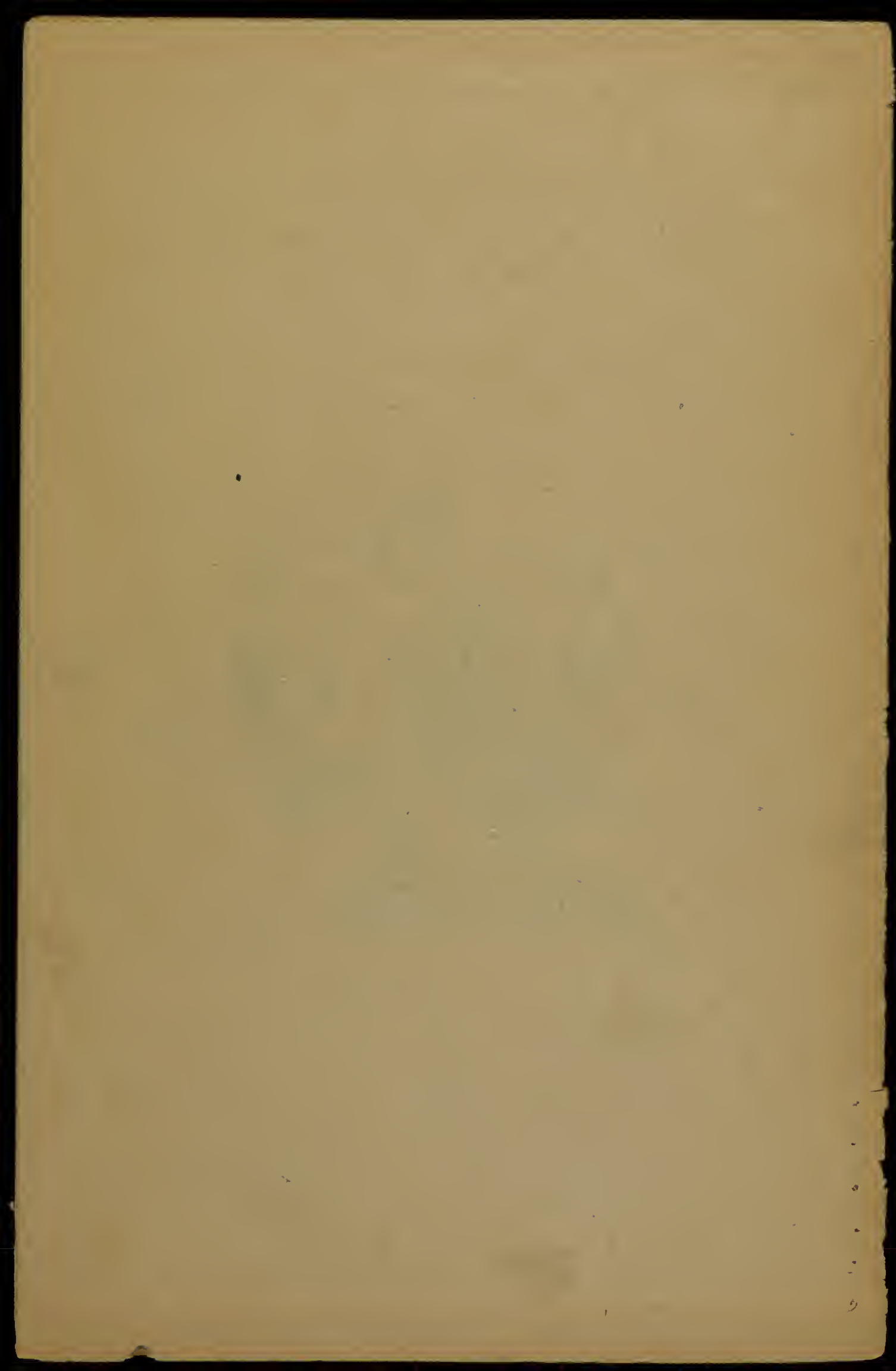
AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

ORGANIZE!

For further information write to the Secretary-Treasurer of General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



**You Made the Road—
Now Get the Hell Off It!**



PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Of The
Industrial Workers of the World



*In this leaflet we briefly set forth
the formation of the General Defense
Committee of the I. W. W. — its
administrative, defense and relief
policies; and why every liberty loving
man and woman should become a
member.*

ESTABLISHED OCTOBER 5, 1917

JOIN WITH US!

For over twenty years, the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. has rendered invaluable help to the American workers. Born out of the war time hysteria against militant labor, it has, down through those many years, stood ever ready with its legal aid, its publicity and financial assistance to every worker who fell victim to the industrial masters' frameups and persecution. Down through the span of those years, it has repeatedly and without hesitation come to the aid of those who fell into the clutches of the masters' courts because of their activities on behalf of labor.

ITS RECORD

In the many years of its existence, the General Defense Committee has defended, and otherwise assisted, over 5000 working men and women. In most of these cases, its defense proved successful. In all of them, its work has stood the closest scrutiny as to sincerity, honesty and efficient administration. Its slogan, "WE NEVER FORGET", has never grown into a mere empty phrase. At no time has the General Defense Committee forgotten, or cast aside, those workers whose cause it took up.

The General Defense Committee has in the course of its long existence collected and expended for labor defense over \$1,500,000. It has accounted with painstaking accuracy, through itemized monthly statements, for every penny of the money thus collected and disbursed. The most unscrupulous and vociferous enemies of labor have never been able to point to a single blemish upon the record of the General Defense Committee as to its honesty and accurate accounting. At no time has anyone, friend or foe, ever been able to single out an instance where the funds of the Committee have been thrown to the winds on high salaries, extravagant over-head or on carelessly planned defense work.

WHAT OTHERS THINK OF THE G. D. C.

Men and women upon whose sincerity and honor no doubt can be cast have on numerous occasions expressed their respect and admiration for the work of the General Defense Committee, or have contributed toward its expenses. Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate; Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood, well known author, attorney and lecturer; Sarah Bard Field, poetess; Upton Sinclair, world-known author and lecturer; Roger

Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union; Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs -- these and scores of other prominent men and women have repeatedly endorsed, morally or financially, the work and honesty of the General Defense Committee. Labor unions fraternal organizations contribute toward its work.

WHAT LABOR PRISONERS THINK

In the files of the General Defense Committee there are scores of letters from Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Mike Lindway, Claude Merritt, Norman Nini, J. B. McNamara, Matt Schmidt, the Harlan miners in the Kentucky prison, and many other class war prisoners and their dependents -- all testifying in words of thanks and appreciation to their high esteem of the General Defense Committee.

HOW IS THE G. D. C. ORGANIZED?

The General Defense Committee is organized in locals, with administrative headquarters located in Chicago. At the present time, it has twenty-two locals covering the country. It is open for membership to all men and women who believe in the principle of honest and effective labor defense. The initiation fee is only twenty-five cents. Its dues are one dollar per year -- payable quarterly. Its business meetings are conducted upon the principle of rank and file control. The work of its locals is based upon organized, voluntary efforts. No salaries are being paid, and the over-head expenses are at all times kept down to a minimum.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

If you believe in the principle that the victims of the industrial masters' class rule must and shall be defended, then you should join the General Defense Committee. We urge you to do so. We urge you to do so for the reason that as Labor's struggles for a greater share of the wealth it produces become increasingly more intensive, more of Labor's militant workers will fall victims to frame-ups and persecutions. There will be other Tom Mooneys, Warren Billings and Mike Lindways unless we are united, alert and prepared.

For that reason, we say to you: "Join with us -- Join the General Defense Committee. Take your place in our ranks. Demand with us: 'There shall be no more frame-ups and persecutions against Labor's men and wo-

men! Join with us and demand the unconditional release of Tom Mooney, of Warren K. Billings, of Mike Lindway and of all the other class war prisoners. Become a member today!"



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Write to any of the following local secretaries:

Los Angeles, Calif. 280 Lang Bldg., 212 So. Spring St.
Oakland, Calif. 438 10th, St.
Portland, Ore. Box 4192, Room 202 Meckay Bldg.
Aberdeen, Wash. Box 423.
Vancouver, B. C. Canada. Box 837.
Seattle, Wash. Box 365, 207 Main St.
Tacoma, Wash. Box 1075, 1338 Market St.
Spokane, Wash. Box 1836, 225 No. Bernard St.
Missoula, Mont. Box 792.
Great Falls, Mont. 1109 8th, Ave. No.
Minneapolis, Minn. 2924 35th, Ave.
Duluth, Minn. Box 99, 24 No. Lake St.
Detroit, Mich. 3363 Gratiot Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio. 311 Blackstone Bldg. or 3514 E. 82nd, St.
Buffalo, N. Y. Box 298, Room 1 Grim Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 636 Tokio St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 152 So. 3rd, St.
Newark, N.J. 294 Market St.
New York City. 1342 Clinton ave. Bronx, or 22 West 17th, St.
New Orleans, La. 306 Exchange Place.
Huston, Texas. 7514 Ave. H.

Or to:

W. H. Westman, Secretary. General Defense Committee, I.W.W.
2422 No. Halsted St. Chicago, Illinois.

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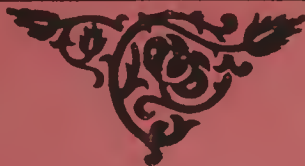


MEMBERS OF
I. U. 450

The General Strike



William D. Haywood.



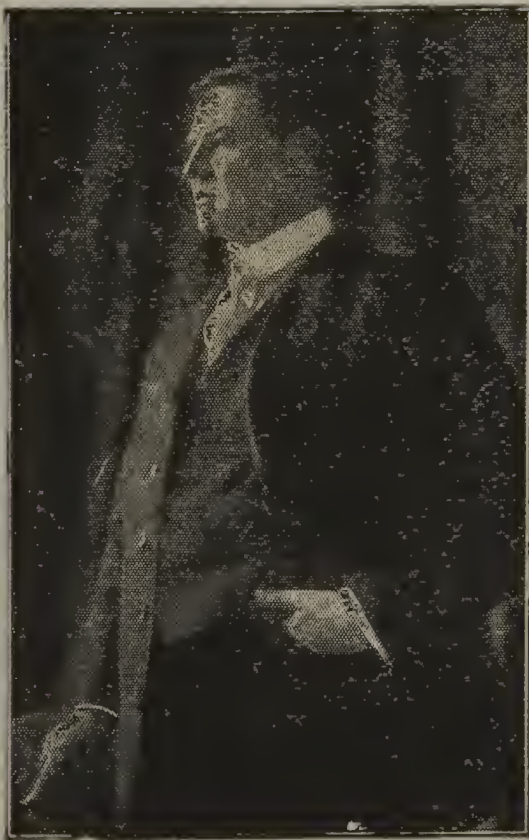
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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
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WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



VINCENT BUCCAFIORI

TO ALL WORKERS—MEN AND WOMEN WHO YEARN FOR
A BETTER AND BRIGHTER DAY!

—:—

A WORKINGMAN UNJUSTLY SENTENCED TO SERVE TEN
YEARS IN THE BASTILE OF THE CAPITALIST
CLASS. WE MUST RESCUE HIM. WE
MUST SECURE HIS FREEDOM!

—:—

New York City, N. Y., August 20th, 1911.

COMRADES AND FELLOW WORKERS: Having failed to obtain justice from capitalist courts so far, we now appeal our case to the high tribunal of our comrades and fellow workers on behalf of our Comrade Vincent Buccafori, who has been sentenced to serve ten years in Sing Sing Prison. He dared to be a man. He defended his honor and life from the insults and assaults of a man, who, not satisfied to partially control our Comrade's means of livelihood, sought even to control his actions outside of the workshop.

Vincent Buccafori, a shoe worker of no mean ability, had worked in the shop of J. M. Dodd, for a long time, was respected and loved by his shopmates. He was well thought of by Mr. Wilt (original name Vitelli, a fugitive from the prisons of Italy), foreman of the shop, until he showed courage and manhood enough to join a union of his class, working devotedly for the welfare of his shopmates and acting as shop delegate for them.

Buccafori having done this, Wilt became more and more a merciless driver, wielding his power with arrogance over Buccafori more than over the others who had dared to organize. This suddenly acquired enmity culminated in a threat when Wilt noticed Buccafori collecting money for the Union: "Within a week, upon my word you will be discharged." He denied work to Buccafori, and when asked the reason, replied: "To show you that you belong to the Union."

The numerous outrages and insults heaped upon our comrade were climaxed when on December 1st, 1910, he was insulted and then discharged from his position. Buccafori reported his case to the Superintendent of the factory and was reinstated, much to the discomfiture of Mr. Wilt.

The following morning Buccafori reported for work, the foreman came to him with the wages due for the work done during the week and shouted at him, "Here is your money. Now go or I will throw you out of the window." He demanded to know why he was again discharged; the foreman arrogantly replied, "You have acted as a spy and a ruffian in reporting me to the Superintendent. I intend to show you who is boss here." Buccafori replied, "You are the spy and ruffian; you want to take the bread from the mouths of my family." Wilt at once grabbed him and struck him a terrific blow in the mouth causing the blood to flow freely. Workers intervened, but Wilt ordered them all back to their benches, yelling out, "I will attend to this man myself."

The victim with blood flowing from his mouth picked up his coat and hat and started for the door, saying to his shopmates that he would go and report the occurrence to the owner. But the foreman, determined that the story of the assault should not reach the office, rushed at him with a heavy shoe last in his hand. Taking a position between the door and the worker, the angry foreman threatened the worker with the heavy shoe last. Finally, his very life being menaced, Buccafori pulled out his revolver and shot—first at the elevator door, then at the floor, and as the foreman still approached menacingly, he fired at the brute in human form, who died a few days later.

Buccafori was arrested, indicted for murder, and after languishing in jail for five months was tried before a jury of petty capitalists, who, after fourteen hours' deliberation brought in a verdict of "guilty of manslaughter in the first degree." All reference to Union activity and its bearing on the case were excluded by the judge. All the witnesses, including the Superintendent, who sat prompting Prosecutor Martin, had to admit on the stand the unwarranted and brutal assault on Buccafori, the excessive anger of the foreman and the general reliability of Buccafori as a peaceful worker.

Some weeks after the shooting, a lockout of the organized shoe workers of ten shops was proclaimed by the Shoe Manufacturers' Association, in which that of J. M. Dodd was involved. To this the workers replied with a strike. The workers were beaten only after thirteen weeks of struggle in which the whip of hunger was used most effectively. They have returned to work to prepare themselves for another struggle at an opportune time. But they made the bosses pay dearly for the miseries and outrages of the past. It cost the shoe bosses nearly a million dollars to wage the fight against the members of this organization. Feeling sore and revengeful the Association sought to rush matters so that the trial would be held in the midst of the strike; and who knows, had not the power and influence of the organization and its friends come to the rescue, the fellow worker would by now have been electrocuted. All the power and influence that money could buy was brought to bear by the bosses to the end that a fair trial may not be had and that the

fellow worker may be sentenced to a long term in prison, that a "LESSON" may be taught to the shoe workers of this district for daring to revolt and openly question the right of the masters to insult, injure and rob their slaves without mercy.

Ten years in a filthy dungeon means death to Buccafori. The electric chair which affords a sudden release from life is merciful indeed. Ten years of prison life means a slow, lingering, torturous death. Buccafori is weak and sickly, and long years of factory work coupled with five months' imprisonment have told on his physique. Thus his very life is at stake.

WORKERS OF AMERICA, MEN AND WOMEN! This unknown and yet brave worker is a member of our class, a member of the rank and file of labor's advance guard. He suffered the same miseries and dreamed the same hopes we all do. He aspired for a better day for all the members of our class. He occupied no lofty position, drew no salary, or emoluments from the movement.

A few years ago, when Haywood, Pettibone and companions were arrested on trumped-up charges and the masters with their agents rallied around the cry, "They will never leave Idaho alive," the men and women of labor from one end of the country to the other, set up a storm of righteous indignation that was sufficient in the end to force the hand of the employers and the intended victims were given their liberty.

Liberty is as precious and as dear to Comrade Buccafori as to any one else in the labor movement.

Let it not be said that a member of the rank and file was neglected and left to rot in a capitalist bastille. Let it not be said that the thousands of men and women who have done yeoman service to the cause of labor in the past on this occasion failed to do their duty.

We are confident that all progressive workers and their organizations and all those in sympathy with the aspirations of the working class will rush to the aid of this brave comrade.

Money is needed to appeal the case to higher courts. Let the workers remember Buccafori who is paying with his life and liberty for his place in labor's army. Who is there that knowing and aware of his generous offer and brave example will now refuse to make the small monetary sacrifice that he, our comrade, may be restored to his family and to the active ranks of labor? If there be any, they are not deign to number themselves among the great army of progressive men and women of this land.

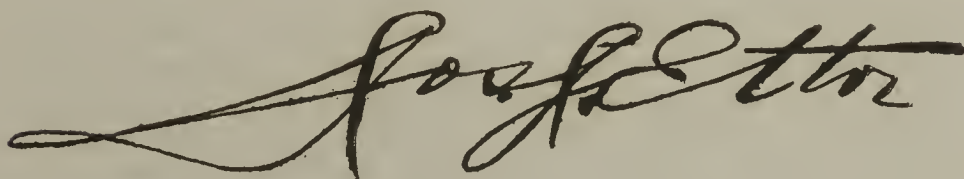
AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

IT IS BUCCAFORI TO-DAY. WHO KNOWS, IT MAY BE YOU TO-MORROW?

Send for subscription lists to pass among your fellow workers in the shops and in your meeting rooms.

Send all remittances and address all communications to CHAS. LINFANTE, Treasurer of the BUCCAFORI DEFENSE COMMITTEE, SHOE WORKERS' LOCAL UNION, No. 168 INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, 212 E. 12th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Sincerely yours for the cause of a persecuted fellow worker,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Joseph Ettor". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Speech by WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD at meeting held for the benefit of the
Buccafori defense, at Progress Assembly Rooms, New York,
March 16, 1911

Comrades and Fellow-Workers: I am here to-night with a heavy heart. I can see in that Raymond Street jail our comrade and fellow-worker Buccafori in a cell, a miserable cell, perhaps $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, 7 seven feet long, sleeping on an iron shelf, wrapped up in a dirty blanket, vermin-infested perhaps; surrounded by human wolves, those who are willing to tear him limb from limb, those who will not feel that their duty to the political state is entirely fulfilled until Buccafori's heart ceases to beat. I had felt that this would be a great meeting. I feel now that I would hate to be in Buccafori's place. It is better, when charged with crime by a capitalist or by the capitalist class, to hold a prominent office in a great labor organization. You will then draw around you support—support sufficient to protect and to save your life. Had I been an ordinary member of the rank and file of a labor organization no more prominent than the shoe worker of Brooklyn I would not be here to-night. I am certain that I would be sleeping in a bed of quicklime within the walls of the Idaho State penitentiary. But it happened that I was a prominent official of a labor organization that was known world-wide; and for one to raise his voice in defense of the officials of that organization meant to give the speaker prominence. To speak in favor of Buccafori is to come into an out-of-the-way part of town and to speak to a small audience. There are those who prefer prominence to saving a fellow-worker's life. I came here to-night to do my little part, feeling that Buccafori is as much to the labor movement, is as much to the working class, is as beneficial to society as I myself, as any member here, or any of those who ever lifted their voice for me.

I am sorry that I haven't supernatural strength to reach into that prison and release Buccafori. I am sorry that I can't bring together the forces that saved my life. I can only speak here as an individual.

I came to-night to speak to you on the general strike. And this night, of all the nights in the year, is a fitting time. Forty years ago to-day there began the greatest general strike known in modern history, the French Commune; a strike that required the political powers of two nations to subdue, namely, that of France and the iron hand of a Bismarck government of Germany. That the workers would have won that strike had it not been for the copartnership of the two nations, there is to my mind no question. They would have overcome the divisions of opinion among themselves. They would have re-established the great national workshops that existed in Paris and throughout France in 1848. The world would have been on the highway toward an

industrial democracy, had it not been for the murderous compact between Bismarck and the government of Versailles.

We are met to-night to consider the general strike as a weapon of the working class. I must admit to you that I am not well posted on the theories advanced by Jaures, Vandervelde, Kautsky, and others who write and speak about the general strike. But I am not here to theorize, not here to talk in the abstract, but to get down to the concrete subject of whether or not the general strike is an effective weapon for the working class. There are vote-getters and politicians who waste their time coming into a community where 90 per cent. of the men have no vote, where the women are disfranchised 100 per cent. and where the boys and girls under age of course are not enfranchised. Still they will speak to these people about the power of the ballot, and they never mention a thing about the power of the general strike. They seem to lack the foresight, the penetration to interpret political power. They seem to lack the understanding that the broadest interpretation of political power comes through the industrial organization; that the industrial organization is capable not only of the general strike, but prevents the capitalists from disfranchising the worker; it gives the vote to women, it re-enfranchises the black man and places the ballot in the hands of every boy and girl employed in a shop, makes them eligible to take part in the general strike, makes them eligible to legislate for themselves where they are most interested in changing conditions, namely, in the place where they work.

I am sorry sometimes that I am not a better theorist, but as all theory comes from practice you will have observed, before I proceed very long, that I know something about the general strikes in operation.

Going back not so far as the Commune of Paris, which occurred in 1871, we find the great strike in Spain in 1874, when the workers of that country won in spite of combined opposition against them and took control of the civil affairs. We find the great strike in Bilbao. in Brussels. And coming down through the halls of time, the greatest strike is the general strike in Russia, when the workers of that country compelled the government to establish a constitution, to give them a form of government—which, by the way, has since been taken from them, and it would cause one to look on the political force, of Russia at least, as a bauble not worth fighting for. They gave up the general strike for a political constitution. The general strike could and did win for them many concessions they could gain in no other way.

While across the water I visited Sweden, the scene of a great general strike, and I discovered that there they won many concessions, political as well as economic; and I happened to be in France, the home of all revolutions, during the strike on the railroads, on the state as well as the privately owned roads. There had been standing in the parliament of France many laws looking toward the improvement of the men employed on the railroads. They became

dissatisfied and disgruntled with the continued dilatory practices of the politicians and they declared a general strike. The demands of the workers were for an increase of wages from three to five francs a day, for a reduction of hours and for the retroaction of the pension law. They were on strike three days. It was a general strike as far as the railroads were concerned. It tied up transportation and communication from Paris to all the seaport towns. The strike had not been on three days when the government granted every demand of the workers. Previous to this, however, Briand had issued his infamous order making the railroaders soldiers—reservists. The men went back as conscripts; and many scabs, as we call them over here (I don't know what the French call them; in England they call them "black-legs"), were put on the roads to take the places of 3,500 discharged men.

The strike apparently was broken, officially declared off by the workers. It's true their demands had all been granted, but remember here were 3,500 of their fellow-workers discharged. The strikers immediately started a campaign to have the victimized workers reinstated. And their campaign was a part of the general strike. It was what they called the "grève perlée," or the "drop strike"—if you can conceive of a strike while everybody is at work; everybody belonging to the union receiving full time, and many of them getting overtime, and the strike in full force and very effective. This is the way it worked—and I tell it to you in hopes that you will spread the good news to your fellow-workers and apply it yourselves whenever occasion demands—namely, that of making the capitalist suffer. Now there is only one way to do that; that is, to strike him in the place where he carries his heart and soul, his center of feeling—the pocketbook. And that is what those strikers did. They began at once to make the railroads lose money, to make the government lose money, to make transportation a farce so far as France was concerned. Before I left that country, on my first visit—and it was during the time that the strike was on—there were 50,000 tons of freight piled up at Havre, and a proportionately large amount at every other seaport town. This freight the railroaders would not move. They did not move at first, and when they did it was in this way: they would load a trainload of freight for Paris and by some mistake it would be billed through to Lyons, and when the freight was found at Lyons, instead of being sent to the consignee at Paris it was carried straight through the town on to Bayonne or Marseilles or some other place—to any place but where it properly belonged. Perishable freight was taken out by the trainload and sidetracked. The condition became such that the merchants themselves were compelled to send their agents down into the depots to look up their consignments of freight—and with very little assurance of finding it at all. That this was the systematic work of the railroaders there is no question, because a package addressed to Merle, one of the editors of "*La Guerre Sociale*," now occupying a cell in the Prison of the Saint, was marked with an inscription on

the corner, "Sabotagers please note address." This package went through posthaste. It worked so well that some of the merchants began using the name of "La Guerre Sociale" to have their packages immediately delivered. It was necessary for the managers of the paper to threaten to sue them unless they refrained from using the name of the paper for railroad purposes.

Nearly all the workers have been reinstated at the present time on the railroads of France.

That is certainly one splendid example of what the general strike can accomplish for the working class.

Another is the strike of the railroaders in Italy. The railroaders there are organized in one great industrial union, one card, taking into membership the stenographers, train despatchers, freight handlers, train crews and the section crews. Everyone who works on the railroad is a member of the organization; not like it is in this country, split up into as many divisions as they can possibly get them into. There they are all one. There was a great general strike. It resulted in the country taking over the railroads. But the government made the mistake of placing politicians in control, giving politicians the management of the railroads. This operated but little better than under private capitalism. The service was inefficient. They could make no money. The rolling stock was rapidly going to wreck. Then the railroad organizations issued this ultimatum to the government, and it now stands: "Turn the railroads over to us. We will operate them and give you the most efficient service to be found on railroads in any country." Would that be a success for the general strike? I rather think so.

And in Wales it was my good fortune to be there, not to theorize but to take part in the general strike among the coal miners. Previous to my coming, or in previous strikes, the Welsh miners had been in the habit of quitting work, carrying out their tools, permitting the mine managers to run the pumps, allowing the engine winders to remain at work, carrying food down to the horses, keeping the mines in good shape, while the miners themselves were marching from place to place singing their old-time songs, gathering on the meeting grounds of the ancient Druids and listening to the speeches of the labor leaders; starving for weeks contentedly, and on all occasions acting most peaceably; going back to work when they were compelled to by starvation. But this last strike was an entirely different one. It was like the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn. Some new methods had been injected into the strike. I had spoken there on a number of occasions previous to the strike being inaugurated, and I told them of the methods that we adopted in the West, where every man employed in and around the mine belongs to the same organization; where, when we went on strike, the mine closed down. They thought that that was a very excellent system. So the strike was declared. They at once notified the engine winders, who had a separate contract with

the mine owners, that they would not be allowed to work. The engine winders passed a resolution saying that they would not work. The haulers took the same position. No one was allowed to approach the mines to run the machinery. Well, the mine manager, like mine managers everywhere, taking unto himself the idea that the mines belonged to him, said, "Certainly the men won't interfere with us. We will go up and run the machinery." And they took along the office force. But the miners had a different notion and they said, "You can work in the office, but you can't run this machinery. That isn't your work. If you run that you will be scabbing; and we don't permit you to scab—not in this section of the country, now." They were compelled to go back to the office. There were 325 horses underground, which the manager, Llewellyn, complained about being in a starving condition. The officials of the union said, "We will hoist the horses out of the mine."

"Oh, no," he said, "we don't want to bring them up. We will all be friends in a few days."

"You will either bring up the horses now or you will let them stay there."

He said, "No, we won't bring them up now."

The pumps were closed down on the Cambria mine. 12,000 miners were there to see that they didn't open. Llewellyn started a hue and cry that the horses would be drowned, and the king sent the police, sent the soldiers and sent a message to Llewellyn asking "if the horses were still safe." He didn't say anything about his subjects, the men. Guarded by soldiers, a few scabs, assisted by the office force, were able to run the pumps. Llewellyn himself and his bookkeeping force went down and fed the horses.

Had there been an industrial organization comprising the railroaders and every other branch of industry, the mines of Wales would be closed down to-day.

We found the same condition throughout the West. We never had any trouble about closing the mines down; and could keep them closed down for an indefinite period. It was always the craft unions that caused us to lose our fights when we did lose. I recall the first general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes, when all the mines in that district were closed down to prevent a reduction of wages. The mine owners brought in thugs the first thing. They attempted to man the mines with men carrying sixshooters and rifles. There was a pitched battle between miners and thugs. A few were killed on each side. And then the mine owners asked for the soldiers, and the soldiers came. Who brought the soldiers? Railroads manned by union men; engines fired with coal mined by union men. That is the division of labor that might have lost us the strike in the Coeur d'Alenes. It didn't lose it, however. We were successful in that issue. But in Leadville we lost the strike there because they were able to bring in scab labor from other com-

munities where they had the force of the government behind them, and the force of the troops. In 1899 we were compelled to fight the battle over in a great general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes again. Then came the general strike in Cripple Creek, the strike that has become a household word in labor circles throughout the world. In Cripple Creek 5,000 men were on strike in sympathy with 45 men belonging to the Millmen's Union in Colorado City; 45 men who had been discharged simply because they were trying to improve their standard of living. By using the State troops and the influence of the Federal government they were able to man the mills in Colorado City with scab millmen; and after months of hardship, after 1,600 of our men had been arrested and placed in the Victor Armory in one single room that they called the "bullpen," after 400 of them had been loaded aboard special trains guarded by soldiers, shipped away from their homes, dumped out on the prairies down in New Mexico and Kansas; after the women who had taken up the work of distributing strike relief had been placed under arrest—we find then that they were able to man the mines with scabs, the mills running with scabs, the railroads conveying the ore from Cripple Creek to Colorado City run by union men—the connecting link of a proposition that was scabby at both ends! We were not thoroughly organized. There has been no time when there has been a general strike in this country.

There are three phases of a general strike. They are:

A general strike in an industry;

A general strike in a community; or

A general national strike.

The conditions for any of the three have never existed. So how any one can take the position that a general strike would not be effective and not be a good thing for the working class is more than I can understand. We know that the capitalist uses the general strike to good advantage. Here is the position that we find the working class and the capitalists in. The capitalists have wealth; they have money. They invest the money in machinery, in the resources of the earth. They operate a factory, a mine, a railroad, a mill. They will keep that factory running just as long as there are profits coming in. When anything happens to disturb the profits, what do the capitalists do? They go on strike; don't they? They withdraw their finances from that particular mill. They close it down because there are no profits to be made there. They don't care what becomes of the working class. But the working class, on the other hand, has always been taught to take care of the capitalist's interest in the property. You don't look after your own interest, your labor power, realizing that without a certain amount of provision you can't reproduce it. You are always looking after the interest of the capitalist, while a general strike would displace his interest and would put you in possession of it.

That is what I want to urge upon the working class: to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possible? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time. There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against us; to be in a position to control the power of government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to abolish totally the secret service and the force of detectives. That is the reason that you want the power of government. That is the reason that you should fully understand the power of the ballot. Now, there isn't any one, Socialist, S. L. P., Industrial Worker or any other workingman or woman, no matter what society you belong to, but what believes in the ballot. There are those—and I am one of them—who refuse to have the ballot interpreted for them. I know, or think I know, the power of it, and I know that the industrial organization, as I stated in the beginning, is its broadest interpretation. I know, too, that when the workers are brought together in a great organization they are not going to cease to vote. That is when the workers will *begin* to vote, to vote for directors to operate the industries in which they are all employed.

So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive force. It can be used, and should be used, equally as forcefully by the Socialist as by the Industrial Worker.

The Socialists believe in the general strike. They also believe in the organization of industrial forces after the general strike is successful. So, on this great force of the working class I believe we can agree that we should unite into one great organization—big enough to take in the children that are now working; big enough to take in the black man; the white man; big enough to take in all nationalities—an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate State boundaries, to obliterate National boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world. (Applause.)

I have been lecturing in and around New York now for three weeks; my general topic has been Industrialism, which is the only force under which the general strike can possibly be operated. If there are any here interested in industrial unionism, and they want any knowledge that I have, I will be more than pleased to answer questions, because it is only by industrial unionism that the general strike becomes possible. The A. F. of L. couldn't have a general strike if they wanted to. They are not organized for a general strike. They have 27,000 different agreements that expire 27,000 different minutes of the year. They will either have to break all of those sacred contracts or there is no such thing as a general strike in that so-called "labor organization." I said "so-called;" I say so advisedly. It is not a labor organization; it is simply a combination of job trusts. We are going to have a labor organization in this country. And I assure

you, if you could attend the meetings we have had in Philadelphia, in Bridgeport last night, in Haverhill and in Harrison, and throughout the country, you would agree that industrialism is coming. There isn't anything can stop it. (Applause.)

QUESTIONS BY THE AUDIENCE

Q.—How is it that a man can advocate industrial unionism and still be a member of the Socialist party, which advises the workers to join the A. F. of L.?

A.—The Socialist party does not advise the workers to join the A. F. of L. The constitution or platform of the Socialist party stands neutral on the question of unionism. And even if your statement were true a party couldn't tell me what union I must belong to, or couldn't tell me that I mustn't say to the working class which is the best for them if they ask me. No, the Socialist party does not advise that you join the A. F. of L.

Q.—Inasmuch as the Socialist party advocates unity of action on the political field and takes an inconsistent stand upon action on the economic field—a neutral stand, just as you state—where is the consistency of the Socialist party?

A.—This is outside the topic of industrial unionism. However I have no hesitancy about saying that there are some Socialists who are not consistent. But my position I believe to be consistent, because I am asking for unity among the working class at every point of battle—on the economic field, on the political field for the express purpose of beating down the powers of government and to establish a *public service department* wherever there may be concentration of workers. I agree to that, and I think that as a Socialist my position is consistent. I know that there are others that I differ from, and I would like you to ask *them* that question the first time you have an opportunity.

Q.—Don't you think there is a lot of waste involved in the general strike in that the sufferers would be the workers in larger portion than the capitalists? The capitalist class always has money and can buy food, while the workers will just have to starve and wait. I was a strong believer in the general strike myself until I read some articles in *The Call* a while ago on this particular phase.

A.—The working class haven't got anything. They can't lose anything. While the capitalist class have got all the money and all the credit, still if the working class laid off the capitalists couldn't get food at any price. This is the power of the working class: If the workers are organized (remember now, I say "if they are organized"—by that I don't mean 100 per cent., but a good strong minority), all they have to do is to put their hands in their pockets and they have got the capitalist class whipped. The working class can stand

it a week without anything to eat—I have gone pretty nearly that long myself, and I wasn't on strike. In the meantime I hadn't lost any meals; I just postponed them. (Laughter.) I didn't do it voluntarily, I tell you that. But all the workers have to do is to organize so that they can put their hands in their pockets; when they have got *their* hands there, the capitalists can't get theirs in. If the workers can organize so that they can stand idle they will then be strong enough so that they can take the factories. Now, I hope to see the day when the man who goes *out* of the factory will be the one who will be called a scab; when the good union man will stay in the factory, whether the capitalists like it or not; when we lock the bosses out and run the factories to suit ourselves. That is our program. We will do it.

Q.—Doesn't the trend of your talk lead to direct action, or what we call revolution? For instance, we try to throw the bosses out; don't you think the bosses will strike back?

Another thing: Of course, the working class can starve eight days, but they can't starve nine. You don't have to teach the workingman how to starve, because there were teachers before you. There is no way out but fight, as I understand it. Do you think you will get your industrialism through peace or through revolution?

A.—Well, comrade, you have no peace now. The capitalist system as peaceable as it is, is killing off hundreds of thousands of workers every year. That isn't peace. One hundred thousand workers were injured in this State last year. I do not care whether it's peaceable or not; I want to see it come.

As for starving the workers eight days, I made no such program. I said that they could, but I don't want to see them do it. The fact that I was compelled to postpone a few meals was because I wasn't in the vicinity of any grub. I suggest that you break down that idea that you must protect the boss's property. That is all we are fighting for—what the boss calls his "private property," what he calls his private interest in the things that the people must have, as a whole, to live. Those are the things we are after.

Q.—Do the Industrial Unionists believe in political action? Have they got any special platforms that they support?

A.—The Industrial Workers of the World is not a political organization.

Q.—Just like the A. F. of L.?

A.—No.

Q.—*They* don't believe in any political action, either, so far as that is concerned.

A.—Yes, the A. F. of L. does believe in political action. It is a political organization. The Industrial Workers of the World is an economic organization without affiliation with any political party or

any non-political sect. I as an Industrialist say that industrial unionism is the broadest possible political interpretation of the working-class political power, because by organizing the workers industrially you at once enfranchise the women in the shops, you at once give the black men who are disfranchised politically a voice in the operation of the industries; and the same would extend to every worker. That to my mind is the kind of political action that the working class wants. You must not be content to come to the ballot box on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the ballot box erected by the capitalist class, guarded by capitalist henchmen, and deposit your ballot to be counted by black-handed thugs, and say, "That is political action." You must protect your ballot with an organization that will enforce the mandates of your class. I want political action that counts. I want a working class that can hold an election every day if they want to.

Q.—By what means could an Industrial Unionist propagate Industrial Unionism in his organization of the A. F. of L.? He would be fired out and lose his job.

A.—Well, the time is coming when he will have to quit the A. F. of L., anyway. And, remember that there are 35,000,000 workers in the United States who can't get in the A. F. of L. And when you quit you are quitting a caste, you are getting back into your class. The Socialists have been going along maintaining the Civic Federation long enough. The time has almost arrived when you will have to quit and become free men and women. I believe that the A. F. of L. won't take in the working class. They don't want the working class. It isn't a working-class organization. It's a craft organization. They realize that by improving the labor power of a few individuals and keeping them on the inside of a corral, keeping others out with initiation fees, and closing the books, and so on, that the favored few are made valuable to the capitalists. They form a little job trust. It's a system of slavery from which free people ought to break away. And they will soon.

Q.—About the political action we had in Milwaukee: there we didn't have Industrial Unionism, we won by the ballot; and while we haven't compelled the government to pass any bills yet, we are at it now.

A.—Yes, they are at it. But you really don't think that Congressman Berger is going to compel the government to pass any bills in Congress? If I had been elected as a Congressman from Colorado I couldn't have compelled the government to pass any bills. I wouldn't try. As a Socialist I wouldn't introduce any bills in Congress; I would just stand there as a lighthouse, as a beacon out in the sea, telling what Socialism is. This Insurgent bunch that is growing up in the country is going to give you more than the reform Socialists ever asked for yet. The opportunists will be like the Labor party in England. I was in the office of the *Labor Leader* and Mr. Whiteside

said to me: "Really, I don't know what we are going to do with this fellow, Lloyd-George. He has taken every bit of ground from under our feet. He has given the working class more than the Labor party had dared to ask for." And so it will be with the Insurgents, the "Progressives" or whatever they propose to call themselves. They will give you eight-hour laws, compensation laws, liability laws, old-age pensions. They will give you eight hours; that is what we are striking for, too—eight hours. But they won't get off the workers' backs. The Insurgents simply say, "It's cruel, the way the capitalists are exploiting the workers." Why, look! whenever they go to shear them they take off a part of the hide. We will take all the wool, but we will leave the hide." (Laughter.)

Q. (by a woman comrade)—Isn't a strike, theoretically, a situation where the workingmen lay down their tools and the capitalist class sits and waits, and they both say, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" And if they go beyond that, and go outside the law, is it any longer a strike? Isn't it a revolution?

A.—A strike is an incipient revolution. Many large revolutions have grown out of a small strike.

Q.—Well, I heartily believe in the general strike if it is a first step toward the revolution, and I believe in what you intimate—that the workers are damn fools if they don't *take* what they want, when they can't get it any other way. (Applause.)

A.—That is a better speech than I can make. If I didn't think that the general strike was leading on to the great revolution which will emancipate the working class I wouldn't be here. I am with you because I believe that in this little meeting there is a nucleus here that will carry on the work and propagate the seed that will grow into the great revolution that will overthrow the capitalist class.

Q.—How do you account for the course of the Western Federation of Miners in applying for a charter in the A. F. of L.?

A.—I wish I knew just what happened to the Western Federation of Miners when they asked for a charter from the A. F. of L. However, it's only in the shape of an application. The A. F. of L. did nothing for us while we were in jail, but the local unions that comprise the A. F. of L.'s membership did a great deal in the way of moral support and they furnished a great deal of money. That trial cost \$324,000—my trial. I don't look worth that much, but I am in my own estimation. Of the total amount the outside organizations contributed \$75,000, the Western Federation of Miners put up nearly \$250,000. There was a tremendous agitation throughout the country and the officials of the organization felt that the trade unions had come to them in a crisis and that they ought to join hands with the A. F. of L. movement. I feel that they assisted in that crisis, but it wasn't through the trade unionists—it was through the working class, the Socialists. Gompers never said a word until a Socialist in the central labor

body here made him open his mouth. The officials of the trade unions never came to our relief. It was the Socialists, the S. L. P.'s, the I. W. W.'s, some trade-unionist members of local unions, local officials. It wasn't the machine. So, while I feel and I know I owe my life to the workers of the nation, it is to the working class of the nation that I am under obligation, not to any subdivision of that class. That is why I am here now. That is why I am talking working-class solidarity, because I want to see the working class do for themselves what they did for me.

Q.—What do you think about the Socialist movement in Germany?

A.—I think I know something about Germany, and if you want my opinion I will say that the Socialist movement in Germany seems to me to be a topheavy one; that is, that the force comes from the top down—that is not a purely democratic movement, coming from the working class up.

Q.—Is it the capitalist class, or is it a labor movement, or both combined, or some conditions in between them that has anything to do with the insurrection in Mexico?

A.—I think the capitalist class are responsible for the insurrection in Mexico. Incidentally, the revolutionists, Magon, Villareal, Sarabia and Rivera, and their followers, have something to do with it, as also the local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World, there now being at this time three locals whose entire membership have gone across the line and joined the insurgents, and Berthold, one of the commandants, is an officer in the I. W. W. at Holtville, Cal. So that they have something to do with the insurrection. But the revolution in Mexico has been brought on by the capitalists, and it was no snap judgment on the part of Taft, the sending of the troops to the Mexican border. You recall two years ago Elihu Root went down to Mexico to visit Mr. Diaz, and following Root's visit, on the 16th of October a year ago, Mr. Taft went down and met with Diaz in Juarez and El Paso. Here is, to my mind, the nut of it, here is the milk in that cocoanut: the Japanese have been crowding into Mexico ever since the Japanese said they wouldn't come to the United States. They have been coming into Mexico in swarms, until now the administration looks on with a great deal of dread as to just what it means, if there is going to be a Japanese war, with the little brown fellows right down there in Mexico ready to come across the border.

Again, Mr. Taft would like to extend the territory of the United States by benevolent assimilation down to the Isthmus of Panama. He would like to take in all of Mexico and Central America. Why? Because the interests of this country—when I say "the interests" I mean the big ones, the Standard Oil and the Morgans, and even the fellows on the undercrust, like Bill Hearst—have got vast interests down in Mexico. Not that it cost them a great deal of money. Hearst has a million and a half acres down there that he estimates to be

worth \$12,000,000, and he paid perhaps half a million for it. But their interests are there. Mexico is a wonderful country. The remarkable thing is that the capitalists have let it go as long as they have. It is a wonder they hadn't jumped on Mexico as the dons of Spain did, because there is no country under the sun that is as rich as Mexico. Central America is a marshy country, but in Mexico you come to the highlands and the plateaus; and that country, situated as it is, a narrow land between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California and the Pacific, gets the benefit of the atmospheric precipitation, the benefit of the waters from both sides, so that they have plenty of rain, and can raise crops of everything—from rubber, cocoa, cotton, the tropical fruits, to the very hardiest of wheat. The primeval forests in Mexico are second to nothing except the jungles of Africa. There they have great forests of mahogany, of dragonsblood wood, ironwood, copal, juniper and cedar that have never been touched. Just at this stage the reading of Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico" would be very interesting, also Humboldt's and Buckle's. The latter book I found to be perhaps not as exhaustive as Prescott's, but splendidly written. Those I read while I was on my vacation, when I didn't have anything else to do but read. (Laughter.)

The capitalists, who are responsible for *all* wars are responsible for the present trouble in Mexico. (Applause.)

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

**For all further information write VINCENT ST. JOHN
General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World
518 Cambridge Building, Chicago, Ill.**







The

GENERAL STRIKE

For Industrial Freedom

THE PREAMBLE



OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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The **GENERAL STRIKE**

THOUSANDS of thoughtful and class-conscious workers in years past have looked to the General Strike for deliverance from wage slavery. Today their hopes are stronger than ever. Their number has been increased with additional thousands who are confident that the General Strike, and the General Strike alone, can save Humanity from the torture and degradation of the continuation of capitalism and the misery and privation of its recurrent wars and depressions.

The General Strike is the child of the Labor Movement. It is Labor's natural reaction to a system of society based upon the private ownership of the machinery of production. It is Labor's ultimate attitude in the class struggle. It is Labor's answer to the problem of economic disorganization.

Logically enough the General Strike has become the rallying-cry of millions of persons the world over who favor it simply because they do not wish to see the highly industrialized modern world sink into chaos, and human society sink to the level of savage survival.

The idea of the General Strike is here to stay. It came into being with the perfection of the machine process and the centralization of control which made it possible. And it will remain as a constant challenge to capitalism as long as the machinery of production is operated for profit instead of for use.

Why The General Strike?

Every intelligent person now realizes that there is something radically wrong with the social system under which we are living. Everyone, excepting the beneficiaries of this system, agrees that something ought to be done about it. The trouble is that people at present seem unable to agree on any common program of action. Some accept their unhappy lot with a patience and fortitude worthy of a better cause, others theorize ineffectually and do little, while still others complain bitterly and strike out blindly. Nearly everyone rushes hither and thither seeking escape but without having any clear-cut objective in view. Considering the control of the press and all mediums of misinformation and propaganda by the present ruling class this situation is not to be wondered at.

Let us examine briefly the things people in general are saying and doing about the desperate situation now confronting society: One group says: "Let us be patient until pressure of public opinion brings about a change or at least a betterment of conditions." Another group says: "As long as we have the ballot let us use political action to bring about whatever changes are necessary." Still another group states: "We cannot wait any longer. Only a violent upheaval . . . armed insurrection!"

These groups, regardless of their differences of

opinion, are composed of men and women who have given some thought and study to the subject. They deserve credit for trying to find a solution for the baffling problem confronting them. No matter how mistaken they may be their efforts are at least directed toward making the world a fit place to live in. Unfortunately the majority of the population have not gone this far. The majority still lives and suffers in a condition of unthinking bewilderment. They simply do not know what it is all about. Just as they have done, for ages past, they are content to work like robots or starve like dumb beasts without daring to organize to put a stop to the system which is crushing them. And, what is worse they are actually misled into supporting this system.

Economic Illness, Economic Cure

But there is still another and far more significant group. This group represents the viewpoint of the awakened and class-conscious working class. Its opposition to the present order is unalterable and its methods and objective distinctly those of the world's revolutionary proletariat. This group takes the position that, in the face of the present disintegration of the profit or wage system, public opinion, political action and armed insurrection are too unwieldly, too uncertain and too unscientific to serve in so great an emergency. This group advocates a General Strike of the world's army of production and its managerial general staff as the means of putting an end to capitalism, and inaugurating in its place an era of scientific industrialism and industrial democracy.

The argument for the General Strike is based on the persistent and very logical working class

conviction that the ruling class will refuse to permit itself to be dispossessed by any power weaker than its own and that public opinion, political action and insurrection therefore will not be permitted to be developed or used to any appreciable extent. It is further based on the firm belief that Labor alone can save the world from chaos during and following the period of transition. As long as the production of goods under any system depends upon the disciplined solidarity of the producing class it is evident that this solidarity alone is capable of stopping the operations of the old order or of starting and continuing those of the new.

Public Opinion

In this sense the General Strike is not only the hope of Labor; it is the hope of the human race. It is the one method which will be found trust-worthy when all other methods fail. If it is true, as many believe, that the economic maladjustments of modern society can be remedied only by economic measures, then the General Strike will become increasingly important with every passing day. The necessity for the collective ownership and democratic operation of socially necessary machinery is now conceded by technician, economist, student and class conscious worker alike. There is diversity of opinion as to how the change is to be made, but there is no lack of unanimity as to the advisability of the change. In this regard the program of the General Strike is too important not to be seriously considered.

As a matter of fact any power less potent than that of the General Strike is bound to be of doubtful efficacy. Public opinion in America at its best is merely a means of registering the disapproval or

indignation of an intelligent minority. At its worst it is all that the Powers that Be could expect of it—mass hysteria and mob violence to be directed at will by those affluent enough to buy it on the market like any other commodity. Any public opinion which ignores the basic fact of the class struggle is bound to be a hypocritical gesture. In this regard the liberals are among the worst offenders. The weak cry of the conventional liberal for peace in a peaceless world is one of the most convincing evidences of the innate sterility of the liberal attitude. Due to their hoplessly restricted outlook these middle class muddlers are unable to see the inevitability of struggle and strife as long as society is divided into two classes with irreconcilable interests.

Reformers

Unless the class struggle is used as the key, human history will remain a matter of guesswork. Unless the evolution of society is studied in the light of social science, social changes will remain inexplicable. How much clearer and less confusing is the position of the Industrial Workers of the World as expressed in its Preamble, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things of life." This is submitted as a clear-cut statement of undeniable fact.

Reformers of all types are and must be primarily concerned with the patching up of the decayed and historically unjustifiable capitalist system. They are unable to see society as a process of change under economic pressure—a continuous evolution

from one stage of development to another, based on the iron law of economic determinism. Under chattel slavery or serfdom these myopic gentlemen would have believed as they do now under capitalism that the existing system was permanent, preordained and historically unassailable. To them riches and poverty are not the result of definable and remediable social maladjustments but the normal condition of human life. The invention of labor saving, profit increasing machinery, as they see it, was not a part of an evolutionary process; they prefer to believe it was merely a convenient and very profitable accident. They are childishly amazed that their right to monopolize the earth and its resources should ever be contested. There are even authors, editors and professors who support them in this fantastic illusion. On this point the position of the I. W. W. is as startling as it is scientifically sound: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system." If any liberal is capable of seeing that far he is already cured of his liberalism.

Public opinion being largely at the mercy of the predatory interests through their control of the press, radio, etc., is therefore largely out of the question as a means of effecting fundamental social change. Even the unusual program and personality of Gandhi would be helpless in the face of the private control of public opinion which exists in the U. S. A. Within a fortnight the mild-mannered Mahatma would no doubt be heaved into the hoosegow charged with planting a bomb or engineering a

pay-roll robbery. Such things have happened before with the public being far from unconvinced.

And so the capitalist control of the machinery of publicity coupled with the economic ignorance of the much divided and long misled masses makes public opinion as the sole method of ending the nightmare of capitalism somewhat remote. Unless crystalized into definite and determined action of some sort or other, about all we can expect from public opinion is the registering of belated and somewhat pathetic disapproval.

Politicos

Political action as a method of obtaining control of the machinery of production seems also peculiarly unconvincing. Only the most naive of politically-minded revolutionists believe that the ballot or constitutional amendments will induce the Vested Interests to give over control and title to the privately owned machinery of production. It is manifestly absurd to expect the class which has stained the pages of history red in countless labor struggles to give over complete control because the electorate (whom they despise) have seen fit to demand it. The parasite class of the U. S. A. can be relied upon not to relinquish their sacrosanct rights to 'property' until they are confronted with a power greater than that which they have at their command. Anything less will be scoffed at.

What is more probable, in the light of past experience, than their capitulation is that the right of suffrage will be revoked or curtailed the moment it threatens to be used for any purpose other than the customary horse-swapping. Even with the menace of the ever-present potential fascist dictatorship removed, there is little reason to believe that the

rich will ever hand over their property to the poor just because the poor have decided to vote for it.

Insurrectos

The program of armed insurrection is open to as many angles of criticism as that of political action. First of all the workers as a whole are not only unarmed, but they are untrained in the use of arms. Twelve air planes can destroy a city and it is quite unlikely that a city full of armed workers could control even so small a force of capitalist mercenaries. The technique of modern warfare has made the rifle and side-arm and even grenades and machine guns obsolete in the face of tanks, poison gas, planes and heavy artillery. The advocacy of armed insurrection is fatally misleading because it induces workers to believe that what was done in a backward country can be duplicated in a thoroughly modern one. In America the chances of mobs defeating highly trained troops are anything but even. Then there is the danger of premature revolution precipitated by fanatics or stool pigeons.

The advocacy of armed insurrection is misleading also because most of its protagonists, being politically minded and politically trained, are more determined to capture State power than to capture the industries. The politician is utterly incapable of thinking in terms of industry. He is incompetent either to control or to direct industrial processes. In a country like the U. S. A. with 48 state and hundreds of municipal and county capitols in addition to the federal capitol in Washington—all adequately guarded—the problem is almost hopelessly complicated. At the worst an attempt at armed uprising would result in a series of unprecedented massacres, at best in an overtower-

ing and very stupid bureaucracy or an equally stupid and far more cruel dictatorship of politicians.

It is far more probable that neither the ballots of the politicians nor the bullets of the insurrectos will ever have an opportunity to 'get to first base.' With the final struggle impending it is very probable that all weapons save that of economic action will have been taken out of their hands. For this reason it is more necessary for Labor to study and prepare itself for the General Strike than to trust its fortunes to either ballots or bullets as a sole means of effecting its deliverance from the toils of wage slavery.

Industrial Solidarity

The General Strike has allied in its service thinkers and men of action of many different schools of thought. For over a quarter of a century the Industrial Workers of the World have consistently advocated the General Strike as Labor's mightiest weapon in the class struggle.

At the present time there is scarcely a Socialist, or Communist Party or Libertarian group anywhere in the world which does not contain minorities, at least that are frank in admitting that the class struggle is largely an industrial struggle and that the final victory must be won by industrial instead of political methods. The many defeats of politically powerful Socialist movements in Europe in the face of war and dictatorship have convinced them of the inadequacy of political action, the futility of violence and of the irresistible logic and power of the General Strike.

It looks like a far cry from Bill Haywood to Thorstein Veblen, yet the non-conformist labor leader and suave and erudite professor meet on

common ground in advocating the General Strike.

Not only is it true that Professor Veblen is in perfect accord with the industrial philosophy, program and methods of the I. W. W. in regard to the General Strike, but the preponderance of competent technological opinion of America favors that viewpoint also. The advanced technician has learned from experience to look upon the General Strike with favor. He sees in it the quickest and most dependable method of keeping the vital processes of production and transportation unimpaired during the impending break-down of the system of production for profit.

Firm and Unshakable

The General Strike, compared with the transient ameliorative slogans and platforms of political parties is as firm and unshakable as the Rocky Mountains. It is as basic as the instinct to live and as fundamental as industry. All the panaceas and nostrums of the politician and labor union reformer sound shallow and meaningless when considered side by side with industrial action of such magnitude and possibilities.

The politician who seeks to pervert the General Strike into a mere adjunct to a political party is like the tail trying to wag the dog. The logical and legitimate objective of the General Strike is the abolition of capitalism—not reform or political trading of any sort. The General Strike is not the toy of ambitious politicians. It is the red rainbow across the sky of industrial desperation. It is a permanent warning to politicians to keep their promises, to Authority to be careful and to dictators to disappear. The General Strike is Labor's life insurance against betrayal.

Nothing can be more logical than that the General Strike offers a program which is excellent neutral common meeting ground for the two and seventy warring sects of the Labor movement.

If the time ever comes when the organized working class is capable of outgrowing or putting aside the ancient prejudices of political thought, the General Strike will be welcomed for what it is—Labor's supreme weapon for Labor's supreme struggle.

There has never been a major labor struggle anywhere in the world in which the General Strike was not discussed and there has never been a labor union anywhere which has not at one time or another ardently desired to use it in the never-ending struggle against corporate greed and economic injustice.

Direct Action is Instinctive

The interests of the workers and the employers are diametrically opposed and each side uses such weapons in the class struggle as are suitable for their purposes. The absentee owners of the industry, unlike the middle class, are too smart to take the politician seriously. And in this respect they are far wiser than many of the workers.

The real capitalists have a contempt for the politician and use him merely as a tool. Being rooted in industry by reason of ownership and deriving their incomes from the surplus value sweated from the hides of their wage slaves they tolerate no intermediaries in the struggle between the workers and themselves. If, for instance, they wish to cut wages, lengthen the hours of the work day or employ women and children in place of men, they just go ahead and do it. They do not call upon a

politician to help them. They do not have to. Every time they discipline, discharge or lay off a bunch of workers the employers are using direct action. Every time the black-list or spy system is used on the job, every time scabs, strike-breakers or gun-thugs are used, every time the speed-up system, poor conditions, long hours and low wages are enforced the employers are using industrial action against their slaves.

A depression is nothing but a lockout against labor. The owners of the industries simply close up shop and cease operations because they can no longer get their customary profits. And all the laws and politicians in the world, or all the armies in the world, could not force them to start up again unless it would pay them to do so. Business is business. The employing class knows full well what industrial power means. They use it all the time in the form of merciless lockouts, strikes and sabotage against labor. But, they are decidedly unwilling to have labor retaliate in kind.

Their defense is wide open only at one point: they get their profits out of the hides of the workers and no place else. And if the workers by a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" refuse to be exploited beyond a certain point or refuse to be exploited at all, the exploiters can do little. Their machinery will produce neither profits nor anything else until it is oiled with the sweat of human labor. They fear the General Strike more than anything on earth because they know that the General Strike would in reality be a general lockout—the end of the present dominating class. Against this mighty industrial force they have neither cunning nor power to defend themselves.

The Scissorbill Worker

But they do have the cunning and the power to fool and mislead the workers and to keep the workers' forces divided so that united action is difficult of attainment. Due to capitalist control of the press, radio and avenues of publicity and education, the workers are effectually denied the right to call their minds their own. In fact the scissorbill workers have but little in their heads which they can call their own. Their minds belong to the last editor, speaker or politician or educator who filled the aching void with insidious poison of anti-proletarian misinformation. Such workers not only play the sucker end in the shell game of capitalism, but they also are too dumb and blind to figure out what has happened when things go wrong. That is why they are called "scissorbills."

But, no matter how they suffer from insecurity and privation under capitalism this type of worker can do nothing for their own interests until they learn to think for themselves. If you are a wage-slave with a capitalist mind, or a decaying middle class mind you will no doubt scratch your head and wonder what the General Strike can possibly mean to you. At first you will not like the idea. You will probably figure that it means turning upside down all the things you had respect for and had confidence in.

The Rebel Worker

But the class conscious worker is different. He has discarded the capitalist prejudices and submissiveness to exploitation and lies. He has shed his middle class faith in both politicians and the efficacy of political action. He knows what is wrong with the world and knows just what ought to be

done to put an end to that wrong. He is no longer apathetic or indifferent to his class interests. He can no longer be fooled. He realizes that he, as a member of the working class, is rooted in industry and must unite and make common cause with all other workers in industry, and become an eager active fighter in the struggle to free the world from the age-long curse of social parasitism. He knows what the word strike means and does not have to be told that it is his strongest and surest weapon.

Rebel workers who have been drilled, disciplined and hardened in the class struggle recognize instinctively that the strike is labor's natural weapon. They know what industrial power is and know how to use it. They have been forced to use it all their lives in little things and are willing to use it for bigger things—for everything. They have learned from experience that delegating their power into the hands of politicians is more likely to result in disappointment and betrayal than it is in profit to themselves. They have learned that even in their unions they must have real democracy in order to keep their officials straight. In the class war they are convinced that the strike is the thing.

Labor's Natural Weapon

The logic is simple. If wages are too low to meet the needs of life, if the hours of labor are too long or working conditions intolerable, the thing to do is not call some witch-doctor of a politician, but simply to quit work in sufficient numbers and with sufficient solidarity to force a shut-down of operations until the evils are remedied.

Every workingman and woman knows these things to be true. They do not have to read about a strike in books or to have it explained to them by

a professor. When the time comes to strike they strike. And no one can convince them that there is anything else left to do but to strike. Workers as a rule do not take politics very seriously unless they are paid to vote, which is often the case, or unless they are intimidated and herded to the polls by racketeering ward-healers in the interests of a corrupt political machine.

As a rule they vote just as they would bet on a prize fight—to see if they can pick a winner. But they do take their striking seriously. And when it becomes plain to the workers that they can put an end to the interminable misery and uncertainty of capitalism by means of a big strike just as easily as they defeated a wage-cut with a small one they will strike with the same vigor and the same determination.

And this is the very type of mind which the advanced development of capitalism is forcing upon them. Strikes have a way of becoming bigger with each passing year. The workers' very association with productive industry suggests and controls the methods they must use in the industrial struggle. Like their employers they are forced by their surroundings to think in terms of direct action. The strike grows in power and scope just as industry grows in power and scope. The strike is Labor's natural weapon and the centralization of control in industry makes the prospect of a General Strike more than a mere possibility.

Industrial Strategy

Webster defines the word 'weapon' as, "any instrument of offense or defense." Surely the machinery of production is capable of being used for offense and defense both by the employing and the

working class. Every strike, every lockout proves that the control and operation of modern machinery has developed a new technique of warfare as well as the most powerful weapons the world has ever known. We are trying to show that control of this machinery is the weapon which gives the employing class dominion over all the world, and that use of this machinery gives the working class ultimate power over the so-called owners.

The invention of gunpowder altered the course of human history and so did the steam engine, airplane and radio. Military science concedes that the factory behind the lines is as important as the human cannon-fodder in the trenches for the winning of a war. God is no longer on the side of the strongest battallions, as Napoleon said. He is now on the side of the most perfectly organized industries. Workers should keep in mind that the real weapons of the machine age are the machines themselves.

It has frequently been stated that in the next war there will be no non-combatants. This is but another way of saying that the machine is as potent a weapon as the cannon. Military forces are worse than useless unless they are supplied with food, supplies and transportation. Both in warfare and industry the individual counts less and the mass more. Individual power is nothing, collective power, everything. An army in battle that is not organized is merely a mob. Workers in industry who are not organized are in the same category. They must be organized by their technical directors and foremen in order to produce efficiently. They must organize themselves into industrial unions, just as they are grouped in the industries, if they ever hope to use

the weapon of economic power in their own behalf.

The day of the small war or the small strike is gone forever. Labor, without organization and disciplined solidarity, without unity and singleness of purpose must of necessity remain in its traditional rut. Labor cannot emancipate itself until it learns to use the mighty weapons which contact with the machinery of production has placed in its hands.

Revolutions, Old and New

The onward march of the machine process has not only changed the method and tactics of warfare, it has also changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. It has done this by making old weapons obsolete and by making new weapons available. Warfare used to be an art; now it is an industry. The ancient art of arms is now practiced chiefly for sport. Nowadays a nation does not settle down to the grim business of war until the wheels of industry start turning.

The onward march of the machine process has completely changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. Modern airplanes, poison and incendiary gas, artillery and machine guns in the hands of highly trained specialists have put the unarmed and practically untrained worker at a decided disadvantage in the matter of military combat. But even if the odds were equal it would be an act of folly for workers in any highly industrialized country to take as their models the classical revolutions of 1848, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, or, even Russia. Labor's power has been transferred from the street to the industry: Job action has displaced the outpouring of the people and the picket line the barricades. The supreme act of the present revolution will not be

the raising of the red flag over the old town hall, but rather the continued and orderly operation of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange by the industrial workers functioning just as they function now; only involving a complete lockout of the parasite class and its upholders. The General Strike to break the final hold of the Parasites in Industry!

This is the modern alignment in the world-wide struggle of the working class to free itself from the curse of wage slavery and exploitation. The revolution of our day will be an industrial struggle and the weapons, to be effective, must be industrial weapons.

The Point of Production

Cannons, airplanes, submarines, mines and machine guns are designed for the use of capitalist class mercenaries. Such weapons are hardly suitable for the modern economic struggle to determine whether the workers or the parasites shall control industry. Here the fight takes place at the point of production and the workers have this one big advantage in this struggle: they are the producing army of industry. The machines are utterly valueless without the brawn and brain of the men who tend them.

The workers are stationed strategically in industry. Unlike the profit-grabbing "owners" they are an indispensable part of the industrial process. Workers are at the machines because they are needed to keep those machines in operation. By sheer force of numbers they already have possession of the industries. They are trained in the use of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange, upon which all the devices of warfare are

dependant. In addition to this the workers' cause, having for its objective the extension of human happiness, has the approval of all right thinking people as compared with the cause of the Kept Class which can of necessity have no other objective save that of the continuation of social parasitism. The workers' power is greater therefore than the power of the capitalist class and its war-like mercenaries.

Capitalism can continue only so long as the working class ignorantly gives it its consent and approval. The exploitation of the many by the few can continue only so long as the many do not know any better than to submit to exploitation. This approval or disapproval can nowhere be expressed so forcibly as in industry where the exploitation takes place. The General Strike will therefore be Labor's economic rejection of its economic enslavement.

Individually under capitalism the wage worker is weaponless. If he has a job and doesn't like it he can quit. If he hasn't got a job he can crawl into an alley and die of starvation. Also he is free to drink himself to death or to take poison or end it all with a bullet, thus doing the master class a favor. Any other private war or revolt of his own against the system is generally classified somewhere between the meaning of the two words, 'misdemeanor' and 'felony'.

The hope of the modern wage slave is in numbers. In class warfare only collective weapons count. He can have strength himself only by combining his individual strength with the massed strength of his fellow workers in industry. The class struggle demands class weapons. Fortunately his position in

class society has forced the wage slave to think in terms of 'we' instead of terms of 'I'.

Fighting Attitudes

The modern wage-slave has been trained to think of power in terms of numbers. In contrast to the craftsman of old times, whose outlook was of necessity limited to that of the individual or the craft, the industrial worker of today is forced to view his troubles from the standpoint of the industry in which he is employed. If he has intelligence at all he can see at once that his personal problem in industry is identically the same as the personal problems of the thousands of workers who are employed in the same plant. Instinctively, when confronted with the greed and ferocity of the exploiting class he thinks not in terms of voting, shooting, bombing and bayoneting (as his masters do), but in terms of striking.

This was true in the beginning when industry was small and it is true today. The only difference is that it is more difficult and takes longer to communicate the impulse of motion to a large object than to a small object. A small strike in the early days of capitalism was a comparatively simple thing. Any strike today under super-capitalism is bound to be bigger and more complicated. The strike impulse, instead of being communicated to dozens or hundreds of men, is communicated to thousands or hundreds of thousands. This impulse, due to the checks and controls encouraged by the employers, may not always succeed in putting the large mass into action. But the impulse is always there and, in the end, large strikes are as inevitable as ever small strikes were.

Job Consciousness and Class Consciousness.

From job consciousness to class consciousness, from job action to industrial action, from the job strike to the General Strike is only a matter of degree. Every strike under modern industrial condition, is a General Strike in embryo. Even the proposed decentralization of industry will merely alter the tactics and strategy of the General Strike. It will in no sense do away with the will of the workers to use the strike as a weapon of ever increasing importance in the class struggle. On the other hand it will weaken the position of the master class by giving them perhaps a dozen heavily picketed scab plants, where they now have but one, to be guarded by their limited army of mercenaries when the great struggle is finally under way.

Regardless of how much political dissatisfaction may exist at any given time the worker's bed-rock complaint against capitalism will continue to be economic. He is robbed at the point of production and at the point of production he must fight against continued exploitation. If it can be shown that anything at all can be done by means of political action to make the workers' struggle easier so much the better. But workers must not delude themselves about the efficacy of political action. No matter how red they vote on election day or whom they elect to office they will discover that their political struggle is but the shadow of their struggle in industry.

The danger of overstressing the importance of political action lies in the fact that workers are thereby led to trust someone else (usually not a member of the working class) to do something for them which, with a little understanding and de-

termination, they could have done a whole lot easier by themselves—and without danger of betrayal. Confidence in political action not only robs the worker of the initiative for independent action, it also leads him into that state of mind where he is willing to exchange one kind of dictatorship for another. The ultimate aim of the General Strike is not to substitute the yoke of capitalism for the yoke of the red politician, the fascist, the militarist—or any other yoke. The General Strike can just as well be used by the workers to institute real industrial freedom and democracy and to do away with all yokes save that of necessary social labor which is the common obligation of everybody born into the world.

Evolution of Industrial Power

In the beginning of the capitalist era the craftsmen were hired either individually or in small groups by the individual employer or partnership. At that time there were no vast and highly specialized industries such as exist today. Neither were there centralized ownership and control of entire industries by a handful of plutocrats operating through interlocking directorates such as we know at present. The plant was a small plant, the boss a small boss and the strike, of necessity, a small strike.

But the small plants did not stay small. With the growth of population and the ripening of the capitalist system they became bigger and bigger. They were merged and consolidated under pressure of economic necessity. They became vast industries. The small shop became a factory, the weaving room a textile mill, the village smithy a foundry. Pittsburgh, Chicago and Detroit arose in all their dismal might and the tentacles of Wall Street reached to the remotest corners of the land. All the while there

were fewer and fewer employers and vaster aggregations of wage-slaves. The actual direction and management of industry passed from the absentee owner to the hired technician and both technician and worker toiled to satisfy the insatiable greed for profits of the entrepreneur and the absentee parasite class.

Of course, it was not as simple as it appears but, in a general way, strikes became larger and the industrial power of the working class proportionately greater. The line-up in the class struggle was no longer between the small employer and the small group of workers but between workers in entire industrial areas and numerically smaller but infinitely more powerful corporations. The mines, mills and factories spread like a plague of vast prisons over the land. And the day of the small strike or small union was gone forever.

All this would have been well if the conscious power of the working class had grown in proportion to the growth of the industry. Machinery did not perceptibly lift the burden of toil from the shoulders of the working class; it simply increased the profits of the parasite owners. The grievances of the wage-slaves became greater and their strikes bigger and ever more bitterly contested.

In capitalist society the acceleration of the machine process not only changes the way men are grouped together in order to work, it also changes the way they group themselves in order to fight. In each country workers react to the class struggle according to the maturity or immaturity of the machine process in that country. This accounts for the fact that combative proletarian tactics suitable for instance to a comparatively backward land like

Russia, are of little value to workers under a highly advanced industrial system like the one prevailing in North America. This also explains why the I. W. W.—the world's outstanding exponent of revolutionary industrial unionism—originated in the U. S. A. where capitalism had reached its most mature and perfect form.

Craft Unions and the General Strike

The purpose of industrial unionism is to give the working class the greatest possible organized power in industry. Unquestionably the General Strike, either on or off the job, is the most perfect manifestation of this power. If the craft unions of today are examined in regard to their adaptability to this end it will put the revolutionary industrial union movement in an entirely new light. Also it will reveal clearly the shortcomings of conventional unionism in general and the craft union movement in particular. After all, the full measure of power is the acid test of any labor organization.

A cursory glance at the craft union movement will reveal the fact that it is constructed in such way as to divide rather than to unify the forces of labor. The craft union is not designed to enable labor to use its full power. This type of union came into existence during the period of industrial evolution known as small production when the tools of the craft and the skill of the craftsman were important things. In those days the organized power of the tradesman consisted in his having a monopoly of the skill necessary to make the tools of his trade industrially productive. The withdrawal of this skill during periods of strikes was all that was necessary to force the old-time employer of labor to terms. Thus it happened that the craft union was organ-

ized around the, then important, tools of the tradesmen.

Tools and Skill Obsolete

But all this has been changed. The onward march of the machine process has to a large extent made both tools and skill unnecessary. This great advance in technical development has made the old fashioned trades union unable to cope with modern conditions. Craft unions still carry on as a matter of habit, it is true, but they are anachronisms in this modern world. Some of them merely serve as pie-cards for the tired business men who are their officials and all such unions serve more or less as props of the existing order. But they are not unions in the modern sense at all. They are merely the shells of once useful unions operating to secure advantages for a few favored groups of workers without regard to the interests of the working class as a whole. They are organized within the capitalist system which they have been taught to take for granted, and they have no thought or program of anything beyond this system.

In relation to the manifest weakness of the trade union structure and concept the I. W. W. Preamble points out with telling emphasis: "We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers."

Labor's Problem is Industrial—not Craft

Labor's problem today is not a craft but an industrial problem. A labor union at the present time, to be an effectual instrument of offense and defense, must conform to the structure of modern industry. It must be industrial rather than craft in form. But the craft unions have not kept pace with the needs of a changing world. They have very largely remained just where they were in the beginning. Far from being the helpful fighting instruments they were in the old days, they have now become merely a further means of effecting the enslavement of the class whose interests they are supposed to serve.

A General Strike of craft unions is an unthinkable impossibility. Being organized for the sole purpose of enabling a few groups of workers to "get by" under capitalism, they lack both the form and spirit necessary to make possible united action for a common objective against a common foe. For this reason, as organized today, they would be of very doubtful help to any unified effort of the working class to free itself from wage slavery by industrial means. The modern industrial struggle demands modern industrial weapons. And in this regard the craft union is as obsolete as the dodo. Workers who conceive of the final struggle for emancipation in terms of industrial power will have to look elsewhere for an organizational form more suitable for this purpose.

The so-called independent industrial unions are in the same category. It is true their rather loose industrial structure makes it possible for them to think of their union in terms of a given industry. But, as in the case of the U. M. W. of A. and other similar unions, they are divided into districts if not

in crafts and are tied down by contracts which make it impossible for them to act in unison. In no case is there evidence of any attempt or desire on their part to ally themselves for purposes of solidarity with transport or other workers on One Big Union lines. Organized railroad, clothing and many other workers in the U. S. A. are similarly, bound, similarly divided and similarly unable to get together for united action of any sort.

As far as the interests of Labor are concerned these steps must be in the right direction. They must not only be distinctly industrial, they must also be unquestionably revolutionary. "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, Abolition of the wage system." So states the I. W. W. Preamble. And in this historic slogan is found the source of the strength and inspiration of the organized industrial workers of all the world.

Political Parties and the General Strike

Working class political parties, while not un-animous in endorsing the General Strike, are frank in admitting the need for economic power in any program of revolutionary reconstruction. Socialists and Communists alike seem to recognize the importance of industrial unionism but they don't do much about it. They can't. Political parties are not organized that way.

On more than one occasion however, particularly in Europe, both Socialists and Communists have appealed to the workers for a General Strike. This is a thing which is more than likely to happen again. The trouble is that these organizations, being political parties and not labor unions, lack the

machinery to put a General Strike into effect. After all other measures fail they issue frantic appeals for what they should have thought about in the first place—industrial solidarity. Usually they are forced to appeal to more or less unsympathetic conservative unions with which their contact has been largely nominal. Such unions, neither in structure or spirit were designed to respond effectively to such demand.

A planned and consciously modern structure is as necessary for the labor union as is a planned economy for society as a whole. To expect **class** action from a **trades** union is at least as foolish as to expect revolutionary planks in a conservative party platform. This haphazard and hit-or-miss method of making eleventh-hour appeals for a General Strike does not indicate the strongest possible confidence in the efficacy of political action. The efforts of the politically-minded Socialists and Communists of Germany in 1932 to call a General Strike in order to forestall Fascism is an example in point. After 1914 they should have known better and should, long since, have prepared for such an emergency by forgetting about the game of politics long enough to build up a powerful industrial movement along One Big Union lines. Then the story would have been vastly different.

The I. W. W. from its inception has held before the workers the goal of industrial democracy to be obtained by means of the General Strike. The Preamble, of which hundreds of millions of copies have been circulated, states in unmistakable terms: "These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in

any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all." Has ever a statement appeared indicating more clearly the organic interdependence, unity and potential power of the world's producers?

In spite of certain misleading surface similarities, which are unduly stressed by shallow observers, the European anarcho-syndicalist movement and the I. W. W. differ considerably in more than one particular. This was made inevitable by reason of the fact that the I. W. W. was the result of a later and more mature period of industrial development.

This accounts for the fact that European Syndicalism, unlike the I. W. W., is not organized into One Big Union on the basis of perfectly co-ordinated, centralized industrial departments. It also accounts for the fact that the form of the I. W. W. is designed to serve not only as a powerful combative force in the everyday class struggle, but also as the structure of the new society both as regards production and administration. Incidentally the I. W. W. concept of the General Strike differs almost as much from that of the anarcho-syndicalist as from that of the political or craft unionist. In form, structure and objective, the I. W. W. is more all-sufficient, more mature and more modern than any of its anarcho-syndicalist predecessors.

Technicians and the I. W. W.

It may be objected that the I. W. W. has not contacted and co-operated with the technician to the extent that the European Syndicalists have done. If this is true at all it is due not to any lack of appreciation of the importance of the technician

in the industrial organism but rather to the fact that the I. W. W. has been embattled in the American class struggle to an extent which made sustained contact difficult.

The I. W. W. has always held the technician as a vitally necessary member of the producing class. He is indispensable to any program of fundamental economic reconstruction. His place, in the One Big Union Chart, corresponds to his place and his importance in industry. The I. W. W. conceives of Industrial Democracy as the technological managerial forces co-operating with the working productive forces of the army of industry under the General Administration of the One Big Union in the interests of the entire human race. Practically from its inception the I. W. W. has welcomed the engineer into its councils. Some of its outstanding educators have been technically trained men. The non-political, anti-entrepreneur, industrially-minded engineer has always been recognized by the I. W. W. as a blood brother. In 1921 an attempt was made by the I. W. W. to build up a Bureau of Industrial Research under the direction of a clear-thinking group of capable engineers with both social vision and a sense of social responsibility. This ambitious project the I. W. W. was forced to abandon because so many of its active officials had at that time been sent to prison. Prior to that time and since, the I. W. W. has preached and practiced that type of disciplined solidarity which, according to the technician, is so vitally necessary to any plan of carrying on production exclusive of the profit-grabbing Captains of Finance.

The I. W. W. is in full agreement with and committed, by a policy of over a quarter of a century,

to the idea that workers and engineers are the only indispensable human elements in modern productive processes. The technician is in every sense of the word a fellow worker. He is the "other self" of the man at the machine—the managerial technological force in industry which counterpoints the productive working forces in the army of production. Both are equally necessary to any plan of carrying on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. Both are equally necessary to any plan of putting an end to the profit system by means other than those of bloodshed and destruction. This point looms big in the I. W. W. doctrine of the General Strike. It is well for technicians, I. W. W. members, and students generally to keep it in mind.

Real Rebels Meet on Common Ground

Nothing could be more natural than this bond of fellowship between the I. W. W. and other industrially minded groups in the army of production or among working class movements. It has been shown that craft and independent industrial unions make the attainment and use of Labor's full economic power impossible or difficult of attainment. It has also been shown that revolutionary political parties, apart from educational and defensive activities, complicate rather than simplify the situation as far as the General Strike is concerned. Therefore the I. W. W. appeals to the workers in the world's industries to put aside prejudices and differences of opinion as to race, color, religion or politics and unite their economic power into One Big Union regardless of national boundary lines in order to put a final end to the hideous monster of world Imperialism which has enslaved and degraded the workers of every nation. The General Strike is

ONE program on which all wage workers should agree.

What is the General Strike?

There has been a great deal of confusion as to just what was meant by the term, General Strike. In the past any strike of considerable proportions has ususally been referred to as a "General Strike". But many times this definition was not really applicable. Much of this misconception results from an erroneous or limited conception as to what a General Strike is and what it is supposed to do. The General Strike, as its name implies, must be a revolutionary or class strike instead of a strike for amelioration of conditions. It must be designed to abolish private ownership of the means of life and to supplant it with social ownership. It must be a strike, not of a few local, industrial or national groupings of workers but of the industrial workers of the world as an entity. If we keep in mind that there are four phases of the General Strike it will help to understand clearly what we mean by using the term:

- 1, A General Strike in a community.
- 2, A General Strike in an Industry.
3. A national General Strike.
- 4, A revolutionary or class strike—THE General Strike.

It will be seen from the above that, while the first three are General Strikes in the limited and commonly accepted meaning of the term, only the last, or revolutionary class strike, is a General Strike in the full meaning of the term. The first three have been attempted at times with varying degrees of success, but the last has yet to be organized and made effective.

Thus, for instance, the display of industrial power by the workers of Finland and Russia in 1905 or that in connection with the upheaval in Moscow which resulted in the overthrow of the Kerensky government in 1917, or the strike of the French Railroad workers in 1909, the great strike in Sweden in 1909, or the strike of the British Triple Alliance in 1924, or the strike in Germany when the administration of Von Kapp was embarrassed in the same manner. There were also important General Strikes in Belgium in 1913, in Buenos Aires in 1920 and again in Great Britain in 1926. All these have been referred to as "General Strikes". And they are General Strikes in the limited sense defined above.

Outstanding "General Strikes"

The so-called General Strike in Denmark which was called by the Socialists to block the forming of an unpopular cabinet by the King is an example in point, as is the now famous attempt of the Italian workers to take over the industries in 1922 and which was defeated by Mussolini, the renegade Red Socialist, who used Syndicalist tactics and understanding to doublecross both workers and politicians in the interests of a nationalism supported by land owners, capitalists and foreign financiers.

The I. W. W. strikes of 100,000 lumber jacks or 40,000 copper miners in 1917 are fair examples of the industrial General Strike, while those affecting Seattle and Winnipeg are examples of the community General Strike. Volumes might be written about each of the instances cited. But in the end it would be plain that in each case the strikes did not cover sufficient area and were not supported by a sufficient number of workers in the various industries. Nor was the abolition of wage-slavery the objective

of these strikes. In other words they were merely the foreshadowing of what Labor could do for itself under greater provocation, inspired by a greater sense of solidarity and with a more perfected organization at its disposal.

The conditions necessary for the successful operation of any of the four kinds of General Strike enumerated above have never existed. But, because it has not as yet been possible to use the economic power of Labor to full advantage, is no sign that such conditions will never exist. It has often been said, quite truthfully that, "one swallow does not make the spring". It is equally true that swallows never visit us in the dead of winter. The fact that Labor has succeeded to a limited extent indicates that it can use its economic power to a much greater extent.

The General Strike, once clearly defined and understood, offers Labor a weapon in the use of which Labor has shown great aptitude and willingness—a weapon with which all other weapons in the class war are puny in comparison. Just as gunpowder displaced the bow and arrow, so economic action will displace Labor's cruder and less potent weapons in the final struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. Only the most shallow-minded critics of working class tactics will seek to discourage the use of Labor's greatest power for the attainment of Labor's highest goal. And only the most superficial observers can fail to see that the organizational plan of the I. W. W. is ideally constructed to enable Labor to use that power

The Constructive General Strike

The I. W. W. believes that the building of the new society, especially during the period of crisis, is at least as important as the abolition of the old. This is not merely a dogma; it is sound tactics. If the aim of the social revolution is to achieve the socialization and democratic control of industry, the time to make that achievement a fact is during the revolutionary crisis, and with as little delay, red-tape or middle class misdirection as possible. At all events it would be fatal to lose track of the goal during the period of turmoil. It should be plain, even to the most casual observer, that European tactics are not altogether suitable for the needs of American labor. In the U. S. A. there is not one, but three distinct types of culture,—the industrial east and middle west, the feudal south and the still pioneering west coast. In any of these it is apparent that it would be an easy thing, under incitation, for the class war to degenerate into a religious, political or race war. And it is even more apparent that the impact of mob violence on the highly developed industrial organism would result in a disaster which might result in universal destruction and ultimate chaos. Sometimes one is forced to wonder at the temerity of the leadership of the American Communist movement in thinking that they can control and direct to constructive ends the sinister forces in the Pandora box of civil war, which they seem eager to release upon a land whose language they hardly know how to speak.

The I. W. W. has always taken the position that armed insurrection in a technically advanced country like the U. S. A. would be quite a different thing from armed insurrection in a technically

backward and largely agricultural country like Russia—particularly under conditions which prevailed in Moscow and Petrograd following the armistice of 1918. What American conditions demand is a large scale operation in the nature of a well-co-ordinated lockout of the Captains of Finance by both workers and technicians which would put an end to the profit system but leave the production and transportation of goods unimpaired. This, coupled with the program of picketing the industries by the unemployed, is what the I. W. W. has in mind in advocating the General Strike. Anything less than this or more, is simply adding confusion unto confusion. The logic runs like this: A perfect modern timepiece can be kicked apart as easily as a tin toy; but it is much harder to put together again.

The Fighting Vanguard

In America the I. W. W. is, and has been since its inception, the standard bearer of revolutionary industrial unionism. From the very beginning the I. W. W. has been industrially-minded. Largely as a result of its constant insistence on the use of economic power, both Socialists and Communists have been forced to admit that, in the revolutionary movement, the labor union is the fighting vanguard. Both parties now seek industrial contacts and both stand, theoretically at least, in favor of industrial unionism. Both will admit, when pinned down to it, that the future society will be organized on the basis of industrial administration rather than political government. The trouble is both parties, due no doubt, to the generous admixture of non-prole-

tarian elements in their ranks, are top-heavy with politics. They think in terms of political campaigns (and even more foolish things) instead of strikes, picket lines and unions which make the attainment of substantial economic power possible. Political parties being organized within specific national boundaries, must of necessity remain nationalistic. In the very nature of things it is impossible for them to conceive of international solidarity save in terms of a federation of national units.

The I. W. W. on the other hand, ignores national boundary lines and views the problem from the standpoint of the closely knit and organically related, world-embracing interdependence of the producing class. The I. W. W. contends that "hands across the sea" must be the hands of industrial workers and not politicians. Nothing more forcibly proves the correctness of this position than the world war. Four and one half millions of Socialist voters in Germany, and additional millions of Socialist voters in France, England and Belgium, were unable to stop the greed-inspired world-cataclysm which started in 1914 and has been progressing ever since. Labor gained nothing from the war. It lost heavily. It paid the cost in blood, misery and substance and it is still paying. And the goal of Labor is even further removed now than it was then. The I. W. W. claimed in 1914, and still claims, that, had the workers of Europe been organized industrially, and drilled, disciplined and educated in the use of industrial power, not only would the imperialist slaughterfest have been impossible, but the final victory of Labor would long since have been achieved.

The Function of the Labor Union

If the political saviors of the working class in the U. S. A. would only profit from this fatal mistake and, even now, seek to build up a powerful revolutionary industrial union movement instead of huge, unwieldy political machines, the prospects for a clean-cut victory for Labor would be immeasurably brighter.

On the face of it the precise function of a political party with its largely non-proletarian leadership in a labor union movement is difficult to determine. The advantage to the rank and file in the union of control by politicians is still harder to discover. To imply that the industrial union, for instance, needs the leadership and domination of the political party is to imply that union men are incapable of managing their own affairs. To admit that the industrial union is and must be merely the adjunct of the political party is to admit that economic power is of less importance than political power and that the labor union is designed to be merely the plaything of the ambitious politician or the tool of the designing bourgeois leader. If this is to be the attitude why is it necessary to have unions at all? Why not go back to the concept of the pre-war "yellow" Socialist who believed that unions were more of a hinderance than a help to the workers inasmuch as the union distracted the mind of the worker from the ballot box? If the term "Industrial Democracy" means anything at all it means that the membership of the union—the actual workers in industry—are entitled to and capable of controlling the affairs of their own organization without interference from outsiders.

Workers Should Build Industrial Power

In teaching the working class the need for and benefits of revolutionary industrial unionism political parties are doing necessary and valuable work. But in seeking to dominate and control the industrial movement from outside or inside political parties, knowingly or otherwise, they are making a ghastly mistake. The I. W. W. still remembers the lesson of 1914.

It stands to reason that it does not and cannot come within the province of a political party to organize or make effective either a General Strike or any other kind of strike. They can advocate, encourage and call for the full or partial use of Labor's industrial power, but only an organization functioning in industry can make such action possible. The political party lacks the machinery either to call or carry on a strike. If it had this machinery it would be a labor union and not a political party. Only the workers organized into their own unions can function either for purposes of combat or administration in this capacity.

For this reason workers in all countries who wish to use their combined industrial power to put an end to exploitation and wage slavery should seek to build up an irresistible One Big Union movement along lines advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. And, unless they wish to give up the principle of democracy for the principle of dictatorship, they should refuse to give over the control of their organization to politicians or non-proletarian leaders of any stripe or color.

The One Big Strike on the Job

It may be argued however that the General Strike might prove to be as difficult to control and, due to the possible paralysis of transport, equally as productive of privation as civil war. If State power were not captured by the workers would not the armed forces of the master class crush the strike with military power? Would not the result in the long run be the same as far as mass starvation and disorganization are concerned?

The answer is that, as the I. W. W. conceives of the General Strike, it would be so perfectly organized by workers and technicians and effectually used that the feeding, supplying and transportation of armed mercenaries would be practically impossible. The strikes at Seattle and Winnipeg gave some indication of the ability of strikers to organize, picket and police their strike and, at the same time arrange for the adequate distribution of food stuffs to the population. As for machine guns, tanks, airplanes and bombs of asphyxiating or incendiary character, it is well to remember that such things are only available when they are manufactured and transported by labor and would be more difficult to use against workers stationed in and about the nation's widely spread industries than against mobs massed together in the labor ghettos of the great cities.

According to the modern idea of the General Strike it would not be at all necessary, during a well organized class movement of this sort for the employed workers to leave their assigned places in industry at all. On the contrary, the effort would be made to get workers into the industries instead of out of them in order to keep the wheels of pro-

duction going. The General Strike, in other words would be a means of feeding rather than of starving the people.

This is in keeping with the I. W. W. program of STRIKING ON THE JOB. The only difference would be that the factory doors, under the direction of the technical managerial staff of the productive forces, would be thrown wide open to absorb the millions of unemployed. The wheels of industry would operate in their customary manner only for the purpose of supplying human needs instead of the enrichment of a profit-greedy Kept Class.

The General Strike therefore would simply mean that the army of production under competent technical and managerial direction, would continue to man and remain in the industries, producing and transporting goods for consumption but refusing any longer to yield up surplus value to the parasite class. The General Strike would be a General Lockout against these idle drones who now hold as their 'private property' the machinery upon which the human race depends for life.

Mass Opposition to Exploitation

The General Strike is conditioned upon the WILL of the workers to make it effective and their stubborn determination to put an end to exploitation by producing goods for USE instead of PROFIT. Unlike the small strike the General Strike does not necessarily depend upon the complete withdrawal of productive effort from machinery, but rather upon their ability to withdraw or withhold only such effort as will put a complete stop to the profits of the parasitic 'owners.'

The ultimate aim of the General Strike as regards wages is to give to each producer the full product of his labor. The demand for better wages becomes revolutionary only when it is coupled with the demand that the exploitation of labor must cease. Labor is exploited at the point of production, and it is at the point of production alone that Labor can stop the idle, absentee drones from receiving any more than they produce. Only the complete disallowal of any share whatever to non-producers will guarantee economic justice to the working class. Working conditions under capitalism have occasioned many bitter controversies but even the most necessary demands for their betterment could hardly be called revolutionary. Even under Industrial Democracy such things will be matters of expediency and consistently sustained improvement, in keeping with recognized needs.

Short Hours, THE Revolutionary Demand

The demand for shorter hours however is decidedly a revolutionary demand. On the basis of an eight hour day less than three hours are all that is necessary for the worker to earn his wage; the rest of the day he is employed in producing surplus value for the boss. Each hour of the shortened workday means for the employed one hour's less profits from every man employed—one hour less opportunity to exploit. This accounts for the fact that the worker's demands for shorter hours have always been contested more vigorously than demands for better conditions or even increased wages.

The reason is obvious: The difference between

the six hour day and the eight hour day is the difference between three hours and five hours given to the employer in which to sweat profits from the hides of his help. each hour of reduction being made at the expense of the exploiter. The difference between the six hour day and, say, the three hour day is the difference between three hours of profit-sweating and none at all. Therefore, if the employer wishes to continue to live off the labor of his wage slaves he must (and does) guard jealously the length of the toiler's work day. Upon it depends not only the amount of his unearned income but also the continuation of his privilege to live without producing.

The chief demand of the General Strike would therefore logically be a demand for an average workday of not longer than three hours or whatever length of time is technologically necessary to carry on production on a non-profit basis. This is the most revolutionary of all demands because it dries up the possibility of class exploitation at its source. Under a planned industrial system and with the perfected machinery of modern production placed at the disposal of the human race even with the present staff of competent directors there is no reason at all (apart from the profit system) why any one should be forced to work longer than two and a half or three hours per day. Any workday longer than that required to do the actual necessary work of the world simply serves to fatten the already hog-fat parasites of industry. The General Strike for the three hour day would not only put the millions of unemployed back to work, but it would also put the Thieves of Big Business to work alongside of them. In this regard it is well

to remember that I. W. W. loggers in the northwest won the eight hour day by the simple expedient of blowing the whistle at the end of eight hours and then walking off the job en-masse.

The General Strike and General Picketing

The I. W. W. is credited with having introduced two outstanding tactics of industrial warfare into the American labor movement,—the strike on the job and mass picketing by the unemployed. Both of these are of utmost importance to the successful operation of the General Strike. In fact the success of the move (apart from competent technological direction) would depend upon the solidarity existing between employed and unemployed workers. In a class strike this solidarity is indispensable, because only by joint action and common understanding of this sort can the hours of labor be shortened to permit all to return to work. The effect on the capitalist system of millions of unemployed picketing the factory gates for a shorter workday can easily be imagined. By so doing the jobless would not only be hitting at the root cause of unemployment (long hours) but they would also be hitting at the root cause of exploitation (the private ownership of socially necessary machinery).

It may be objected that, admitting the General Strike to be a good thing, there is still but slight possibility that it will ever be used. The answer is affirmative. There is every reason to believe that a victory by the General Strike is far more probable than a victory by either ballots or bullets. It must be admitted however that its possibility is impaired by the insistent promulgation by politicians, insurrectos and reformers of non-industrial methods, just as it would be helped by an agres-

sive educational campaign along revolutionary industrial union lines. Unless a great effort is made to direct the growing discontent of the working class along industrial lines for the attainment of Industrial Democracy by means of the General Strike many other things are likely to happen. The only other alternatives appear to be mob disorders and dictatorship of one kind or another. Workers should make every effort to get what they want, but they should be mighty sure they want it.

The New Society Not Inevitable

The capitalist system, rotten as it is, has resources which cannot be overlooked. The armed forces of the state are not nearly so formidable as the venal press and other avenues of publicity and class mis-education. The capitalist press and class-controlled radio are perhaps the very strongest bulwarks for the established order. By means of these, labor hatred and mob frenzy can be lashed to fever heat at any time and against any individual or group which dares to challenge the capitalist system. It will be recalled however that newspaper workers have at times, notably in Seattle, refused to set-up or print slanderous and inflammatory anti-labor editorial matter. So here as well as in the manufacture and transportation of war material, the economic power of the workers can be used to advantage.

The system of exploitation is still strongly entrenched and deeply rooted in the economic ignorance as well as in the habits, customs and imbecile individualism of the groove-minded electorate. But regardless of these obvious advantages the upholders of the present order are fighting a losing fight. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness as a

social system. It has become a curse to the entire human race. There is no further historical justification for its existence. It has become an obstacle to further social progress. It is doomed by the iron law of inexorable change. Just as chattel slavery yielded to serfdom and serfdom to wage slavery, so the latter is forced by evolutionary and revolutionary pressure to make way for scientific industrialism—Industrial Democracy. But even this is not inevitable, for the present ruling class shows unmistakable willingness to plunge the entire world into disorganization and chaos. They may succeed unless steps are soon taken to stop them.

Let Come What May . . .

Already the world is a tumult of disorder and rebellion due to starvation and misrule. No individual or organization can predict with blue-print precision what course events may take in each of the civilized countries, during the last days of the expiring social order. All that we are able to see in the light of social science is that the industries must be taken over by the ones who use them and need them and be operated for use instead of profit. The socialization of the means of production, transportation and exchange is now necessary for the survival of the human race. Only the workers are in a position to do this and it is their duty **AT ALL COSTS** to see that it is done. Properly organized and disciplined no power on earth can stop the aroused working class from coming into its own.

The scientifically sound and thoroughly constructive character of the I. W. W. program has never been stressed more forcibly than in the concluding paragraphs of its Preamble: "It is the

historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

"Labor Shall be All"

"Sieze the industries," is at present a discredited slogan, for, by inference, we are led to understand that this means to sieze the industries from the outside. But, frankly, is it necessary for workers to "sieze" something they already have?

Every day, on the job, workers are in possession of the industries. The problem is not how to "sieze" them, but how to keep from giving them up. The scientific modern General Strike would have a much simpler slogan and a much more sensible program: For the employed: "Retain the industries, but refuse to produce for profit". For the unemployed: "Picket the industries and refuse to scab or to let anyone else scab."

It is vitally necessary for the present "owners" that machinery and resources be manned by labor. It is equally necessary, during the revolutionary transition, that labor refuse to relinquish its hold on machinery either to the "owners" or to their scabs or mercenaries.

That labor will defend its own interests goes without saying. The I. W. W. has taught and is teaching workers to fight, not to beg—to demand, not to plead for what they want. And in this final struggle to free the world from social parasitism, courage, clear-thinking and fearless fighting spirit are needed as never before.

Realizing that the control of industry can only come into the hands of the producing class when the producers have sufficient power to keep and to hold this control, the I. W. W. advocates the General Strike on the job reinforced by formidable, determined revolutionary picket-lines of unemployed. The change from private to social ownership being inevitable, only thus can the danger of serious destruction and bloodshed be minimized.

The workingclass should bend every effort to this end. The full current of the revolutionary movement should be directed from the streets to the industries. The revolutionary struggle should be thought out and fought out in terms of industrial action—control, defense, operation. The class struggle, in the last analysis, must be a struggle to control the means of production, transportation and exchange. It will probably be a bitter fight, but one that can have but one ending—complete victory for the workers in the world's industries.

Let come what may, no worker should count the cost. Even at the worst a General Strike could scarcely entail more privation and suffering than one of capitalism's many and all too frequent depressions. Compared with the stupid and useless holocaust of 1914 it would be a holiday. The General Strike is saner than insurrection and surer than political action. And beyond it—after the storm—is a scientifically planned and ordered world based on peace, plenty and security for martyred humanity. What other thing is more worth striving for by courageous men and women than the ideal of this classless Industrial Democracy for which the I. W. W. has battled so valorously and for so many years?

DISALLOWING ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP

NOW, this revolutionary posture of the present state of the industrial arts may be undesirable in some respects, but there is nothing to be gained by denying the facts. So soon—but only so soon—as the engineers draw together, take common counsel, work out a plan of action and decide to disallow absentee ownership out of hand, that move will have been made. The obvious and simple means of doing it is a conscientious withdrawal of efficiency; that is to say the general strike to include so much of the country's staff of technicians as will suffice to incapacitate the industrial system at large by their withdrawal for such time as may be required to enforce their argument.

But so long as they have not, at least, the tolerant consent of the population at large, backed by the aggressive support of the trained working force engaged in transportation and in the greater primary industries, they will be substantially helpless to set up a practicable working organization on the new footing the working out of a common understanding and a solidarity of sentiment between the technicians and the working force engaged in transportation and in the greater underlying industries of the system: to which is to be added as being nearly indispensable from the outset, an active adherence to this plan on the part of the trained workers in the great generality of the mechanical industries.

As a matter of course, the powers and duties of the incoming directorate will be of a technological nature, in the main if not altogether; inasmuch as the purpose of its coming into control is the care of the community's material welfare by a more competent management of the country's industrial system. It may be added that even in the unexpected event that the contemplated overturn should, in the beginning, meet with armed opposition from the partizans of the old order, it will still be true that the duties of the incoming directorate will be of a technological character, in the main; inasmuch as warlike operations are now substantially a matter of technology, both in the immediate conduct of hostilities and in the still more urgent work of material support and supply.

THORSTEIN VEBLEN
in "The Engineers and The Price System".

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The press is the life of any modern movement. The I. W. W. press is fearless. It fights the boss class without compromise. It is the workers' best educational and agitational instrument. Make the I. W. W. press more powerful and you will have stronger organization, and more of the good things of life which can be secured only by industrial organization.

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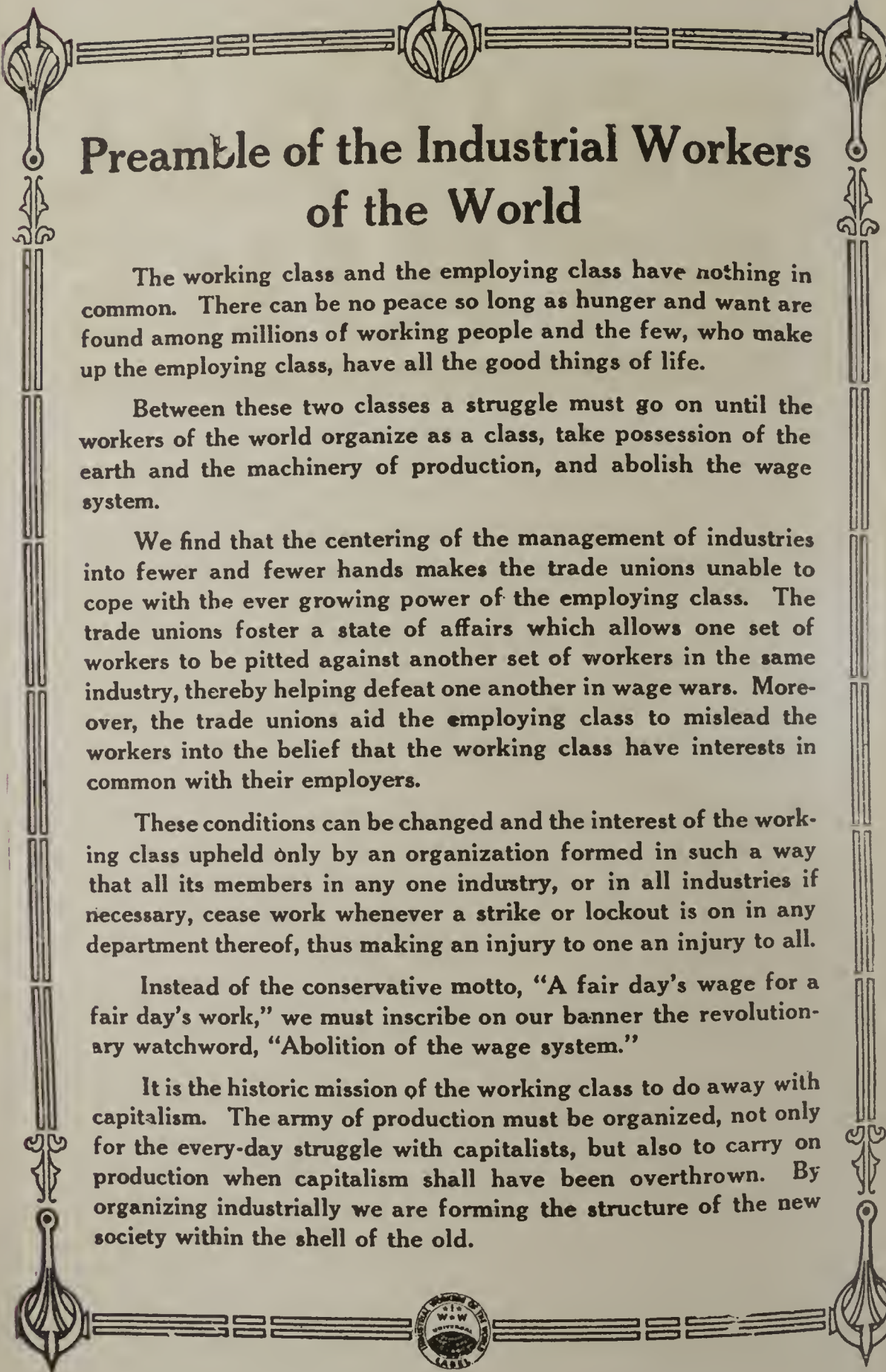
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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



The **GENERAL STRIKE**

● Thousands of thoughtful and class-conscious workers in years past have looked to the General Strike for deliverance from wage slavery. Today their hopes are stronger than ever. Their number has been increased with additional thousands who are confident that the General Strike, and the General Strike alone, can save Humanity from the torture and degradation of the continuation of capitalism and the misery and privation of its recurrent wars and depressions.

The General Strike is the child of the Labor Movement. It is Labor's natural reaction to a system of society based upon the private ownership of the machinery of production. It is Labor's ultimate attitude in the class struggle. It is Labor's answer to the problem of economic disorganization.

Logically enough the General Strike has become the rallying-cry of millions of persons the world over who favor it simply because they do not wish to see the highly industrialized modern world sink into chaos, and human society sink to the level of savage survival.

The idea of the General Strike is here to stay. It came into being with the perfection of the machine process and the centralization of control which made

it possible. And it will remain as a constant challenge to capitalism as long as the machinery of production is operated for profit instead of for use.

Why The General Strike?

● Every intelligent person now realizes that there is something radically wrong with the social system under which we are living. Everyone, excepting the beneficiaries of this system, agrees that something ought to be done about it. The trouble is that people at present seem unable to agree on any common program of action. Some accept their unhappy lot with a patience and fortitude worthy of a better cause, others theorize ineffectually and do little, while still others complain bitterly and strike out blindly. Nearly everyone rushes hither and thither seeking escape but without having any clear-cut objective in view. Considering the control of the press and all mediums of misinformation and propaganda by the present ruling class this situation is not to be wondered at.

Let us examine briefly the things people in general are saying and doing about the desperate situation now confronting society: One group says: "Let us be patient until pressure of public opinion brings about a change or at least a betterment of conditions." Another group says: "As long as we have the ballot let us use political action to bring about whatever changes are necessary." Still another group states: "We cannot wait any longer. Only a violent upheaval . . . armed insurrection!"

These groups, regardless of their differences of opinion, are composed of men and women who have given some thought and study to the subject. They deserve credit for trying to find a solution for the baffling problem confronting them. No matter how

mistaken they may be their efforts are at least directed toward making the world a fit place to live in. Unfortunately the majority of the population have not gone this far. The majority still lives and suffers in a condition of unthinking bewilderment. They simply do not know what it is all about. Just as they have done, for ages past, they are content to work like robots or starve like dumb beasts without daring to organize to put a stop to the system which is crushing them. And, what is worse they are actually misled into supporting this system.

Economic Illness, Economic Cure

● But there is still another and far more significant group. This group represents the viewpoint of the awakened and class-conscious working class. Its opposition to the present order is unalterable and its methods and objective distinctly those of the world's revolutionary proletariat. This group takes the position that, in the face of the present disintegration of the profit or wage system, public opinion, political action and armed insurrection are too unwieldy, too uncertain and too unscientific to serve in so great an emergency. This group advocates a General Strike of the world's army of production and its managerial staff as the means of putting an end to capitalism, and inaugurating in its place an era of scientific industrialism and industrial democracy.

The argument for the General Strike is based on the persistent and very logical working class conviction that the ruling class will refuse to permit itself to be dispossessed by any power weaker than its own and that public opinion, political action and insurrection therefore will not be permitted to be developed or used to any appreciable extent. It is further based on

the firm belief that Labor alone can save the world from chaos during and following the period of transition. As long as the production of goods under any system depends upon the disciplined solidarity of the producing class it is evident that this solidarity alone is capable of stopping the operations of the old order or of starting and continuing those of the new.

Public Opinion

● In this sense the General Strike is not only the hope of Labor; it is the hope of the human race. It is the one method which will be found trust-worthy when all other methods fail. If it is true, as many believe, that the economic maladjustments of modern society can be remedied only by economic measures, then the General Strike will become increasingly important with every passing day. The necessity for the collective ownership and democratic operation of socially necessary machinery is now conceded by technician, economist, student and class conscious worker alike. There is diversity of opinion as to how the change is to be made, but there is no lack of unanimity as to the advisability of the change. In this regard the program of the General Strike is too important not to be seriously considered.

As a matter of fact any power less potent than that of the General Strike is bound to be of doubtful efficacy. Public opinion in America at its best is merely a means of registering the disapproval or indignation of an intelligent minority. At its worst it is all that the Powers that Be could expect of it—mass hysteria and mob violence to be directed at will by those affluent enough to buy it on the market like any other commodity. Any public opinion which ignores the basic fact of the class struggle is

bound to be a hypocritical gesture. In this regard the liberals are among the worst offenders. The weak cry of the conventional liberal for peace in a peaceless world is one of the most convincing evidences of the innate sterility of the liberal attitude. Due to their hopelessly restricted outlook these middle class muddlers are unable to see the inevitability of struggle and strife as long as society is divided into two classes with irreconcilable interests.

Reformers

● Unless the class struggle is used as the key, human history will remain a matter of guesswork. Unless the evolution of society is studied in the light of social science, social changes will remain inexplicable. How much clearer and less confusing is the position of the Industrial Workers of the World as expressed in its Preamble, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things in life." This is submitted as a clear-cut statement of undeniable fact.

Reformers of all types are and must be primarily concerned with the patching up of the decayed and historically unjustifiable capitalist system. They are unable to see society as a process of change under economic pressure—a continuous evolution from one stage of development to another, based on the iron law of economic determinism. Under chattel slavery or serfdom these myopic gentlemen would have believed as they do now under capitalism that the existing system was permanent, preordained and historically unassailable. To them riches and poverty are

not the result of definable and remediable social maladjustments but the normal condition of human life. The invention of labor saving, profit increasing machinery, as they see it, was not a part of an evolutionary process; they prefer to believe it was merely a convenient and very profitable accident. They are childishly amazed that their right to monopolize the earth and its resources should ever be contested. There are even authors, editors and professors who support them in this fantastic illusion. On this point the position of the I. W. W. is as startling as it is scientifically sound: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system." If any liberal is capable of seeing that far he is already cured of his liberalism.

Public opinion being largely at the mercy of the predatory interests through their control of the press, radio, etc., is therefore largely out of the question as a means of effecting fundamental social change. Even the unusual program and personality of Gandhi would be helpless in the face of the private control of public opinion which exists in the U. S. A. Within a fortnight the mild-mannered Mahatma would no doubt be heaved into the hoosegow charged with planting a bomb or engineering a pay-roll robbery. Such things have happened before with the public being far from unconvinced.

And so the capitalist control of the machinery of publicity coupled with the economic ignorance of the much divided and long misled masses makes public opinion as the sole method of ending the nightmare of capitalism somewhat remote. Unless crystalized into definite and determined action of some sort or other, about all we can expect from public opinion is

the registering of belated and somewhat pathetic disapproval.

Politicos

● Political action as a method of obtaining control of the machinery of production seems also peculiarly unconvincing. Only the most naive of politically-minded revolutionists believe that the ballot or constitutional amendments will induce the Vested Interests to give over control and title to the privately owned machinery of production. It is manifestly absurd to expect the class which has stained the pages of history red in countless labor struggles to give over complete control because the electorate (whom they despise) have seen fit to demand it. The parasite class of the U. S. A. can be relied upon not to relinquish their sacrosanct rights to 'property' until they are confronted with a power greater than that which they have at their command. Anything less will be scoffed at.

What is more probable, in the light of past experience, than their capitulation is that the right of suffrage will be revoked or curtailed the moment it threatens to be used for any purpose other than the customary horse-swapping. Even with the menace of the ever-present potential fascist dictatorship removed, there is little reason to believe that the rich will ever hand over their property to the poor just because the poor have decided to vote for it.

Insurrectos

● The program of armed insurrection is open to as many angles of criticism as that of political action. First of all the workers as a whole are not only unarmed, but they are untrained in the use of arms.

Twelve air planes can destroy a city and it is quite unlikely that a city full of armed workers could control even so small a force of capitalist mercenaries. The technique of modern warfare has made the rifle and side-arm and even grenades and machine guns obsolete in the face of tanks, poison gas, planes and heavy artillery. The advocacy of armed insurrection is fatally misleading because it induces workers to believe that what was done in a backward country can be duplicated in a thoroughly modern one. In America the chances of mobs defeating highly trained troops are anything but even. Then there is the danger of premature revolution precipitated by fanatics or stool pigeons.

The advocacy of armed insurrection is misleading also because most of its protagonists, being politically minded and politically trained, are more determined to capture State power than to capture the industries. The politician is utterly incapable of thinking in terms of industry. He is incompetent either to control or to direct industrial processes. In a country like the U. S. A. with 48 state and hundreds of municipal and county capitals in addition to the federal capital in Washington—all adequately guarded—the problem is almost hopelessly complicated. At the worst an attempt at armed uprising would result in a series of unprecedented massacres, at best in an overtowering and very stupid bureaucracy or an equally stupid and far more cruel dictatorship of politicians.

It is far more probable that neither the ballots of the politicians nor the bullets of the insurrectos will ever have an opportunity to 'get to first base.' With the final struggle impending it is very probable that all weapons save that of economic action will have been taken out of their hands. For this reason it is more necessary for Labor to study and prepare itself

for the General Strike than to trust its fortunes to either ballots or bullets as a sole means of effecting its deliverance from the toils of wage slavery.

Industrial Solidarity

● The General Strike has allied in its service thinkers and men of action of many different schools of thought. For over a quarter of a century the Industrial Workers of the World have consistently advocated the General Strike as Labor's mightiest weapon in the class struggle.

At the present time there is scarcely a Socialist, or Communist Party or Libertarian group anywhere in the world which does not contain minorities, at least that are frank in admitting that the class struggle is largely an industrial struggle and that the final victory must be won by industrial instead of political methods. The many defeats of politically powerful Socialist movements in Europe in the face of war and dictatorship have convinced them of the inadequacy of political action, the futility of violence and of the irresistible logic and power of the General Strike.

It looks like a far cry from Bill Haywood to Thorstein Veblen, yet the non-conformist labor leader and suave and erudite professor meet on common ground in advocating the General Strike.

Not only is it true that Professor Veblen is in perfect accord with the industrial philosophy, program and methods of the I. W. W. in regard to the General Strike, but the preponderance of competent technological opinion of America favors that viewpoint also. The advanced technician has learned from experience to look upon the General Strike with favor. He sees in it the quickest and most dependable method of keeping the vital processes of production and trans-

portation unimpaired during the impending breakdown of the system of production for profit.

Firm and Unshakable

● The General Strike, compared with the transient ameliorative slogans and platforms of political parties is as firm and unshakable as the Rocky Mountains. It is as basic as the instinct to live and as fundamental as industry. All the panaceas and nostrums of the politician and labor union reformer sound shallow and meaningless when considered side by side with industrial action of such magnitude and possibilities.

The politician who seeks to pervert the General Strike into a mere adjunct to a political party is like the tail trying to wag the dog. The logical and legitimate objective of the General Strike is the abolition of capitalism—not reform or political trading of any sort. The General Strike is not the toy of ambitious politicians. It is the red rainbow across the sky of industrial desperation. It is a permanent warning to politicians to keep their promises, to Authority to be careful and to dictators to disappear. The General Strike is Labor's life insurance against betrayal.

Nothing can be more logical than that the General Strike offers a program which is excellent neutral common meeting ground for the two and seventy warring sects of the Labor movement.

If the time ever comes when the organized working class is capable of outgrowing or putting aside the ancient prejudices of political thought, the General Strike will be welcomed for what it is—Labor's supreme weapon for Labor's supreme struggle.

There has never been a major labor struggle anywhere in the world in which the General Strike was not discussed and there has never been a labor union

anywhere which has not at one time or another ardently desired to use it in the never-ending struggle against corporate greed and economic injustice.

Direct Action is Instinctive

● The interests of the workers and the employers are diametrically opposed and each side uses such weapons in the class struggle as are suitable for their purposes. The absentee owners of the industry, unlike the middle class, are too smart to take the politician seriously. And in this respect they are far wiser than many of the workers.

The real capitalists have a contempt for the politician and use him merely as a tool. Being rooted in industry by reason of ownership and deriving their incomes from the surplus value sweated from the hides of their wage slaves they tolerate no intermediaries in the struggle between the workers and themselves. If, for instance, they wish to cut wages, lengthen the hours of the work day or employ women and children in place of men, they just go ahead and do it. They do not call upon a politician to help them. They do not have to. Every time they discipline, discharge or lay off a bunch of workers the employers are using direct action. Every time the black-list or spy system is used on the job, every time scabs, strike-breakers or gun-thugs are used, every time the speed-up system, poor conditions, long hours and low wages are enforced the employers are using industrial action against their slaves.

A depression is nothing but a lockout against labor. The owners of the industries simply close up shop and cease operations because they can no longer get their customary profits. And all the laws and politicians in the world, or all the armies in the world,

could not force them to start up again unless it would pay them to do so. Business is business. The employing class knows full well what industrial power means. They use it all the time in the form of merciless lock-outs, strikes and sabotage against labor. But, they are decidedly unwilling to have labor retaliate in kind.

Their defense is wide open only at one point: they get their profits out of the hides of the workers and no place else. And if the workers by a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" refuse to be exploited beyond a certain point or refuse to be exploited at all, the exploiters can do little. Their machinery will produce neither profits nor anything else until it is oiled with the sweat of human labor. They fear the General Strike more than anything on earth because they know that the General Strike would in reality be a general lockout—the end of the present dominating class. Against this mighty industrial force they have neither cunning nor power to defend themselves.

The Scissorbill Worker

● But they do have the cunning and the power to fool and mislead the workers and to keep the workers' forces divided so that united action is difficult of attainment. Due to capitalist control of the press, radio and avenues of publicity and education, the workers are effectually denied the right to call their minds their own. In fact the scissorbill workers have but little in their heads which they can call their own. Their minds belong to the last editor, speaker or politician or educator who filled the aching void with insidious poison of anti-proletarian misinformation. Such workers not only play the sucker end in the shell game of capitalism, but they also are too dumb and blind to figure out what has happened when things

go wrong. That is why they are called "scissorbills."

But, no matter how they suffer from insecurity and privation under capitalism this type of worker can do nothing for their own interests until they learn to think for themselves. If you are a wage-slave with a capitalist mind, or a decaying middle class mind you will no doubt scratch your head and wonder what the General Strike can possibly mean to you. At first you will not like the idea. You will probably figure that it means turning upside down all the things you had respect for and had confidence in.

The Rebel Worker

● But the class conscious worker is different. He has discarded the capitalist prejudices and submissiveness to exploitation and lies. He has shed his middle class faith in both politicians and the efficacy of political action. He knows what is wrong with the world and knows just what ought to be done to put an end to that wrong. He is no longer apathetic or indifferent to his class interests. He can no longer be fooled. He realizes that he, as a member of the working class, is rooted in industry and must unite and make common cause with all other workers in industry, and become an eager active fighter in the struggle to free the world from the age-long curse of social parasitism. He knows what the word strike means and does not have to be told that it is his strongest and surest weapon.

Rebel workers who have been drilled, disciplined and hardened in the class struggle recognize instinctively that the strike is labor's natural weapon. They know what industrial power is and know how to use it. They have been forced to use it all their lives in little things and are willing to use it for bigger things

—for everything. They have learned from experience that delegating their power into the hands of politicians is more likely to result in disappointment and betrayal than it is in profit to themselves. They have learned that even in their unions they must have real democracy in order to keep their officials straight. In the class war they are convinced that the strike is the thing.

Labor's Natural Weapon

● The logic is simple. If wages are too low to meet the needs of life, if the hours of labor are too long or working conditions intolerable, the thing to do is not call some witch-doctor of a politician, but simply quit work in sufficient numbers and with sufficient solidarity to force a shut-down of operations until the evils are remedied.

Every workingman and woman knows these things to be true. They do not have to read about a strike in books or to have it explained to them by a professor. When the time comes to strike they strike. And no one can convince them that there is anything else left to do but to strike. Workers as a rule do not take politics very seriously unless they are paid to vote, which is often the case, or unless they are intimidated and herded to the polls by racketeering ward-healers in the interests of a corrupt political machine.

As a rule they vote just as they would bet on a prize fight—to see if they can pick a winner. But they do take their striking seriously. And when it becomes plain to the workers that they can put an end to the interminable misery and uncertainty of capitalism by means of a big strike just as easily as they defeated a wage-cut with a small one they will strike with the same vigor and the same determination.

And this is the very type of mind which the advanced development of capitalism is forcing upon them. Strikes have a way of becoming bigger with each passing year. The workers' very association with productive industry suggests and controls the methods they must use in the industrial struggle. Like their employers they are forced by their surroundings to think in terms of direct action. The strike grows in power and scope. The strike is Labor's natural weapon and the centralization of control in industry makes the prospect of a General Strike more than a mere possibility.

Industrial Strategy

● Webster defines the word 'weapon' as, "any instrument of offense or defense." Surely the machinery of production is capable of being used for offense and defense both by the employing and the working class. Every strike, every lockout proves that the control and operation of modern machinery has developed a new technique of warfare as well as the most powerful weapons the world has ever known. We are trying to show that control of this machinery is the weapon which gives the employing class dominion over all the world, and that use of this machinery gives the working class ultimate power over the so-called owners.

The invention of gunpowder altered the course of human history and so did the steam engine, airplane and radio. Military science concedes that the factory behind the lines is as important as the human cannon-fodder in the trenches for the winning of a war. God is no longer on the side of the strongest battalions, as Napoleon said. He is now on the side of the most perfectly organized industries. Workers should keep in mind that the real weapons of the machine age are the machines themselves.

It has frequently been stated that in the next war there will be no non-combatants. This is but another way of saying that the machine is as potent a weapon as the cannon. Military forces are worse than useless unless they are supplied with food, supplies and transportation. Both in warfare and industry the individual counts less and the mass more. Individual power is nothing, collective power, everything. An army in battle that is not organized is merely a mob. Workers in industry who are not organized are in the same category. They must be organized by their technical directors and foremen in order to produce efficiently. They must organize themselves into industrial unions, just as they are grouped in the industries, if they ever hope to use the weapon of economic power in their own behalf.

The day of the small war or the small strike is gone forever. Labor, without organization and disciplined solidarity, without unity and singleness of purpose must of necessity remain in its traditional rut. Labor cannot emancipate itself until it learns to use the mighty weapons which contact with the machinery of production has placed in its hands.

Revolutions, Old and New

● The onward march of the machine process has not only changed the method and tactics of warfare, it has also changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. It has done this by making old weapons obsolete and by making new weapons available. Warfare used to be an art; now it is an industry. The ancient art of arms is now practiced chiefly for sport. Nowadays a nation does not settle down to the grim business of war until the wheels of industry start turning.

The onward march of the machine process has completely changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. Modern airplanes, poison and incendiary gas, artillery and machine guns in the hands of highly trained specialists have put the unarmed and practically untrained worker at a decided disadvantage in the matter of military combat. But even if the odds were equal it would be an act of folly for workers in any highly industrialized country to take as their models the classical revolutions of 1848, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, or, even Russia. Labor's power has been transferred from the street to the industry. Job action has displaced the outpouring of the people and the picket line the barricades. The supreme act of the present revolution will not be the raising of the red flag over the old town hall, but rather the continued and orderly operation of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange by the industrial workers functioning just as they function now; only involving a complete lockout of the parasite class and its upholders. The General Strike to break the final hold of the Parasites in Industry!

This is the modern alignment in the world-wide struggle of the working class to free itself from the curse of wage slavery and exploitation. The revolution of our day will be an industrial struggle and the weapons, to be effective, must be industrial weapons.

The Point of Production

● Cannons, airplanes, submarines, mines and machine guns are designed for the use of capitalist class mercenaries. Such weapons are hardly suitable for the modern economic struggle to determine whether the workers or the parasites shall control industry. Here

the fight takes place at the point of production and the workers have this one big advantage in this struggle: they are the producing army of industry. The machines are utterly valueless without the brawn and brain of the men who tend them.

The workers are stationed strategically in industry. Unlike the profit-grabbing "owners" they are an indispensable part of the industrial process. Workers are at the machines because they are needed to keep those machines in operation. By sheer force of numbers they already have possession of the industries. They are trained in the use of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange, upon which all the devices of warfare are dependent. In addition to this the workers' cause, having for its objective the extension of human happiness, has the approval of all right thinking people as compared with the cause of the Kept Class which can of necessity have no other objective save that of the continuation of social parasitism. The workers' power is greater therefore than the power of the capitalist class and its war-like mercenaries.

Capitalism can continue only so long as the working class ignorantly gives it its consent and approval. The exploitation of the many by the few can continue only so long as the many do not know any better than to submit to exploitation. This approval or disapproval can nowhere be expressed so forcibly as in industry where the exploitation takes place. The General Strike will therefore be Labor's economic rejection of its economic enslavement.

Individually under capitalism the wage worker is weaponless. If he has a job and doesn't like it he can quit. If he hasn't got a job he can crawl into an alley and die of starvation. Also he is free to drink himself

to death or to take poison or end it all with a bullet, thus doing the master class a favor. Any other private war or revolt of his own against the system is generally classified somewhere between the meaning of the two words, 'misdemeanor' and 'felony.'

The hope of the modern wage slave is in numbers. In class warfare only collective weapons count. He can have strength himself only by combining his individual strength with the massed strength of his fellow workers in industry. The class struggle demands class weapons. Fortunately his position in class society has forced the wage slave to think in terms of 'we' instead of terms of 'I'.

Fighting Attitudes

● The modern wage-slave has been trained to think of power in terms of numbers. In contrast to the craftsman of old times, whose outlook was of necessity limited to that of the individual or the craft, the industrial worker of today is forced to view his troubles from the standpoint of the industry in which he is employed. If he has intelligence at all he can see at once that his personal problem in industry is identically the same as the personal problems of the thousands of workers who are employed in the same plant. Instinctively, when confronted with the greed and ferocity of the exploiting class he thinks not in terms of voting, shooting, bombing and bayoneting (as his masters do), but in terms of striking.

This was true in the beginning when industry was small and it is true today. The only difference is that it is more difficult and takes longer to communicate the impulse of motion to a large object than to a small object. A small strike in the early days of capitalism was a comparatively simple thing. Any strike

today under super-capitalism is bound to be bigger and more complicated. The strike impulse, instead of being communicated to dozens or hundreds of men, is communicated to thousands or hundreds of thousands. This impulse, due to the checks and controls encouraged by the employers, may not always succeed in putting the large mass into action. But the impulse is always there and, in the end, large strikes are as inevitable as ever small strikes were.

Job Consciousness and Class Consciousness

● From job consciousness to class consciousness, from job action to industrial action, from the job strike to the General Strike is only a matter of degree. Every strike under modern industrial condition, is a General Strike in embryo. Even the proposed decentralization of industry will merely alter the tactics and strategy of the General Strike. It will in no sense do away with the will of the workers to use the strike as a weapon of ever increasing importance in the class struggle. On the other hand it will weaken the position of the master class by giving them perhaps a dozen heavily picketed scab plants, where they now have but one, to be guarded by their limited army of mercenaries when the great struggle is finally under way.

Regardless of how much political dissatisfaction may exist at any given time the worker's bed-rock complaint against capitalism will continue to be economic. He is robbed at the point of production and at the point of production he must fight against continued exploitation. If it can be shown that anything at all can be done by means of political action to make the workers' struggle easier so much the better. But workers must not delude themselves about the efficacy of political action. No matter how red they vote on

election day or whom they elect to office they will discover that their political struggle is but the shadow of their struggle in industry.

The danger of overstressing the importance of political action lies in the fact that workers are thereby led to trust someone else (usually not a member of the working class) to do something for them which, with a little understanding and determination, they could have done a whole lot easier by themselves—and without danger of betrayal. Confidence in political action not only robs the worker of the initiative for independent action, it also leads him into that state of mind where he is willing to exchange one kind of dictatorship for another. The ultimate aim of the General Strike is not to substitute for the yoke of capitalism, the yoke of the red republican, the fascist, the militarist—or any other yoke. The General Strike can just as well be used by the workers to institute real industrial freedom and democracy and to do away with all yokes save that of necessary social labor which is in the common obligation of everybody born into the world.

Evolution of Industrial Power

● In the beginning of the capitalist era the craftsmen were hired either individually or in small groups by the individual employer or partnership. At that time there were no vast and highly specialized industries such as exist today. Neither were there centralized ownership and control of entire industries by a handful of plutocrats operating through interlocking directorates such as we know at present. The plant was a small plant, the boss a small boss and the strike, of necessity, a small strike.

But the small plants did not stay small. With the

growth of population and the ripening of the capitalist system they became bigger and bigger. They were merged and consolidated under pressure of economic necessity. They became vast industries. The small shop became a factory, the weaving room a textile mill, the village smithy a foundry. Pittsburgh, Chicago and Detroit arose in all their dismal might and the tentacles of Wall Street reached to the remotest corners of the land. All the while there were fewer and fewer employers and vaster aggregations of wage-slaves. The actual direction and management of industry passed from the absentee owner to the hired technician and both technician and worker toiled to satisfy the insatiable greed for profits of the entrepreneur and the absentee parasite class.

Of course, it was not as simple as it appears but, in a general way, strikes became larger and the industrial power of the working class proportionately greater. The line-up in the class struggle was no longer between the small employer and the small group of workers but between workers in entire industrial areas and numerically smaller but infinitely more powerful corporations. The mines, mills and factories spread like a plague of vast prisons over the land. And the day of the small strike or small union was gone forever.

All this would have been well if the conscious power of the working class had grown in proportion to the growth of the industry. Machinery did not perceptibly lift the burden of toil from the shoulders of the working class; it simply increased the profits of the parasite owners. The grievances of the wage-slaves became greater and their strikes bigger and ever more bitterly contested.

In capitalist society the acceleration of the machine

process not only changes the way men are grouped together in order to work, it also changes the way they group themselves in order to fight. In each country workers react to the class struggle according to the maturity or immaturity of the machine process in that country. This accounts for the fact that combative proletarian tactics suitable for instance to a comparatively backward land like Russia, are of little value to workers under a highly advanced industrial system like the one prevailing in North America. This also explains why the I. W. W.—the world's outstanding exponent of revolutionary industrial unionism—originated in the U. S. A. where capitalism had reached its most mature and perfect form.

Craft Unions and the General Strike

● The purpose of industrial unionism is to give the working class the greatest possible organized power in industry. Unquestionably the General Strike, either on or off the job, is the most perfect manifestation of this power. If the craft unions of today are examined in regard to their adaptability to this end it will put the revolutionary industrial union movement in an entirely new light. Also it will reveal clearly the shortcomings of conventional unionism in general and the craft union movement in particular. After all, the full measure of power is the acid test of any labor organization.

A cursory glance at the craft union movement will reveal the fact that it is constructed in such way as to divide rather than to unify the forces of labor. The craft union is not designed to enable labor to use its full power. This type of union came into existence during the period of industrial evolution known as small production when the tools of the craft and the

skill of the craftsman were important things. In those days the organized power of the tradesman consisted in his having monopoly of the skill necessary to make the tools of his trade industrially productive. The withdrawal of this skill during periods of strikes was all that was necessary to force the old-time employer of labor to terms. Thus it happened that the craft union was organized around the, then important, tools of the tradesmen.

Tools and Skill Obsolete

● But all this has been changed. The onward march of the machine process has to a large extent made both tools and skill unnecessary. This great advance in technical development has made the old fashioned trades union unable to cope with modern conditions. Craft unions still carry on as a matter of habit, it is true, but they are anachronisms in this modern world. Some of them merely serve as pie-cards for the tired business men who are their officials and all such unions serve more or less as props of the existing order. But they are not unions in the modern sense at all. They are merely the shells of once useful unions operating to secure advantages for a few favored groups of workers without regard to the interests of the working class as a whole. They are organized within the capitalist system which they have been taught to take for granted, and they have no thought or program of anything beyond this system.

In relation to the manifest weakness of the trade union structure and concept the I. W. W. Preamble points out with telling emphasis: "We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing

class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers."

Labor's Problem is Industrial—not Craft

● Labor's problem today is not a craft but an industrial problem. A labor union at the present time, to be an effectual instrument of offense and defense, must conform to the structure of modern industry. It must be industrial rather than craft in form. But the craft unions have not kept pace with the needs of a changing world. They have very largely remained just where they were in the beginning. Far from being the helpful fighting instruments they were in the old days, they have now become merely a further means of effecting the enslavement of the class whose interests they are supposed to serve.

A General Strike of craft unions is an unthinkable impossibility. Being organized for the sole purpose of enabling a few groups of workers to "get by" under capitalism, they lack both the form and spirit necessary to make possible united action for a common objective against a common foe. For this reason, as organized today, they would be of very doubtful help to any unified effort of the working class to free itself from wage slavery by industrial means. The modern industrial struggle demands modern industrial weapons. And in this regard the craft union is as obsolete as the dodo. Workers who conceive of the final struggle for emancipation in terms of industrial power will have to look elsewhere for an organizational form more suitable for this purpose.

The so-called independent industrial unions are in the same category. It is true their rather loose industrial structure makes it possible for them to think of their union in terms of a given industry. But, as in the case of the U. M. W. of A. and other similar unions, they are divided into districts if not in crafts and are tied down by contracts which make it impossible for them to act in unison. In no case is there evidence of any attempt or desire on their part to ally themselves for purposes of solidarity with transport or other workers on One Big Union lines. Organized railroad, clothing and many other workers in the U. S. A. are similarly bound, similarly divided and similarly unable to get together for united action of any sort.

As far as the interests of Labor are concerned these steps must be in the right direction. They must not only be distinctly industrial, they must also be unquestionably revolutionary. "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, Abolition of the wage system." So states the I. W. W. Preamble. And in this historic slogan is found the source of the strength and inspiration of the organized industrial workers of all the world.

Political Parties and the General Strike

● Working class political parties, while not unanimous in endorsing the General Strike, are frank in admitting the need for economic power in any program of revolutionary reconstruction. Socialists and Communists alike seem to recognize the importance of industrial unionism but they don't do much about it. They can't. Political parties are not organized that way.

On more than one occasion however, particularly in Europe, both Socialists and Communists have appealed to the workers for a General Strike. This is a thing which is more than likely to happen again. The trouble is that these organizations, being political parties and not labor unions, lack the machinery to put a General Strike into effect. After all other measures fail they issue frantic appeals for what they should have thought about in the first place—industrial solidarity. Usually they are forced to appeal to more or less unsympathetic conservative unions with which their contact has been largely nominal. Such unions, neither in structure nor spirit were designed to respond effectively to such demand.

A planned and consciously modern structure is as necessary for the labor union as is a planned economy for society as a whole. To expect *class* action from a *trades* union is at least as foolish as to expect revolutionary planks in a conservative party platform. This haphazard and hit-or-miss method of making eleventh-hour appeals for a General Strike does not indicate the strongest possible confidence in the efficacy of political action. The efforts of the politically-minded Socialists and Communists of Germany in 1932 to call a General Strike in order to forestall Fascism is an example in point. After 1914 they should have known better and should, long since, have prepared for such an emergency by forgetting about the game of politics long enough to build up a powerful industrial movement along One Big Union lines. Then the story would have been vastly different from what it is today.

The I. W. W. from its inception has held before the workers the goal of industrial democracy to be obtained by means of the General Strike. The Pre-

amble, of which hundreds of millions of copies have been circulated, states in unmistakable terms: "These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all." Has ever a statement appeared indicating more clearly the organic interdependence, unity and potential power of the world's producers?

In spite of certain misleading surface similarities, which are unduly stressed by shallow observers, the European anarcho-syndicalist movement and the I. W. W. differ considerably in more than one particular. This was made inevitable by reason of the fact that the I. W. W. was the result of a later and more mature period of industrial development.

This accounts for the fact that European Syndicalism, unlike the I. W. W., is not organized into One Big Union on the basis of perfectly co-ordinated, centralized industrial departments. It also accounts for the fact that the form of the I. W. W. is designed to serve not only as a powerful combative force in the everyday class struggle, but also as the structure of the new society both as regards production and administration. Incidentally the I. W. W. concept of the General Strike differs almost as much from that of the anarcho-syndicalist as from that of the political or craft unionist. In form, structure and objective, the I. W. W. is more all-sufficient, more mature and more modern than any of its anarcho-syndicalist predecessors.

Technicians and the I.W.W.

- It may be objected that the I. W. W. has not con-

tacted and co-operated with the technicians to the extent that the European Syndicalists have done. If this is true at all it is due not to any lack of appreciation of the importance of the technician in the industrial organism but rather to the fact that the I. W. W. has been embattled in the American class struggle to an extent which made sustained contact difficult.

The I. W. W. has always held the technician as a vitally necessary member of the producing class. He is indispensable to any program of fundamental economic reconstruction. His place, in the One Big Union Chart, corresponds to his place and his importance in industry. The I. W. W. conceives of Industrial Democracy as the technological managerial forces co-operating with the working productive forces of the army of industry under the General Administration of the One Big Union in the interests of the entire human race. Practically from its inception the I. W. W. has welcomed the engineer into its councils. Some of its outstanding educators have been technically trained men. The non-political, anti-entrepreneur, industrially-minded engineer has always been recognized by the I. W. W. as a blood brother. In 1921 an attempt was made by the I. W. W. to build up a Bureau of Industrial Research under the direction of a clear-thinking group of capable engineers with both social vision and a sense of social responsibility. This ambitious project the I. W. W. was forced to abandon because so many of its active officials had at that time been sent to prison. Prior to that time and since, the I. W. W. has preached and practiced that type of disciplined solidarity which, according to the technician, is so vitally necessary to any plan of carrying on production exclusive of the profit-grabbing Captains of Finance.

The I. W. W. is in full agreement with and committed, by a policy of nearly a half of a century, to the idea that workers and engineers are the only indispensable human elements in modern productive processes. The technician is in every sense of the word a fellow worker. He is the "other self" of the man at the machine—the managerial technological force in industry which counterpoints the productive working forces in the army of production. Both are equally necessary to any plan of carrying on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. Both are equally necessary to any plan of putting an end to the profit system by means other than those of bloodshed and destruction. This point looms big in the I. W. W. doctrine of the General Strike. It is well for technicians, I. W. W. members, and students generally to keep it in mind.

Real Rebels Meet on Common Ground

● Nothing could be more natural than this bond of fellowship between the I. W. W. and other industrially minded groups in the army of production or among working class movements. It has been shown that craft and independent industrial unions make the attainment and use of Labor's full economic power impossible or difficult of attainment. It has also been shown that revolutionary political parties, apart from educational and defensive activities, complicate rather than simplify the situation as far as the General Strike is concerned. Therefore the I. W. W. appeals to the workers in the world's industries to put aside prejudices and differences of opinion as to race, color, religion or politics and unite their economic power into One Big Union regardless of national boundary lines in order to put a final end to the hideous monster

of world Imperialism which has enslaved and degraded the workers of every nation. The General Strike is ONE program on which all wage workers should agree.

What is the General Strike?

● There has been a great deal of confusion as to just what was meant by the term, General Strike. In the past any strike of considerable proportions has usually been referred to as a "General Strike." But many times this definition was not really applicable. Much of this misconception results from an erroneous or limited conception as to what a General Strike is and what it is supposed to do. The General Strike, as its name implies, must be a revolutionary or class strike instead of a strike for amelioration of conditions. It must be designed to abolish private ownership of the means of life and to supplant it with social ownership. It must be a strike, not of a few local, industrial or national groupings of workers but of the industrial workers of the world as an entity. If we keep in mind that there are four phases of the General Strike it will help to understand clearly what we mean by using the term:

1. A General Strike in a community.
2. A General Strike in an Industry.
3. A national General Strike.
4. A revolutionary or class strike—THE General Strike.

It will be seen from the above that, while the first three are General Strikes in the limited and commonly accepted meaning of the term, only the last, or revolutionary class strike, is a General Strike in the full meaning of the term. The first three have been attempted at times with varying degrees of success, but the last has yet to be organized and made effective.

Thus, for instance, the display of industrial power by the workers of Finland and Russia in 1905 or that in connection with the upheaval in Moscow which resulted in the overthrow of the Kerensky government in 1917, or the strike of the French Railroad workers in 1909, the great strike in Sweden in 1909, or the strike in Germany when the administration of Von Kapp was embarrassed in the same manner. There were also important General Strikes in Belgium in 1913, in Buenos Aires in 1920 and again in Great Britain in 1926. All these have been referred to as "General Strikes." And they are General Strikes in the limited sense defined above.

Outstanding "General Strikes"

● The so-called General Strike in Denmark which was called by the Socialists to block the forming of an unpopular cabinet by the King is an example in point, as is the now famous attempt of the Italian workers to take over the industries in 1920.

The I. W. W. strikes of 100,000 lumber jacks or 40,000 copper miners in 1917 are fair examples of the industrial General Strike, while those affecting Seattle and Winnipeg are examples of the community General Strike. Volumes might be written about each of the instances cited. But in the end it would be plain that in each case the strikes did not cover sufficient area and were not supported by a sufficient number of workers in the various industries. Nor was the abolition of wage-slavery the objective of these strikes. In other words they were merely the foreshadowing of what Labor could do for itself under greater provocation, inspired by a greater sense of solidarity and with a more perfected organization at its disposal.

The conditions necessary for the successful opera-

tion of any of the four kinds of General Strike enumerated above have never existed. But, because it has not as yet been possible to use the economic power of Labor to full advantage, is no sign that such conditions will never exist. It has often been said, quite truthfully that, "one swallow does not make the spring." It is equally true that swallows never visit us in the dead of winter. The fact that Labor has succeeded to a limited extent indicates that it can use its economic power to a much greater extent.

The General Strike, once clearly defined and understood, offers Labor a weapon in the use of which Labor has shown great aptitude and willingness—a weapon with which all other weapons in the class war are puny in comparison. Just as gunpowder displaced the bow and arrow, so economic action will displace Labor's cruder and less potent weapons in the final struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. Only the most shallow-minded critics of working class tactics will seek to discourage the use of Labor's greatest power for the attainment of Labor's highest goal. And only the most superficial observers can fail to see that the organizational plan of the I. W. W. is ideally constructed to enable Labor to use that power.

The Constructive General Strike

● The I. W. W. believes that the building of the new society, especially during the period of crisis, is at least as important as the abolition of the old. This is not merely a dogma; it is sound tactics. If the aim of the social revolution is to achieve the socialization and democratic control of industry, the time to make that achievement a fact is during the revolutionary crisis, and with as little delay, red-tape or middle class misdirection as possible. At all events it would

be fatal to lose track of the goal during the period of turmoil. It should be plain, even to the most casual observer, that European tactics are not altogether suitable for the needs of American labor. In the U. S. A. there is not one, but three distinct types of culture—the industrial east and middle west, the feudal south and the still pioneering west coast. In any of these it is apparent that it would be an easy thing, under incitation, for the class war to degenerate into a religious, political or race war. And it is even more apparent that the impact of mob violence on the highly developed industrial organism would result in a disaster which might result in universal destruction and ultimate chaos. Sometimes one is forced to wonder at the temerity of the leadership of the American Communist movement in thinking that they can control and direct to constructive ends the sinister forces in the Pandora box of civil war, which they seem eager to release upon a land whose language they hardly know how to speak.

The I. W. W. has always taken the position that armed insurrection in a technically advanced country like the U. S. A. would be quite a different thing from armed insurrection in a technically backward and largely agricultural country like Russia—particularly under conditions which prevailed in Moscow and Petrograd following the armistice in 1918. What American conditions demand is a large scale operation in the nature of a well-co-ordinated lockout of the Captains of Finance by both workers and technicians which would put an end to the profit system but leave the production and transportation of goods unimpaired. This, coupled with the program of picketing the industries by the unemployed, is what the I. W. W. has in mind in advocating the General Strike. Any-

thing less than this or more, is simply adding confusion unto confusion. The logic runs like this: A perfect modern timepiece can be kicked apart as easily as a tin toy; but it is much harder to put together again.

The Fighting Vanguard

● In America the I. W. W. is, and has been since its inception, the standard bearer of revolutionary industrial unionism. From the very beginning the I. W. W. has been industrially-minded. Largely as a result of its constant insistence on the use of economic power, both Socialists and Communists have been forced to admit that, in the revolutionary movement, the labor union is the fighting vanguard. Both parties now seek industrial contacts and both stand, theoretically at least, in favor of industrial unionism. Both will admit, when pinned down to it, that the future society will be organized on the basis of industrial administration rather than political government. The trouble is both parties, due no doubt, to the generous admixture of non-proletarian elements in their ranks, are top-heavy with politics. They think in terms of political campaigns (and even more foolish things) instead of strikes, picket lines and unions which make the attainment of substantial economic power possible. Political parties being organized within specific national boundaries, must of necessity remain nationalistic. In the very nature of things it is impossible for them to conceive of international solidarity save in terms of federation of national units.

The I. W. W. on the other hand, ignores national boundary lines and views the problem from the standpoint of the closely knit and organically related, world-embracing interdependence of the producing

class. The I. W. W. contends that "hands across the sea" must be the hands of industrial workers and not politicians. Nothing more forcibly proves the correctness of this position than the two world wars. Four and a half millions of Socialists voters in Germany, and additional millions of Socialist voters in France, England and Belgium, were unable to stop the greed-inspired world cataclysm which started in 1914 and which has been progressing until the recent world holocaust. Labor gained nothing from these wars. It lost heavily. It paid the cost in blood, misery and substance and it will continue to pay for many years to come. And the goal of Labor is even further removed now than it was at the start of world war I) The I. W. W. claimed in 1914, and still claims, that, had the workers of Europe been organized industrially, drilled, disciplined and educated in the use of industrial power, not only would these imperialist slaughterfests have been impossible, but the final victory of Labor would long since have been achieved.

The Function of the Labor Union

● If the political saviors of the working class in the U. S. A. would only profit from this fatal mistake and, even now, seek to build up a powerful revolutionary industrial union movement instead of huge, unwieldy political machines, the prospects for a clean-cut victory for Labor would be immeasurably brighter.

On the face of it the precise function of a political party with its largely non-proletarian leadership in a labor union movement is difficult to determine. The advantage to the rank and file in the union of control by politicians is still harder to discover. To imply that the industrial union, for instance, needs the leadership and domination of the political party is to imply that

union men are incapable of managing their own affairs. To admit that the industrial union is and must be merely the adjunct of the political party is to admit that economic power is of less importance than political power and that the labor union is designed to be merely the plaything of the ambitious politician or the tool of the designing bourgeois leader. If this is to be the attitude why is it necessary to have unions at all? Why not go back to the concept of the pre-war "yellow" Socialist who believed that unions were more of a hindrance than a help to the workers inasmuch as the union distracted the mind of the worker from the ballot box? If the term "Industrial Democracy" means anything at all it means that the membership of the union—the actual workers in industry—are entitled to and capable of controlling the affairs of their own organization without interference from outsiders.

Workers Should Build Industrial Power

● In teaching the working class the need for and benefits of revolutionary industrial unionism political parties are doing necessary and valuable work. But in seeking to dominate and control the industrial movement from outside or inside political parties, knowingly or otherwise, they are making a ghastly mistake. The I. W. W. still remembers the lesson of 1914.

It stands to reason that it does not and cannot come within the province of a political party to organize or make effective either a General Strike or any other kind of strike. They can advocate, encourage and call for the full or partial use of Labor's industrial power, but only an organization functioning in industry can make such action possible. The political party lacks

the machinery either to call or carry on a strike. If it had this machinery it would be a labor union and not a political party. Only the workers organized into their own unions can function either for purposes of combat or administration in this capacity.

For this reason workers in all countries who wish to use their combined industrial power to put an end to exploitation and wage slavery should seek to build up an irresistible One Big Union movement along lines advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. And, unless they wish to give up the principle of democracy for the principle of dictatorship, they should refuse to give over the control of their organization to politicians or non-proletarian leaders of any stripe or color.

The One Big Strike on the Job

● It may be argued however that the General Strike might prove to be as difficult to control and, due to the possible paralysis of transport, equally as productive of privation as civil war. If State power were not captured by the workers would not the armed forces of the master class crush the strike with military power? Would not the result in the long run be the same as far as mass starvation and disorganization are concerned?

The answer is that, as the I. W. W. conceives of the General Strike, it would be so perfectly organized by workers and technicians and effectually used that the feeding, supplying and transportation of armed mercenaries would be practically impossible. The strikes at Seattle and Winnipeg gave some indication of the ability of strikers to organize, picket and police their strike and, at the same time arrange for the adequate distribution of food stuffs to the population.

As for machine guns, tanks, airplanes and bombs of asphyxiating or incendiary character, it is well to remember that such things are only available when they are manufactured and transported by labor and would be more difficult to use against workers stationed in and about the nation's widely spread industries than against mobs massed together in the labor ghettos of the great cities.

According to the modern idea of the General Strike it would not be at all necessary, during a well organized class movement of this sort for the employed workers to leave their assigned places in industry at all. On the contrary, the effort would be made to get workers into the industries instead of out of them in order to keep the wheels of production going. The General Strike, in other words would be a means of feeding rather than of starving the people.

This is in keeping with the I. W. W. program of **STRIKING ON THE JOB**. The only difference would be that the factory doors, under the direction of the technical managerial staff of the productive forces, would be thrown wide open to absorb the millions of unemployed. The wheels of industry would operate in their customary manner only for the purpose of supplying human needs instead of the enrichment of a profit-greedy Kept Class.

The General Strike therefore would simply mean that the army of production under competent technical and managerial direction, would continue to man and remain in the industries, producing and transporting goods for consumption but refusing any longer to yield up surplus value to the parasite class. The General Strike would be a General Lockout against these idle drones who now hold as their 'private property' the machinery upon which the human race depends for life.

Mass Opposition to Exploitation

● The General Strike is conditioned upon the WILL of the workers to make it effective and their stubborn determination to put an end to exploitation by producing goods for USE instead of PROFIT. Unlike the small strike the General Strike does not necessarily depend upon the complete withdrawal of productive effort from machinery, but rather upon their ability to withdraw or withhold only such effort as will put a complete stop to the profits of the parasitic 'owners.'

The ultimate aim of the General Strike as regards wages is to give to each producer the full product of his labor. The demand for better wages becomes revolutionary only when it is coupled with the demand that the exploitation of labor must cease. Labor is exploited at the point of production, and it is at the point of production alone that Labor can stop the idle, absentee drones from receiving any more than they produce. Only the complete disallowal of any share whatever to nonproducers will guarantee economic justice to the working class. Working conditions under capitalism have occasioned many bitter controversies but even the most necessary demands for their betterment could hardly be called revolutionary. Even under Industrial Democracy such things will be matters of expediency and consistently sustained improvement, in keeping with recognized needs.

Short Hours, THE Revolutionary Demand

● The demand for shorter hours however is decidedly a revolutionary demand. On the basis of an eight hour day less than three hours are all that is necessary for the worker to earn his wage; the rest of the day he is employed in producing surplus value for the boss.

Each hour of the shortened workday means for the employer one hour's less profits from every man employed—one hour less opportunity to exploit. This accounts for the fact that the worker's demands for shorter hours have always been contested more vigorously than demands for better conditions or even increased wages.

The reason is obvious: The difference between the six hour day and the eight hour day is the difference between three hours and five hours given to the employer in which to sweat profits from the hides of his help, each hour of reduction being made at the expense of the exploiter. The difference between the six hour day and, say, the three hour day is the difference between three hours of profit-sweating and none at all. Therefore, if the employer wishes to continue to live off the labor of his wage slaves he must (and does) guard jealously the length of the toiler's work day. Upon it depends not only the amount of his unearned income but also the continuation of his privilege to live without producing.

The chief demand of the General Strike would therefore logically be a demand for an average workday of not longer than three hours or whatever length of time is technologically necessary to carry on production on a non-profit basis. This is the most revolutionary of all demands because it dries up the possibility of class exploitation at its source. Under a planned industrial system and with the perfected machinery of modern production placed at the disposal of the human race even with the present staff of competent directors there is no reason at all (apart from the profit system) why any one should be forced to work longer than two and a half or three hours per day. Any workday longer than that required to do

the actual necessary work of the world simply serves to fatten the already hog-fat parasites of industry. The General Strike for the three hour day would not only put the millions of unemployed back to work, but it would also put the Thieves of Big Business to work alongside of them. In this regard it is well to remember that I. W. W. loggers in the northwest won the eight hour day by the simple expedient of blowing the whistle at the end of eight hours and then walking off the job en-masse.

The General Strike and General Picketing

● The I. W. W. is credited with having introduced two outstanding tactics of industrial warfare into the American labor movement—the strike on the job and mass picketing by the unemployed. Both of these are of utmost importance to the successful operation of the General Strike. In fact the success of the move (apart from competent technological direction) would depend upon the solidarity existing between employed and unemployed workers. In a class strike this solidarity is indispensable, because only by joint action and common understanding of this sort can the hours of labor be shortened to permit all to return to work. The effect on the capitalist system of millions of unemployed picketing the factory gates for a shorter workday can easily be imagined. By so doing the jobless would not only be hitting at the root cause of unemployment (long hours) but they would also be hitting at the root cause of exploitation (the private ownership of socially necessary machinery).

It may be objected that, admitting the General Strike to be a good thing, there is still but slight possibility that it will ever be used. The answer is affirmative. There is every reason to believe that

a victory by the General Strike is far more probable than a victory by either ballots or bullets. It must be admitted however that its possibility is impaired by the insistent promulgation by politicians, insurgents and reformers of non-industrial methods, just as it would be helped by an aggressive educational campaign along revolutionary industrial union lines. Unless a great effort is made to direct the growing discontent of the working class along industrial lines for the attainment of Industrial Democracy by means of the General Strike many other things are likely to happen. The only other alternatives appear to be mob disorders and dictatorship of one kind or another. Workers should make every effort to get what they want, but they should be mighty sure they want it.

The New Society Not Inevitable

● The capitalist system, rotten as it is, has resources which cannot be overlooked. The armed forces of the state are not nearly so formidable as the venal press and other avenues of publicity and class mis-education. The capitalist press and class-controlled radio are perhaps the very strongest bulwarks for the established order. By means of these, labor hatred and mob frenzy can be lashed to fever heat at any time and against any individual or group which dares to challenge the capitalist system. It will be recalled however that newspaper workers have at times, notably in Seattle, refused to set-up or print slanderous and inflammatory anti-labor editorial matter. So here as well as in the manufacture and transportation of war material, the economic power of the workers can be used to advantage.

The system of exploitation is still strongly entrenched and deeply rooted in the economic ignorance

as well as in the habits, customs and imbecile individualism of the groove-minded electorate. But regardless of these obvious advantages the upholders of the present order are fighting a losing fight. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness as a social system. It has become a curse to the entire human race. There is no further historical justification for its existence. It has become an obstacle to further social progress. It is doomed by the iron law of inexorable change. Just as chattel slavery yielded to serfdom and self-dom to wage slavery, so the latter is forced by evolutionary and revolutionary pressure to make way for scientific industrialism—Industrial Democracy. But even this is not inevitable, for the present ruling class shows unmistakable willingness to plunge the entire world into disorganization and chaos. They may succeed unless steps are soon taken to stop them.

Let Come What May . . .

● Already the world is a tumult of disorder and rebellion due to starvation and misrule. No individual or organization can predict with blue-print precision what course events may take in each of the civilized countries, during the last days of the expiring social order. All that we are able to see in the light of social science is that the industries must be taken over by the ones who use them and need them and be operated for use instead of profit. The socialization of the means of production, transportation and exchange is now necessary for the survival of the human race. Only the workers are in a position to do this and it is their duty AT ALL COSTS to see that it is done. Properly organized and disciplined no power on earth can stop the aroused working class from coming into its own.

The scientifically sound and thoroughly construc-

tive character of the I. W. W. program has never been stressed more forcibly than in the concluding paragraphs of its Preamble: "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

"Labor Shall be All"

● "Seize the industries," is at present a discredited slogan, for, by inference, we are led to understand that this means to sieze the industries from the outside. But, frankly, is it necessary for workers to "sieze" something they already have?

Every day, on the job, workers are in possession of the industries. The problem is not how to "sieze" them, but how to keep from giving them up. The scientific modern General Strike would have a much simpler slogan and a much more sensible program: For the employed: "Retain the industries, but refuse to produce for profit." For the unemployed: "Picket the industries and refuse to scab or to let anyone else scab."

It is vitally necessary for the present "owners" that machinery and resources be manned by labor. It is equally necessary, during the revolutionary transition, that labor refuse to relinquish its hold on machinery either to the "owners" or to their scabs or mercenaries.

That labor will defend its own interests goes without saying. The I. W. W. has taught and is teaching workers to fight, not to beg—to demand, not to plead for what they want. And in this final struggle to free

the world from social parasitism, courage, clear-thinking and fearless fighting spirit are needed as never before.

Realizing that the control of industry can only come into the hands of the producing class when the producers have sufficient power to keep and to hold this control, the I. W. W. advocates the General Strike on the job reinforced by formidable, determined revolutionary picket-lines of unemployed. The change from private to social ownership being inevitable, only thus can the danger of serious destruction and bloodshed be minimized.

The workingclass should bend every effort to this end. The full current of the revolutionary movement should be directed from the streets to the industries. The revolutionary struggle should be thought out and fought out in terms of industrial action—control, defense, operation. The class struggle, in the last analysis, must be a struggle to control the means of production, transportation and exchange. It will probably be a bitter fight, but one that can have but one ending—complete victory for the workers in the world's industries.

Let come what may, no worker should count the cost. Even at the worst a General Strike could scarcely entail more privation and suffering than one of capitalism's many and all too frequent depressions. The General Strike is saner than insurrection and surer than political action. And beyond it—after the storm—is a scientifically planned and ordered world based on peace, plenty and security for martyred humanity. What other thing is more worth striving for by courageous men and women than the ideal of this classless Industrial Democracy for which the I. W. W. has battled so valorously and for so many years?



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● The press is the life of any modern organization. The I.W.W. press is fearless. It fights the boss class without compromise. It is the Workers' best Educational and Agitational instrument. Make the I.W.W. press more powerful and you will have stronger organization, and more of the good things of life which can be secured only by A One Big Union.

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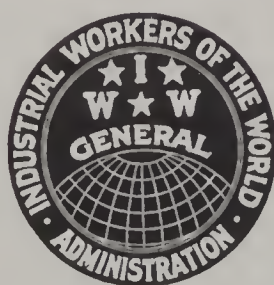
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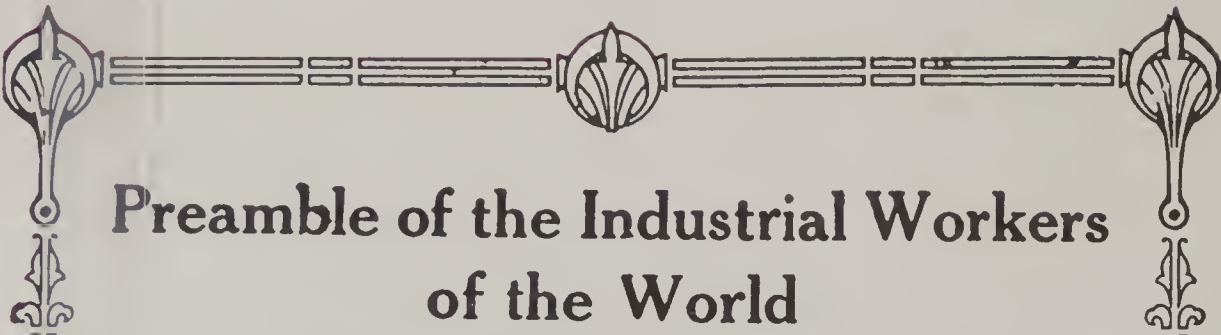
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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



The **GENERAL STRIKE**

● Thousands of thoughtful and class-conscious workers in years past have looked to the General Strike for deliverance from wage slavery. Today their hopes are stronger than ever. Their number has been increased with additional thousands who are confident that the General Strike, and the General Strike alone, can save Humanity from the torture and degradation of the continuation of capitalism and the misery and privation of its recurrent wars and depressions.

The General Strike is the child of the Labor Movement. It is Labor's natural reaction to a system of society based upon the private ownership of the machinery of production. It is Labor's ultimate attitude in the class struggle. It is Labor's answer to the problem of economic disorganization.

Logically enough the General Strike has become the rallying-cry of millions of persons the world over who favor it simply because they do not wish to see the highly industrialized modern world sink into chaos, and human society sink to the level of savage survival.

The idea of the General Strike is here to stay. It came into being with the perfection of the machine process and the centralization of control which made

it possible. And it will remain as a constant challenge to capitalism as long as the machinery of production is operated for profit instead of for use.

Why The General Strike?

● Every intelligent person now realizes that there is something radically wrong with the social system under which we are living. Everyone, excepting the beneficiaries of this system, agrees that something ought to be done about it. The trouble is that people at present seem unable to agree on any common program of action. Some accept their unhappy lot with a patience and fortitude worthy of a better cause, others theorize ineffectually and do little, while still others complain bitterly and strike out blindly. Nearly everyone rushes hither and thither seeking escape but without having any clear-cut objective in view. Considering the control of the press and all mediums of misinformation and propaganda by the present ruling class this situation is not to be wondered at.

Let us examine briefly the things people in general are saying and doing about the desperate situation now confronting society: One group says: "Let us be patient until pressure of public opinion brings about a change or at least a betterment of conditions." Another group says: "As long as we have the ballot let us use political action to bring about whatever changes are necessary." Still another group states: "We cannot wait any longer. Only a violent upheaval . . . armed insurrection!"

These groups, regardless of their differences of opinion, are composed of men and women who have given some thought and study to the subject. They deserve credit for trying to find a solution for the baffling problem confronting them. No matter how

mistaken they may be their efforts are at least directed toward making the world a fit place to live in. Unfortunately the majority of the population have not gone this far. The majority still lives and suffers in a condition of unthinking bewilderment. They simply do not know what it is all about. Just as they have done, for ages past, they are content to work like robots or starve like dumb beasts without daring to organize to put a stop to the system which is crushing them. And, what is worse they are actually misled into supporting this system.

Economic Illness, Economic Cure

● But there is still another and far more significant group. This group represents the viewpoint of the awakened and class-conscious working class. Its opposition to the present order is unalterable and its methods and objective distinctly those of the world's revolutionary proletariat. This group takes the position that, in the face of the present disintegration of the profit or wage system, public opinion, political action and armed insurrection are too unwieldy, too uncertain and too unscientific to serve in so great an emergency. This group advocates a General Strike of the world's army of production and its managerial staff as the means of putting an end to capitalism, and inaugurating in its place an era of scientific industrialism and industrial democracy.

The argument for the General Strike is based on the persistent and very logical working class conviction that the ruling class will refuse to permit itself to be dispossessed by any power weaker than its own and that public opinion, political action and insurrection therefore will not be permitted to be developed or used to any appreciable extent. It is further based on

the firm belief that Labor alone can save the world from chaos during and following the period of transition. As long as the production of goods under any system depends upon the disciplined solidarity of the producing class it is evident that this solidarity alone is capable of stopping the operations of the old order or of starting and continuing those of the new.

Public Opinion

● In this sense the General Strike is not only the hope of Labor; it is the hope of the human race. It is the one method which will be found trust-worthy when all other methods fail. If it is true, as many believe, that the economic maladjustments of modern society can be remedied only by economic measures, then the General Strike will become increasingly important with every passing day. The necessity for the collective ownership and democratic operation of socially necessary machinery is now conceded by technician, economist, student and class conscious worker alike. There is diversity of opinion as to how the change is to be made, but there is no lack of unanimity as to the advisability of the change. In this regard the program of the General Strike is too important not to be seriously considered.

As a matter of fact any power less potent than that of the General Strike is bound to be of doubtful efficacy. Public opinion in America at its best is merely a means of registering the disapproval or indignation of an intelligent minority. At its worst it is all that the Powers that Be could expect of it—mass hysteria and mob violence to be directed at will by those affluent enough to buy it on the market like any other commodity. Any public opinion which ignores the basic fact of the class struggle is

bound to be a hypocritical gesture. In this regard the liberals are among the worst offenders. The weak cry of the conventional liberal for peace in a peaceless world is one of the most convincing evidences of the innate sterility of the liberal attitude. Due to their hopelessly restricted outlook these middle class muddlers are unable to see the inevitability of struggle and strife as long as society is divided into two classes with irreconcilable interests.

Reformers

● Unless the class struggle is used as the key, human history will remain a matter of guesswork. Unless the evolution of society is studied in the light of social science, social changes will remain inexplicable. How much clearer and less confusing is the position of the Industrial Workers of the World as expressed in its Preamble, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things in life." This is submitted as a clear-cut statement of undeniable fact.

Reformers of all types are and must be primarily concerned with the patching up of the decayed and historically unjustifiable capitalist system. They are unable to see society as a process of change under economic pressure—a continuous evolution from one stage of development to another, based on the iron law of economic determinism. Under chattel slavery or serfdom these myopic gentlemen would have believed as they do now under capitalism that the existing system was permanent, preordained and historically unassailable. To them riches and poverty are

not the result of definable and remediable social maladjustments but the normal condition of human life. The invention of labor saving, profit increasing machinery, as they see it, was not a part of an evolutionary process; they prefer to believe it was merely a convenient and very profitable accident. They are childishly amazed that their right to monopolize the earth and its resources should ever be contested. There are even authors, editors and professors who support them in this fantastic illusion. On this point the position of the I. W. W. is as startling as it is scientifically sound: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system." If any liberal is capable of seeing that far he is already cured of his liberalism.

Public opinion being largely at the mercy of the predatory interests through their control of the press, radio, etc., is therefore largely out of the question as a means of effecting fundamental social change. Even the unusual program and personality of Gandhi would be helpless in the face of the private control of public opinion which exists in the U. S. A. Within a fortnight the mild-mannered Mahatma would no doubt be heaved into the hoosegow charged with planting a bomb or engineering a pay-roll robbery. Such things have happened before with the public being far from unconvinced.

And so the capitalist control of the machinery of publicity coupled with the economic ignorance of the much divided and long misled masses makes public opinion as the sole method of ending the nightmare of capitalism somewhat remote. Unless crystalized into definite and determined action of some sort or other, about all we can expect from public opinion is

the registering of belated and somewhat pathetic disapproval.

Politicos

● Political action as a method of obtaining control of the machinery of production seems also peculiarly unconvincing. Only the most naive of politically-minded revolutionists believe that the ballot or constitutional amendments will induce the Vested Interests to give over control and title to the privately owned machinery of production. It is manifestly absurd to expect the class which has stained the pages of history red in countless labor struggles to give over complete control because the electorate (whom they despise) have seen fit to demand it. The parasite class of the U. S. A. can be relied upon not to relinquish their sacrosanct rights to 'property' until they are confronted with a power greater than that which they have at their command. Anything less will be scoffed at.

What is more probable, in the light of past experience, than their capitulation is that the right of suffrage will be revoked or curtailed the moment it threatens to be used for any purpose other than the customary horse-swapping. Even with the menace of the ever-present potential fascist dictatorship removed, there is little reason to believe that the rich will ever hand over their property to the poor just because the poor have decided to vote for it.

Insurrectos

● The program of armed insurrection is open to as many angles of criticism as that of political action. First of all the workers as a whole are not only unarmed, but they are untrained in the use of arms.

Twelve air planes can destroy a city and it is quite unlikely that a city full of armed workers could control even so small a force of capitalist mercenaries. The technique of modern warfare has made the rifle and side-arm and even grenades and machine guns obsolete in the face of tanks, poison gas, planes and heavy artillery. The advocacy of armed insurrection is fatally misleading because it induces workers to believe that what was done in a backward country can be duplicated in a thoroughly modern one. In America the chances of mobs defeating highly trained troops are anything but even. Then there is the danger of premature revolution precipitated by fanatics or stool pigeons.

The advocacy of armed insurrection is misleading also because most of its protagonists, being politically minded and politically trained, are more determined to capture State power than to capture the industries. The politician is utterly incapable of thinking in terms of industry. He is incompetent either to control or to direct industrial processes. In a country like the U. S. A. with 48 state and hundreds of municipal and county capitals in addition to the federal capital in Washington—all adequately guarded—the problem is almost hopelessly complicated. At the worst an attempt at armed uprising would result in a series of unprecedented massacres, at best in an overtowering and very stupid bureaucracy or an equally stupid and far more cruel dictatorship of politicians.

It is far more probable that neither the ballots of the politicians nor the bullets of the insurrectos will ever have an opportunity to 'get to first base.' With the final struggle impending it is very probable that all weapons save that of economic action will have been taken out of their hands. For this reason it is more necessary for Labor to study and prepare itself

for the General Strike than to trust its fortunes to either ballots or bullets as a sole means of effecting its deliverance from the toils of wage slavery.

Industrial Solidarity

● The General Strike has allied in its service thinkers and men of action of many different schools of thought. For over a quarter of a century the Industrial Workers of the World have consistently advocated the General Strike as Labor's mightiest weapon in the class struggle.

At the present time there is scarcely a Socialist, or Communist Party or Libertarian group anywhere in the world which does not contain minorities, at least that are frank in admitting that the class struggle is largely an industrial struggle and that the final victory must be won by industrial instead of political methods. The many defeats of politically powerful Socialist movements in Europe in the face of war and dictatorship have convinced them of the inadequacy of political action, the futility of violence and of the irresistible logic and power of the General Strike.

It looks like a far cry from Bill Haywood to Thorstein Veblen, yet the non-conformist labor leader and suave and erudite professor meet on common ground in advocating the General Strike.

Not only is it true that Professor Veblen is in perfect accord with the industrial philosophy, program and methods of the I. W. W. in regard to the General Strike, but the preponderance of competent technological opinion of America favors that viewpoint also. The advanced technician has learned from experience to look upon the General Strike with favor. He sees in it the quickest and most dependable method of keeping the vital processes of production and trans-

portation unimpaired during the impending breakdown of the system of production for profit.

Firm and Unshakable

● The General Strike, compared with the transient ameliorative slogans and platforms of political parties is as firm and unshakable as the Rocky Mountains. It is as basic as the instinct to live and as fundamental as industry. All the panaceas and nostrums of the politician and labor union reformer sound shallow and meaningless when considered side by side with industrial action of such magnitude and possibilities.

The politician who seeks to pervert the General Strike into a mere adjunct to a political party is like the tail trying to wag the dog. The logical and legitimate objective of the General Strike is the abolition of capitalism—not reform or political trading of any sort. The General Strike is not the toy of ambitious politicians. It is the red rainbow across the sky of industrial desperation. It is a permanent warning to politicians to keep their promises, to Authority to be careful and to dictators to disappear. The General Strike is Labor's life insurance against betrayal.

Nothing can be more logical than that the General Strike offers a program which is excellent neutral common meeting ground for the two and seventy warring sects of the Labor movement.

If the time ever comes when the organized working class is capable of outgrowing or putting aside the ancient prejudices of political thought, the General Strike will be welcomed for what it is—Labor's supreme weapon for Labor's supreme struggle.

There has never been a major labor struggle anywhere in the world in which the General Strike was not discussed and there has never been a labor union

anywhere which has not at one time or another ardently desired to use it in the never-ending struggle against corporate greed and economic injustice.

Direct Action is Instinctive

● The interests of the workers and the employers are diametrically opposed and each side uses such weapons in the class struggle as are suitable for their purposes. The absentee owners of the industry, unlike the middle class, are too smart to take the politician seriously. And in this respect they are far wiser than many of the workers.

The real capitalists have a contempt for the politician and use him merely as a tool. Being rooted in industry by reason of ownership and deriving their incomes from the surplus value sweated from the hides of their wage slaves they tolerate no intermediaries in the struggle between the workers and themselves. If, for instance, they wish to cut wages, lengthen the hours of the work day or employ women and children in place of men, they just go ahead and do it. They do not call upon a politician to help them. They do not have to. Every time they discipline, discharge or lay off a bunch of workers the employers are using direct action. Every time the black-list or spy system is used on the job, every time scabs, strike-breakers or gun-thugs are used, every time the speed-up system, poor conditions, long hours and low wages are enforced the employers are using industrial action against their slaves.

A depression is nothing but a lockout against labor. The owners of the industries simply close up shop and cease operations because they can no longer get their customary profits. And all the laws and politicians in the world, or all the armies in the world,

could not force them to start up again unless it would pay them to do so. Business is business. The employing class knows full well what industrial power means. They use it all the time in the form of merciless lock-outs, strikes and sabotage against labor. But, they are decidedly unwilling to have labor retaliate in kind.

Their defense is wide open only at one point: they get their profits out of the hides of the workers and no place else. And if the workers by a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency" refuse to be exploited beyond a certain point or refuse to be exploited at all, the exploiters can do little. Their machinery will produce neither profits nor anything else until it is oiled with the sweat of human labor. They fear the General Strike more than anything on earth because they know that the General Strike would in reality be a general lockout—the end of the present dominating class. Against this mighty industrial force they have neither cunning nor power to defend themselves.

The Scissorbill Worker

● But they do have the cunning and the power to fool and mislead the workers and to keep the workers' forces divided so that united action is difficult of attainment. Due to capitalist control of the press, radio and avenues of publicity and education, the workers are effectually denied the right to call their minds their own. In fact the scissorbill workers have but little in their heads which they can call their own. Their minds belong to the last editor, speaker or politician or educator who filled the aching void with insidious poison of anti-proletarian misinformation. Such workers not only play the sucker end in the shell game of capitalism, but they also are too dumb and blind to figure out what has happened when things

go wrong. That is why they are called "scissorbills."

But, no matter how they suffer from insecurity and privation under capitalism this type of worker can do nothing for their own interests until they learn to think for themselves. If you are a wage-slave with a capitalist mind, or a decaying middle class mind you will no doubt scratch your head and wonder what the General Strike can possibly mean to you. At first you will not like the idea. You will probably figure that it means turning upside down all the things you had respect for and had confidence in.

The Rebel Worker

● But the class conscious worker is different. He has discarded the capitalist prejudices and submissiveness to exploitation and lies. He has shed his middle class faith in both politicians and the efficacy of political action. He knows what is wrong with the world and knows just what ought to be done to put an end to that wrong. He is no longer apathetic or indifferent to his class interests. He can no longer be fooled. He realizes that he, as a member of the working class, is rooted in industry and must unite and make common cause with all other workers in industry, and become an eager active fighter in the struggle to free the world from the age-long curse of social parasitism. He knows what the word strike means and does not have to be told that it is his strongest and surest weapon.

Rebel workers who have been drilled, disciplined and hardened in the class struggle recognize instinctively that the strike is labor's natural weapon. They know what industrial power is and know how to use it. They have been forced to use it all their lives in little things and are willing to use it for bigger things

—for everything. They have learned from experience that delegating their power into the hands of politicians is more likely to result in disappointment and betrayal than it is in profit to themselves. They have learned that even in their unions they must have real democracy in order to keep their officials straight. In the class war they are convinced that the strike is the thing.

Labor's Natural Weapon

● The logic is simple. If wages are too low to meet the needs of life, if the hours of labor are too long or working conditions intolerable, the thing to do is not call some witch-doctor of a politician, but simply quit work in sufficient numbers and with sufficient solidarity to force a shut-down of operations until the evils are remedied.

Every workingman and woman knows these things to be true. They do not have to read about a strike in books or to have it explained to them by a professor. When the time comes to strike they strike. And no one can convince them that there is anything else left to do but to strike. Workers as a rule do not take politics very seriously unless they are paid to vote, which is often the case, or unless they are intimidated and herded to the polls by racketeering ward-healers in the interests of a corrupt political machine.

As a rule they vote just as they would bet on a prize fight—to see if they can pick a winner. But they do take their striking seriously. And when it becomes plain to the workers that they can put an end to the interminable misery and uncertainty of capitalism by means of a big strike just as easily as they defeated a wage-cut with a small one they will strike with the same vigor and the same determination.

And this is the very type of mind which the advanced development of capitalism is forcing upon them. Strikes have a way of becoming bigger with each passing year. The workers' very association with productive industry suggests and controls the methods they must use in the industrial struggle. Like their employers they are forced by their surroundings to think in terms of direct action. The strike grows in power and scope. The strike is Labor's natural weapon and the centralization of control in industry makes the prospect of a General Strike more than a mere possibility.

Industrial Strategy

● Webster defines the word 'weapon' as, "any instrument of offense or defense." Surely the machinery of production is capable of being used for offense and defense both by the employing and the working class. Every strike, every lockout proves that the control and operation of modern machinery has developed a new technique of warfare as well as the most powerful weapons the world has ever known. We are trying to show that control of this machinery is the weapon which gives the employing class dominion over all the world, and that use of this machinery gives the working class ultimate power over the so-called owners.

The invention of gunpowder altered the course of human history and so did the steam engine, airplane and radio. Military science concedes that the factory behind the lines is as important as the human cannon-fodder in the trenches for the winning of a war. God is no longer on the side of the strongest battalions, as Napoleon said. He is now on the side of the most perfectly organized industries. Workers should keep in mind that the real weapons of the machine age are the machines themselves.

It has frequently been stated that in the next war there will be no non-combatants. This is but another way of saying that the machine is as potent a weapon as the cannon. Military forces are worse than useless unless they are supplied with food, supplies and transportation. Both in warfare and industry the individual counts less and the mass more. Individual power is nothing, collective power, everything. An army in battle that is not organized is merely a mob. Workers in industry who are not organized are in the same category. They must be organized by their technical directors and foremen in order to produce efficiently. They must organize themselves into industrial unions, just as they are grouped in the industries, if they ever hope to use the weapon of economic power in their own behalf.

The day of the small war or the small strike is gone forever. Labor, without organization and disciplined solidarity, without unity and singleness of purpose must of necessity remain in its traditional rut. Labor cannot emancipate itself until it learns to use the mighty weapons which contact with the machinery of production has placed in its hands.

Revolutions, Old and New

● The onward march of the machine process has not only changed the method and tactics of warfare, it has also changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. It has done this by making old weapons obsolete and by making new weapons available. Warfare used to be an art; now it is an industry. The ancient art of arms is now practiced chiefly for sport. Nowadays a nation does not settle down to the grim business of war until the wheels of industry start turning.

The onward march of the machine process has completely changed our concept of the methods and tactics of revolution. Modern airplanes, poison and incendiary gas, artillery and machine guns in the hands of highly trained specialists have put the unarmed and practically untrained worker at a decided disadvantage in the matter of military combat. But even if the odds were equal it would be an act of folly for workers in any highly industrialized country to take as their models the classical revolutions of 1848, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, or, even Russia. Labor's power has been transferred from the street to the industry. Job action has displaced the outpouring of the people and the picket line the barricades. The supreme act of the present revolution will not be the raising of the red flag over the old town hall, but rather the continued and orderly operation of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange by the industrial workers functioning just as they function now; only involving a complete lockout of the parasite class and its upholders. The General Strike to break the final hold of the Parasites in Industry!

This is the modern alignment in the world-wide struggle of the working class to free itself from the curse of wage slavery and exploitation. The revolution of our day will be an industrial struggle and the weapons, to be effective, must be industrial weapons.

The Point of Production

● Cannons, airplanes, submarines, mines and machine guns are designed for the use of capitalist class mercenaries. Such weapons are hardly suitable for the modern economic struggle to determine whether the workers or the parasites shall control industry. Here

the fight takes place at the point of production and the workers have this one big advantage in this struggle: they are the producing army of industry. The machines are utterly valueless without the brawn and brain of the men who tend them.

The workers are stationed strategically in industry. Unlike the profit-grabbing "owners" they are an indispensable part of the industrial process. Workers are at the machines because they are needed to keep those machines in operation. By sheer force of numbers they already have possession of the industries. They are trained in the use of the machinery of production, transportation and exchange, upon which all the devices of warfare are dependent. In addition to this the workers' cause, having for its objective the extension of human happiness, has the approval of all right thinking people as compared with the cause of the Kept Class which can of necessity have no other objective save that of the continuation of social parasitism. The workers' power is greater therefore than the power of the capitalist class and its war-like mercenaries.

Capitalism can continue only so long as the working class ignorantly gives it its consent and approval. The exploitation of the many by the few can continue only so long as the many do not know any better than to submit to exploitation. This approval or disapproval can nowhere be expressed so forcibly as in industry where the exploitation takes place. The General Strike will therefore be Labor's economic rejection of its economic enslavement.

Individually under capitalism the wage worker is weaponless. If he has a job and doesn't like it he can quit. If he hasn't got a job he can crawl into an alley and die of starvation. Also he is free to drink himself

to death or to take poison or end it all with a bullet, thus doing the master class a favor. Any other private war or revolt of his own against the system is generally classified somewhere between the meaning of the two words, 'misdemeanor' and 'felony.'

The hope of the modern wage slave is in numbers. In class warfare only collective weapons count. He can have strength himself only by combining his individual strength with the massed strength of his fellow workers in industry. The class struggle demands class weapons. Fortunately his position in class society has forced the wage slave to think in terms of 'we' instead of terms of 'I'.

Fighting Attitudes

● The modern wage-slave has been trained to think of power in terms of numbers. In contrast to the craftsman of old times, whose outlook was of necessity limited to that of the individual or the craft, the industrial worker of today is forced to view his troubles from the standpoint of the industry in which he is employed. If he has intelligence at all he can see at once that his personal problem in industry is identically the same as the personal problems of the thousands of workers who are employed in the same plant. Instinctively, when confronted with the greed and ferocity of the exploiting class he thinks not in terms of voting, shooting, bombing and bayoneting (as his masters do), but in terms of striking.

This was true in the beginning when industry was small and it is true today. The only difference is that it is more difficult and takes longer to communicate the impulse of motion to a large object than to a small object. A small strike in the early days of capitalism was a comparatively simple thing. Any strike

today under super-capitalism is bound to be bigger and more complicated. The strike impulse, instead of being communicated to dozens or hundreds of men, is communicated to thousands or hundreds of thousands. This impulse, due to the checks and controls encouraged by the employers, may not always succeed in putting the large mass into action. But the impulse is always there and, in the end, large strikes are as inevitable as ever small strikes were.

Job Consciousness and Class Consciousness

● From job consciousness to class consciousness, from job action to industrial action, from the job strike to the General Strike is only a matter of degree. Every strike under modern industrial condition, is a General Strike in embryo. Even the proposed decentralization of industry will merely alter the tactics and strategy of the General Strike. It will in no sense do away with the will of the workers to use the strike as a weapon of ever increasing importance in the class struggle. On the other hand it will weaken the position of the master class by giving them perhaps a dozen heavily picketed scab plants, where they now have but one, to be guarded by their limited army of mercenaries when the great struggle is finally under way.

Regardless of how much political dissatisfaction may exist at any given time the worker's bed-rock complaint against capitalism will continue to be economic. He is robbed at the point of production and at the point of production he must fight against continued exploitation. If it can be shown that anything at all can be done by means of political action to make the workers' struggle easier so much the better. But workers must not delude themselves about the efficacy of political action. No matter how red they vote on

election day or whom they elect to office they will discover that their political struggle is but the shadow of their struggle in industry.

The danger of overstressing the importance of political action lies in the fact that workers are thereby led to trust someone else (usually not a member of the working class) to do something for them which, with a little understanding and determination, they could have done a whole lot easier by themselves—and without danger of betrayal. Confidence in political action not only robs the worker of the initiative for independent action, it also leads him into that state of mind where he is willing to exchange one kind of dictatorship for another. The ultimate aim of the General Strike is not to substitute for the yoke of capitalism, the yoke of the red republican, the fascist, the militarist—or any other yoke. The General Strike can just as well be used by the workers to institute real industrial freedom and democracy and to do away with all yokes save that of necessary social labor which is in the common obligation of everybody born into the world.

Evolution of Industrial Power

● In the beginning of the capitalist era the craftsmen were hired either individually or in small groups by the individual employer or partnership. At that time there were no vast and highly specialized industries such as exist today. Neither were there centralized ownership and control of entire industries by a handful of plutocrats operating through interlocking directorates such as we know at present. The plant was a small plant, the boss a small boss and the strike, of necessity, a small strike.

But the small plants did not stay small. With the

growth of population and the ripening of the capitalist system they became bigger and bigger. They were merged and consolidated under pressure of economic necessity. They became vast industries. The small shop became a factory, the weaving room a textile mill, the village smithy a foundry. Pittsburgh, Chicago and Detroit arose in all their dismal might and the tentacles of Wall Street reached to the remotest corners of the land. All the while there were fewer and fewer employers and vaster aggregations of wage-slaves. The actual direction and management of industry passed from the absentee owner to the hired technician and both technician and worker toiled to satisfy the insatiable greed for profits of the entrepreneur and the absentee parasite class.

Of course, it was not as simple as it appears but, in a general way, strikes became larger and the industrial power of the working class proportionately greater. The line-up in the class struggle was no longer between the small employer and the small group of workers but between workers in entire industrial areas and numerically smaller but infinitely more powerful corporations. The mines, mills and factories spread like a plague of vast prisons over the land. And the day of the small strike or small union was gone forever.

All this would have been well if the conscious power of the working class had grown in proportion to the growth of the industry. Machinery did not perceptibly lift the burden of toil from the shoulders of the working class; it simply increased the profits of the parasite owners. The grievances of the wage-slaves became greater and their strikes bigger and ever more bitterly contested.

In capitalist society the acceleration of the machine

process not only changes the way men are grouped together in order to work, it also changes the way they group themselves in order to fight. In each country workers react to the class struggle according to the maturity or immaturity of the machine process in that country. This accounts for the fact that combative proletarian tactics suitable for instance to a comparatively backward land like Russia, are of little value to workers under a highly advanced industrial system like the one prevailing in North America. This also explains why the I. W. W.—the world's outstanding exponent of revolutionary industrial unionism—originated in the U. S. A. where capitalism had reached its most mature and perfect form.

Craft Unions and the General Strike

● The purpose of industrial unionism is to give the working class the greatest possible organized power in industry. Unquestionably the General Strike, either on or off the job, is the most perfect manifestation of this power. If the craft unions of today are examined in regard to their adaptability to this end it will put the revolutionary industrial union movement in an entirely new light. Also it will reveal clearly the shortcomings of conventional unionism in general and the craft union movement in particular. After all, the full measure of power is the acid test of any labor organization.

A cursory glance at the craft union movement will reveal the fact that it is constructed in such way as to divide rather than to unify the forces of labor. The craft union is not designed to enable labor to use its full power. This type of union came into existence during the period of industrial evolution known as small production when the tools of the craft and the

skill of the craftsman were important things. In those days the organized power of the tradesman consisted in his having monopoly of the skill necessary to make the tools of his trade industrially productive. The withdrawal of this skill during periods of strikes was all that was necessary to force the old-time employer of labor to terms. Thus it happened that the craft union was organized around the, then important, tools of the tradesmen.

Tools and Skill Obsolete

● But all this has been changed. The onward march of the machine process has to a large extent made both tools and skill unnecessary. This great advance in technical development has made the old fashioned trades union unable to cope with modern conditions. Craft unions still carry on as a matter of habit, it is true, but they are anachronisms in this modern world. Some of them merely serve as pie-cards for the tired business men who are their officials and all such unions serve more or less as props of the existing order. But they are not unions in the modern sense at all. They are merely the shells of once useful unions operating to secure advantages for a few favored groups of workers without regard to the interests of the working class as a whole. They are organized within the capitalist system which they have been taught to take for granted, and they have no thought or program of anything beyond this system.

In relation to the manifest weakness of the trade union structure and concept the I. W. W. Preamble points out with telling emphasis: "We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing

class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers."

Labor's Problem is Industrial—not Craft

● Labor's problem today is not a craft but an industrial problem. A labor union at the present time, to be an effectual instrument of offense and defense, must conform to the structure of modern industry. It must be industrial rather than craft in form. But the craft unions have not kept pace with the needs of a changing world. They have very largely remained just where they were in the beginning. Far from being the helpful fighting instruments they were in the old days, they have now become merely a further means of effecting the enslavement of the class whose interests they are supposed to serve.

A General Strike of craft unions is an unthinkable impossibility. Being organized for the sole purpose of enabling a few groups of workers to "get by" under capitalism, they lack both the form and spirit necessary to make possible united action for a common objective against a common foe. For this reason, as organized today, they would be of very doubtful help to any unified effort of the working class to free itself from wage slavery by industrial means. The modern industrial struggle demands modern industrial weapons. And in this regard the craft union is as obsolete as the dodo. Workers who conceive of the final struggle for emancipation in terms of industrial power will have to look elsewhere for an organizational form more suitable for this purpose.

The so-called independent industrial unions are in the same category. It is true their rather loose industrial structure makes it possible for them to think of their union in terms of a given industry. But, as in the case of the U. M. W. of A. and other similar unions, they are divided into districts if not in crafts and are tied down by contracts which make it impossible for them to act in unison. In no case is there evidence of any attempt or desire on their part to ally themselves for purposes of solidarity with transport or other workers on One Big Union lines. Organized railroad, clothing and many other workers in the U. S. A. are similarly bound, similarly divided and similarly unable to get together for united action of any sort.

As far as the interests of Labor are concerned these steps must be in the right direction. They must not only be distinctly industrial, they must also be unquestionably revolutionary. "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, Abolition of the wage system." So states the I. W. W. Preamble. And in this historic slogan is found the source of the strength and inspiration of the organized industrial workers of all the world.

Political Parties and the General Strike

● Working class political parties, while not unanimous in endorsing the General Strike, are frank in admitting the need for economic power in any program of revolutionary reconstruction. Socialists and Communists alike seem to recognize the importance of industrial unionism but they don't do much about it. They can't. Political parties are not organized that way.

On more than one occasion however, particularly in Europe, both Socialists and Communists have appealed to the workers for a General Strike. This is a thing which is more than likely to happen again. The trouble is that these organizations, being political parties and not labor unions, lack the machinery to put a General Strike into effect. After all other measures fail they issue frantic appeals for what they should have thought about in the first place—industrial solidarity. Usually they are forced to appeal to more or less unsympathetic conservative unions with which their contact has been largely nominal. Such unions, neither in structure nor spirit were designed to respond effectively to such demand.

A planned and consciously modern structure is as necessary for the labor union as is a planned economy for society as a whole. To expect *class* action from a *trades* union is at least as foolish as to expect revolutionary planks in a conservative party platform. This haphazard and hit-or-miss method of making eleventh-hour appeals for a General Strike does not indicate the strongest possible confidence in the efficacy of political action. The efforts of the politically-minded Socialists and Communists of Germany in 1932 to call a General Strike in order to forestall Fascism is an example in point. After 1914 they should have known better and should, long since, have prepared for such an emergency by forgetting about the game of politics long enough to build up a powerful industrial movement along One Big Union lines. Then the story would have been vastly different from what it is today.

The I. W. W. from its inception has held before the workers the goal of industrial democracy to be obtained by means of the General Strike. The Pre-

amble, of which hundreds of millions of copies have been circulated, states in unmistakable terms: "These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all." Has ever a statement appeared indicating more clearly the organic interdependence, unity and potential power of the world's producers?

In spite of certain misleading surface similarities, which are unduly stressed by shallow observers, the European anarcho-syndicalist movement and the I. W. W. differ considerably in more than one particular. This was made inevitable by reason of the fact that the I. W. W. was the result of a later and more mature period of industrial development.

This accounts for the fact that European Syndicalism, unlike the I. W. W., is not organized into One Big Union on the basis of perfectly co-ordinated, centralized industrial departments. It also accounts for the fact that the form of the I. W. W. is designed to serve not only as a powerful combative force in the everyday class struggle, but also as the structure of the new society both as regards production and administration. Incidentally the I. W. W. concept of the General Strike differs almost as much from that of the anarcho-syndicalist as from that of the political or craft unionist. In form, structure and objective, the I. W. W. is more all-sufficient, more mature and more modern than any of its anarcho-syndicalist predecessors.

Technicians and the I.W.W.

- It may be objected that the I. W. W. has not con-

tacted and co-operated with the technicians to the extent that the European Syndicalists have done. If this is true at all it is due not to any lack of appreciation of the importance of the technician in the industrial organism but rather to the fact that the I. W. W. has been embattled in the American class struggle to an extent which made sustained contact difficult.

The I. W. W. has always held the technician as a vitally necessary member of the producing class. He is indispensable to any program of fundamental economic reconstruction. His place, in the One Big Union Chart, corresponds to his place and his importance in industry. The I. W. W. conceives of Industrial Democracy as the technological managerial forces co-operating with the working productive forces of the army of industry under the General Administration of the One Big Union in the interests of the entire human race. Practically from its inception the I. W. W. has welcomed the engineer into its councils. Some of its outstanding educators have been technically trained men. The non-political, anti-entrepreneur, industrially-minded engineer has always been recognized by the I. W. W. as a blood brother. In 1921 an attempt was made by the I. W. W. to build up a Bureau of Industrial Research under the direction of a clear-thinking group of capable engineers with both social vision and a sense of social responsibility. This ambitious project the I. W. W. was forced to abandon because so many of its active officials had at that time been sent to prison. Prior to that time and since, the I. W. W. has preached and practiced that type of disciplined solidarity which, according to the technician, is so vitally necessary to any plan of carrying on production exclusive of the profit-grabbing Captains of Finance.

The I. W. W. is in full agreement with and committed, by a policy of nearly a half of a century, to the idea that workers and engineers are the only indispensable human elements in modern productive processes. The technician is in every sense of the word a fellow worker. He is the "other self" of the man at the machine—the managerial technological force in industry which counterpoints the productive working forces in the army of production. Both are equally necessary to any plan of carrying on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. Both are equally necessary to any plan of putting an end to the profit system by means other than those of bloodshed and destruction. This point looms big in the I. W. W. doctrine of the General Strike. It is well for technicians, I. W. W. members, and students generally to keep it in mind.

Real Rebels Meet on Common Ground

● Nothing could be more natural than this bond of fellowship between the I. W. W. and other industrially minded groups in the army of production or among working class movements. It has been shown that craft and independent industrial unions make the attainment and use of Labor's full economic power impossible or difficult of attainment. It has also been shown that revolutionary political parties, apart from educational and defensive activities, complicate rather than simplify the situation as far as the General Strike is concerned. Therefore the I. W. W. appeals to the workers in the world's industries to put aside prejudices and differences of opinion as to race, color, religion or politics and unite their economic power into One Big Union regardless of national boundary lines in order to put a final end to the hideous monster

of world Imperialism which has enslaved and degraded the workers of every nation. The General Strike is ONE program on which all wage workers should agree.

What is the General Strike?

● There has been a great deal of confusion as to just what was meant by the term, General Strike. In the past any strike of considerable proportions has usually been referred to as a "General Strike." But many times this definition was not really applicable. Much of this misconception results from an erroneous or limited conception as to what a General Strike is and what it is supposed to do. The General Strike, as its name implies, must be a revolutionary or class strike instead of a strike for amelioration of conditions. It must be designed to abolish private ownership of the means of life and to supplant it with social ownership. It must be a strike, not of a few local, industrial or national groupings of workers but of the industrial workers of the world as an entity. If we keep in mind that there are four phases of the General Strike it will help to understand clearly what we mean by using the term:

1. A General Strike in a community.
2. A General Strike in an Industry.
3. A national General Strike.
4. A revolutionary or class strike—THE General Strike.

It will be seen from the above that, while the first three are General Strikes in the limited and commonly accepted meaning of the term, only the last, or revolutionary class strike, is a General Strike in the full meaning of the term. The first three have been attempted at times with varying degrees of success, but the last has yet to be organized and made effective.

Thus, for instance, the display of industrial power by the workers of Finland and Russia in 1905 or that in connection with the upheaval in Moscow which resulted in the overthrow of the Kerensky government in 1917, or the strike of the French Railroad workers in 1909, the great strike in Sweden in 1909, or the strike in Germany when the administration of Von Kapp was embarrassed in the same manner. There were also important General Strikes in Belgium in 1913, in Buenos Aires in 1920 and again in Great Britain in 1926. All these have been referred to as "General Strikes." And they are General Strikes in the limited sense defined above.

Outstanding "General Strikes"

- The so-called General Strike in Denmark which was called by the Socialists to block the forming of an unpopular cabinet by the King is an example in point, as is the now famous attempt of the Italian workers to take over the industries in 1920.

The I. W. W. strikes of 100,000 lumber jacks or 40,000 copper miners in 1917 are fair examples of the industrial General Strike, while those affecting Seattle and Winnipeg are examples of the community General Strike. Volumes might be written about each of the instances cited. But in the end it would be plain that in each case the strikes did not cover sufficient area and were not supported by a sufficient number of workers in the various industries. Nor was the abolition of wage-slavery the objective of these strikes. In other words they were merely the foreshadowing of what Labor could do for itself under greater provocation, inspired by a greater sense of solidarity and with a more perfected organization at its disposal.

The conditions necessary for the successful opera-

tion of any of the four kinds of General Strike enumerated above have never existed. But, because it has not as yet been possible to use the economic power of Labor to full advantage, is no sign that such conditions will never exist. It has often been said, quite truthfully that, "one swallow does not make the spring." It is equally true that swallows never visit us in the dead of winter. The fact that Labor has succeeded to a limited extent indicates that it can use its economic power to a much greater extent.

The General Strike, once clearly defined and understood, offers Labor a weapon in the use of which Labor has shown great aptitude and willingness—a weapon with which all other weapons in the class war are puny in comparison. Just as gunpowder displaced the bow and arrow, so economic action will displace Labor's cruder and less potent weapons in the final struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. Only the most shallow-minded critics of working class tactics will seek to discourage the use of Labor's greatest power for the attainment of Labor's highest goal. And only the most superficial observers can fail to see that the organizational plan of the I. W. W. is ideally constructed to enable Labor to use that power.

The Constructive General Strike

● The I. W. W. believes that the building of the new society, especially during the period of crisis, is at least as important as the abolition of the old. This is not merely a dogma; it is sound tactics. If the aim of the social revolution is to achieve the socialization and democratic control of industry, the time to make that achievement a fact is during the revolutionary crisis, and with as little delay, red-tape or middle class misdirection as possible. At all events it would

be fatal to lose track of the goal during the period of turmoil. It should be plain, even to the most casual observer, that European tactics are not altogether suitable for the needs of American labor. In the U. S. A. there is not one, but three distinct types of culture—the industrial east and middle west, the feudal south and the still pioneering west coast. In any of these it is apparent that it would be an easy thing, under incitation, for the class war to degenerate into a religious, political or race war. And it is even more apparent that the impact of mob violence on the highly developed industrial organism would result in a disaster which might result in universal destruction and ultimate chaos. Sometimes one is forced to wonder at the temerity of the leadership of the American Communist movement in thinking that they can control and direct to constructive ends the sinister forces in the Pandora box of civil war, which they seem eager to release upon a land whose language they hardly know how to speak.

The I. W. W. has always taken the position that armed insurrection in a technically advanced country like the U. S. A. would be quite a different thing from armed insurrection in a technically backward and largely agricultural country like Russia—particularly under conditions which prevailed in Moscow and Petrograd following the armistice in 1918. What American conditions demand is a large scale operation in the nature of a well-co-ordinated lockout of the Captains of Finance by both workers and technicians which would put an end to the profit system but leave the production and transportation of goods unimpaired. This, coupled with the program of picketing the industries by the unemployed, is what the I. W. W. has in mind in advocating the General Strike. Any-

thing less than this or more, is simply adding confusion unto confusion. The logic runs like this: A perfect modern timepiece can be kicked apart as easily as a tin toy; but it is much harder to put together again.

The Fighting Vanguard

● In America the I. W. W. is, and has been since its inception, the standard bearer of revolutionary industrial unionism. From the very beginning the I. W. W. has been industrially-minded. Largely as a result of its constant insistence on the use of economic power, both Socialists and Communists have been forced to admit that, in the revolutionary movement, the labor union is the fighting vanguard. Both parties now seek industrial contacts and both stand, theoretically at least, in favor of industrial unionism. Both will admit, when pinned down to it, that the future society will be organized on the basis of industrial administration rather than political government. The trouble is both parties, due no doubt, to the generous admixture of non-proletarian elements in their ranks, are top-heavy with politics. They think in terms of political campaigns (and even more foolish things) instead of strikes, picket lines and unions which make the attainment of substantial economic power possible. Political parties being organized within specific national boundaries, must of necessity remain nationalistic. In the very nature of things it is impossible for them to conceive of international solidarity save in terms of federation of national units.

The I. W. W. on the other hand, ignores national boundary lines and views the problem from the standpoint of the closely knit and organically related, world-embracing interdependence of the producing

class. The I. W. W. contends that "hands across the sea" must be the hands of industrial workers and not politicians. Nothing more forcibly proves the correctness of this position than the two world wars. Four and a half millions of Socialists voters in Germany, and additional millions of Socialist voters in France, England and Belgium, were unable to stop the greed-inspired world cataclysm which started in 1914 and which has been progressing until the recent world holocaust. Labor gained nothing from these wars. It lost heavily. It paid the cost in blood, misery and substance and it will continue to pay for many years to come. And the goal of Labor is even further removed now than it was at the start of world war I) The I. W. W. claimed in 1914, and still claims, that, had the workers of Europe been organized industrially, drilled, disciplined and educated in the use of industrial power, not only would these imperialist slaughterfests have been impossible, but the final victory of Labor would long since have been achieved.

The Function of the Labor Union

● If the political saviors of the working class in the U. S. A. would only profit from this fatal mistake and, even now, seek to build up a powerful revolutionary industrial union movement instead of huge, unwieldy political machines, the prospects for a clean-cut victory for Labor would be immeasurably brighter.

On the face of it the precise function of a political party with its largely non-proletarian leadership in a labor union movement is difficult to determine. The advantage to the rank and file in the union of control by politicians is still harder to discover. To imply that the industrial union, for instance, needs the leadership and domination of the political party is to imply that

union men are incapable of managing their own affairs. To admit that the industrial union is and must be merely the adjunct of the political party is to admit that economic power is of less importance than political power and that the labor union is designed to be merely the plaything of the ambitious politician or the tool of the designing bourgeois leader. If this is to be the attitude why is it necessary to have unions at all? Why not go back to the concept of the pre-war "yellow" Socialist who believed that unions were more of a hindrance than a help to the workers inasmuch as the union distracted the mind of the worker from the ballot box? If the term "Industrial Democracy" means anything at all it means that the membership of the union—the actual workers in industry—are entitled to and capable of controlling the affairs of their own organization without interference from outsiders.

Workers Should Build Industrial Power

● In teaching the working class the need for and benefits of revolutionary industrial unionism political parties are doing necessary and valuable work. But in seeking to dominate and control the industrial movement from outside or inside political parties, knowingly or otherwise, they are making a ghastly mistake. The I. W. W. still remembers the lesson of 1914.

It stands to reason that it does not and cannot come within the province of a political party to organize or make effective either a General Strike or any other kind of strike. They can advocate, encourage and call for the full or partial use of Labor's industrial power, but only an organization functioning in industry can make such action possible. The political party lacks

the machinery either to call or carry on a strike. If it had this machinery it would be a labor union and not a political party. Only the workers organized into their own unions can function either for purposes of combat or administration in this capacity.

For this reason workers in all countries who wish to use their combined industrial power to put an end to exploitation and wage slavery should seek to build up an irresistible One Big Union movement along lines advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. And, unless they wish to give up the principle of democracy for the principle of dictatorship, they should refuse to give over the control of their organization to politicians or non-proletarian leaders of any stripe or color.

The One Big Strike on the Job

● It may be argued however that the General Strike might prove to be as difficult to control and, due to the possible paralysis of transport, equally as productive of privation as civil war. If State power were not captured by the workers would not the armed forces of the master class crush the strike with military power? Would not the result in the long run be the same as far as mass starvation and disorganization are concerned?

The answer is that, as the I. W. W. conceives of the General Strike, it would be so perfectly organized by workers and technicians and effectually used that the feeding, supplying and transportation of armed mercenaries would be practically impossible. The strikes at Seattle and Winnipeg gave some indication of the ability of strikers to organize, picket and police their strike and, at the same time arrange for the adequate distribution of food stuffs to the population.

As for machine guns, tanks, airplanes and bombs of asphyxiating or incendiary character, it is well to remember that such things are only available when they are manufactured and transported by labor and would be more difficult to use against workers stationed in and about the nation's widely spread industries than against mobs massed together in the labor ghettos of the great cities.

According to the modern idea of the General Strike it would not be at all necessary, during a well organized class movement of this sort for the employed workers to leave their assigned places in industry at all. On the contrary, the effort would be made to get workers into the industries instead of out of them in order to keep the wheels of production going. The General Strike, in other words would be a means of feeding rather than of starving the people.

This is in keeping with the I. W. W. program of STRIKING ON THE JOB. The only difference would be that the factory doors, under the direction of the technical managerial staff of the productive forces, would be thrown wide open to absorb the millions of unemployed. The wheels of industry would operate in their customary manner only for the purpose of supplying human needs instead of the enrichment of a profit-greedy Kept Class.

The General Strike therefore would simply mean that the army of production under competent technical and managerial direction, would continue to man and remain in the industries, producing and transporting goods for consumption but refusing any longer to yield up surplus value to the parasite class. The General Strike would be a General Lockout against these idle drones who now hold as their 'private property' the machinery upon which the human race depends for life.

Mass Opposition to Exploitation

● The General Strike is conditioned upon the WILL of the workers to make it effective and their stubborn determination to put an end to exploitation by producing goods for USE instead of PROFIT. Unlike the small strike the General Strike does not necessarily depend upon the complete withdrawal of productive effort from machinery, but rather upon their ability to withdraw or withhold only such effort as will put a complete stop to the profits of the parasitic 'owners.'

The ultimate aim of the General Strike as regards wages is to give to each producer the full product of his labor. The demand for better wages becomes revolutionary only when it is coupled with the demand that the exploitation of labor must cease. Labor is exploited at the point of production, and it is at the point of production alone that Labor can stop the idle, absentee drones from receiving any more than they produce. Only the complete disallowal of any share whatever to nonproducers will guarantee economic justice to the working class. Working conditions under capitalism have occasioned many bitter controversies but even the most necessary demands for their betterment could hardly be called revolutionary. Even under Industrial Democracy such things will be matters of expediency and consistently sustained improvement, in keeping with recognized needs.

Short Hours, THE Revolutionary Demand

● The demand for shorter hours however is decidedly a revolutionary demand. On the basis of an eight hour day less than three hours are all that is necessary for the worker to earn his wage; the rest of the day he is employed in producing surplus value for the boss.

Each hour of the shortened workday means for the employer one hour's less profits from every man employed—one hour less opportunity to exploit. This accounts for the fact that the worker's demands for shorter hours have always been contested more vigorously than demands for better conditions or even increased wages.

The reason is obvious: The difference between the six hour day and the eight hour day is the difference between three hours and five hours given to the employer in which to sweat profits from the hides of his help, each hour of reduction being made at the expense of the exploiter. The difference between the six hour day and, say, the three hour day is the difference between three hours of profit-sweating and none at all. Therefore, if the employer wishes to continue to live off the labor of his wage slaves he must (and does) guard jealously the length of the toiler's work day. Upon it depends not only the amount of his unearned income but also the continuation of his privilege to live without producing.

The chief demand of the General Strike would therefore logically be a demand for an average workday of not longer than three hours or whatever length of time is technologically necessary to carry on production on a non-profit basis. This is the most revolutionary of all demands because it dries up the possibility of class exploitation at its source. Under a planned industrial system and with the perfected machinery of modern production placed at the disposal of the human race even with the present staff of competent directors there is no reason at all (apart from the profit system) why any one should be forced to work longer than two and a half or three hours per day. Any workday longer than that required to do

the actual necessary work of the world simply serves to fatten the already hog-fat parasites of industry. The General Strike for the three hour day would not only put the millions of unemployed back to work, but it would also put the Thieves of Big Business to work alongside of them. In this regard it is well to remember that I. W. W. loggers in the northwest won the eight hour day by the simple expedient of blowing the whistle at the end of eight hours and then walking off the job en-masse.

The General Strike and General Picketing

● The I. W. W. is credited with having introduced two outstanding tactics of industrial warfare into the American labor movement—the strike on the job and mass picketing by the unemployed. Both of these are of utmost importance to the successful operation of the General Strike. In fact the success of the move (apart from competent technological direction) would depend upon the solidarity existing between employed and unemployed workers. In a class strike this solidarity is indispensable, because only by joint action and common understanding of this sort can the hours of labor be shortened to permit all to return to work. The effect on the capitalist system of millions of unemployed picketing the factory gates for a shorter workday can easily be imagined. By so doing the jobless would not only be hitting at the root cause of unemployment (long hours) but they would also be hitting at the root cause of exploitation (the private ownership of socially necessary machinery).

It may be objected that, admitting the General Strike to be a good thing, there is still but slight possibility that it will ever be used. The answer is affirmative. There is every reason to believe that

a victory by the General Strike is far more probable than a victory by either ballots or bullets. It must be admitted however that its possibility is impaired by the insistent promulgation by politicians, insurgents and reformers of non-industrial methods, just as it would be helped by an aggressive educational campaign along revolutionary industrial union lines. Unless a great effort is made to direct the growing discontent of the working class along industrial lines for the attainment of Industrial Democracy by means of the General Strike many other things are likely to happen. The only other alternatives appear to be mob disorders and dictatorship of one kind or another. Workers should make every effort to get what they want, but they should be mighty sure they want it.

The New Society Not Inevitable

● The capitalist system, rotten as it is, has resources which cannot be overlooked. The armed forces of the state are not nearly so formidable as the venal press and other avenues of publicity and class mis-education. The capitalist press and class-controlled radio are perhaps the very strongest bulwarks for the established order. By means of these, labor hatred and mob frenzy can be lashed to fever heat at any time and against any individual or group which dares to challenge the capitalist system. It will be recalled however that newspaper workers have at times, notably in Seattle, refused to set-up or print slanderous and inflammatory anti-labor editorial matter. So here as well as in the manufacture and transportation of war material, the economic power of the workers can be used to advantage.

The system of exploitation is still strongly entrenched and deeply rooted in the economic ignorance

as well as in the habits, customs and imbecile individualism of the groove-minded electorate. But regardless of these obvious advantages the upholders of the present order are fighting a losing fight. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness as a social system. It has become a curse to the entire human race. There is no further historical justification for its existence. It has become an obstacle to further social progress. It is doomed by the iron law of inexorable change. Just as chattel slavery yielded to serfdom and selfdom to wage slavery, so the latter is forced by evolutionary and revolutionary pressure to make way for scientific industrialism—Industrial Democracy. But even this is not inevitable, for the present ruling class shows unmistakable willingness to plunge the entire world into disorganization and chaos. They may succeed unless steps are soon taken to stop them.

Let Come What May . . .

● Already the world is a tumult of disorder and rebellion due to starvation and misrule. No individual or organization can predict with blue-print precision what course events may take in each of the civilized countries, during the last days of the expiring social order. All that we are able to see in the light of social science is that the industries must be taken over by the ones who use them and need them and be operated for use instead of profit. The socialization of the means of production, transportation and exchange is now necessary for the survival of the human race. Only the workers are in a position to do this and it is their duty AT ALL COSTS to see that it is done. Properly organized and disciplined no power on earth can stop the aroused working class from coming into its own.

The scientifically sound and thoroughly construc-

tive character of the I. W. W. program has never been stressed more forcibly than in the concluding paragraphs of its Preamble: "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

"Labor Shall be All"

● "Seize the industries," is at present a discredited slogan, for, by inference, we are led to understand that this means to sieze the industries from the outside. But, frankly, is it necessary for workers to "sieze" something they already have?

Every day, on the job, workers are in possession of the industries. The problem is not how to "sieze" them, but how to keep from giving them up. The scientific modern General Strike would have a much simpler slogan and a much more sensible program: For the employed: "Retain the industries, but refuse to produce for profit." For the unemployed: "Picket the industries and refuse to scab or to let anyone else scab."

It is vitally necessary for the present "owners" that machinery and resources be manned by labor. It is equally necessary, during the revolutionary transition, that labor refuse to relinquish its hold on machinery either to the "owners" or to their scabs or mercenaries.

That labor will defend its own interests goes without saying. The I. W. W. has taught and is teaching workers to fight, not to beg—to demand, not to plead for what they want. And in this final struggle to free

the world from social parasitism, courage, clear-thinking and fearless fighting spirit are needed as never before.

Realizing that the control of industry can only come into the hands of the producing class when the producers have sufficient power to keep and to hold this control, the I. W. W. advocates the General Strike on the job reinforced by formidable, determined revolutionary picket-lines of unemployed. The change from private to social ownership being inevitable, only thus can the danger of serious destruction and bloodshed be minimized.

The workingclass should bend every effort to this end. The full current of the revolutionary movement should be directed from the streets to the industries. The revolutionary struggle should be thought out and fought out in terms of industrial action—control, defense, operation. The class struggle, in the last analysis, must be a struggle to control the means of production, transportation and exchange. It will probably be a bitter fight, but one that can have but one ending—complete victory for the workers in the world's industries.

Let come what may, no worker should count the cost. Even at the worst a General Strike could scarcely entail more privation and suffering than one of capitalism's many and all too frequent depressions. The General Strike is saner than insurrection and surer than political action. And beyond it—after the storm—is a scientifically planned and ordered world based on peace, plenty and security for martyred humanity. What other thing is more worth striving for by courageous men and women than the ideal of this classless Industrial Democracy for which the I. W. W. has battled so valorously and for so many years?



What is the General Strike?

• When Ralph Chaplin wrote this pamphlet in 1933, fascism was on the march in Europe and America. He saw the General Strike not just as a broad work stoppage, but rather as the occupation of industry by the workers themselves. It was his belief then that only worker control of industry could combat fascist repression and insure a world peace.

This conception of the General Strike influenced the stay - in strikes of the thirties here and was modified by Japanese workers after World War II when they occupied the industries to make sure that they were kept running. In the 1970's workers in Scotland, England, and Italy have militantly taken up the tactic. It remains to be applied on a mass level once and for all to do away with the dangerous foolishness of private ownership of production. It is an idea both revolutionary and constructive with a tremendous future.

Current IWW literature urges that workers the world over meet to reach an understanding among ourselves as to what we make, where we ship it, and how we distribute it in order to make optimal use of our skills and the earth's productive resources without either racing the earth or making slaves of its people.

For further information on the IWW or to subscribe to the monthly newsletter, *Workers Write*,

Industrial Workers of the World



GIANT INDUSTRY AND THE I. W. W.

Against the Concentrated Power
Of Modern Big Business
Put the Concentrated
Power of Workers



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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



HOW TO ORGANIZE

ONLY in recent years has labor succeeded in making itself felt as an organized, social force. The forerunners to modern unionism, such as the Knights of Labor, have their greatest value as experiments. Not until trade unionism appeared did labor gain any concession of permanent value.

It is only logical that this should be the case. Trade unionism had its birth at a time when production depended mostly upon skilled labor. The process of manufacturing and marketing products was entirely different from what it is today. To make our point clear we will take an industry for an example.

When fifty years ago, or more, a butcher was hunting for a place to establish himself, the first thing he looked for was a market. This was necessary at a time when refrigerators, cold storage, canned, evaporated and conserved meat and food products were still unknown. He needed a place where he could dispose of his products in a very short time, or else face destruction of his stock.

Having found such a place and established his little shop he began to develop his trade. If successful he employed help. The help he looked for was full-fledged butchers, men who knew the whole trade—killing of the animals, the preparation of the meat, how to dress it and place it on the counter for sale and even dispose of it to the consumer. In fact, the employee must be familiar with everything there was to the trade. If five, ten or more men were employed, all of them were required to possess the same amount of skill with the exception of the apprentices.

Where Craft Unions Had Power

To these men it soon became evident that by uniting into a union they could dictate to their boss the terms upon which their labor power would be available for him to use. If they withdrew their labor power he was at a loss to replace them. To get scabs to fill their places he had to canvass a large territory, as the men he needed in their places had to possess the same amount of skill or else they were worthless. While he was looking for scabs his competitor took his trade. If he did not succeed quickly he was faced with total ruin. To accept green help was impossible as it took several years for men to learn the trade. Under such conditions, craft unionism really filled the requirements. As for the unskilled, they had yet many thousands of valuable homesteads to fall back upon.

Today we find the whole meat packing industry controlled by four big corporations closely knitted together into one combination. When searching for a suitable place to erect a plant they no longer look for a market; the whole world is their market. They look for a place where communications afford an easy access to, on the one hand the livestock of the country, and on the other the various markets of the world.

The process of manufacturing is entirely different.

When the animals come in from the stockraising centers at the rate of several trainloads per day, they are herded into great stockyards. From there they are herded to the killing floor of the plant. Each man has his particular task to perform. A few do nothing else but place a little chain around the hind leg of the pigs and hook them on to a big wheel that hoists them upon a rail. Another man does nothing else but drive a knife into the heart of each pig. The carcasses are placed on an endless chain, constantly in motion, where perhaps a couple of hundred men have each one their particular little cut or other little job to perform. When the meat is

cut up we find the same kind of specialization. Some trim the hams, others the bacon, some sort the meat, each one performing his special part. I know of one man who stood for 15 years trimming the same three bones. He had acquired a skill and speed that were the envy of every dog in the world.

The Packing Plant—A Giant Butcher

The original skill of our old-time butcher is split up in some three or four, perhaps five hundred specialties. To each one it becomes necessary to acquire only a correspondingly small part of the trade, and become an expert in that line. And when all these experts are combined, as they are in a modern plant, we have **one giant, expert butcher**, assisted with all modern machinery needed. But what is of the greatest importance to us is that each individual part of this Giant Butcher can be made in a few days. Each man has to learn only a four or five-hundredth part of what the old-time, skilled butcher had to learn, and therefore the trade is learned in a correspondingly short length of time.

If one of these groups, or part of that Giant Butcher which the trade unionist chooses to call a "craft," decides to go on strike, we face a different situation. While in the times of the butcher shop the whole butcher went on strike and it was necessary to find another butcher to take his place, it is today only a small part of the butcher that makes obstruction. This part can easily be remade out of entirely green material and the Giant is ready to proceed making profit for his boss.

It is obvious that under such circumstances trade unionism ceases to be of any value to the workers, in fact, becomes detrimental to their economic interest. When trade unionism enters such a plant with the object of "organizing" the workers it does exactly the opposite.

Here we find a group of workers of different occupations, performing different work, closely united

in the interest of their boss. The stock yard laborer, meat cutter, truck driver, engineer, electrician, sausage maker, box maker, bookkeeper, cook and waiter in the lunch room, and many others, all united in the one Giant Butcher. The trade unionist in his work of "organization" proceeds to unite these groups of workers and place them more or less independently of each other. Calling each group a "trade", he forms as many unions as he possibly can distinguish groups. Each of these so-called "trades" unite, not with each other, but with similar groups in other plants, thereby making each group look at its interest without any consideration of the other workers in the same industry.

By such methods the worker fails to see his true position, that he is only a part of an industrial body and that his welfare is entirely dependent upon the conditions of the whole body. It would be as logical for a physician to tell you, if you approached him with an injured thumb, that you don't suffer, only the thumb suffers from the wound, as it is for these special groups, misnamed "crafts", to contend that they are units in themselves and need not concern themselves with the welfare of their fellow workers in the other groups.

Although we found in this particular industry that craft unionism at least filled some good function at some distant time passed, we have other industries where the inception of craft unionism has been nothing but hurtful to the workers.

The Giant Sailor

In marine transportation we find that practically no organization existed up to the time of steam navigation. Yet if craft unionism at any time was applicable in that industry it should be at the time when the wind-jammer reigned supreme on the seas. At that time sailing was a trade. It required skill and long experience to be a good sailor. With the begin-

ning of steam navigation a new type of sailor was created, the "Giant Sailor," just as we saw the "Giant Butcher" appear.

Regular routes with scheduled time for departure and arrival were established. The owners of the industry proceeded to organize and co-ordinate into one unit numerous crafts needed for modern marine transport. The engineer, sailor, mate and master, fireman, wireless operator, electrician, cook and waiter, freight and passenger agent, longshoreman, etc., were all moulded together into "One Giant Sailor". And here come, for the first time in the history of the industry, the craft unionists, and proceed to break up all these parts, already united in the interest of the boss, into so many separate unions which were to fight separately for themselves. Their slogan should rightfully be, "United for our boss, divided for ourselves!"

The result, so far as the marine transport workers are concerned, is exactly what could be expected. If at any time, for instance during the war, the lot of the marine worker became a little better, the betterment is clearly traceable to other sources than their craft unions. The improvement gained lately is due entirely to their growing industrial unions and is won, not by the craft unions, but in spite of them.

In railroad transportation we find a duplicate of what has taken place in the marine transport industry. Similarly in all the industries. Wherever we look today we find the same harmful work being done by the trade unions. Apparently, as craft unions do not unite but divide the workers, it is futile to look in that direction for that form of organization which will combine our forces so that we will become victorious. Before we offer a solution we will proceed to investigate another field of labor activity.

The Political Field

At a time when production was mostly an individual affair carried on by the small shopkeeper such

as the shoemaker, tailor, cabinet maker, butcher, etc., with a view of supplying the need of the locality only, participation in local as well as in national politics might have been of some value to the workers. The prosperity of the community in which one lived, its communications, schools, water, light and sanitary systems were all questions that vitally concerned the workers of that day, much more than they do today. Through their political organization the workers and producers in general could also exercise a far greater influence upon local and nation wide politics than they can today.

Due to the fact that production was carried on with a view of supplying the local market the general prosperity of the community became vital to all engaged in any industrial pursuit. True enough that the employing class, then as today, were the most interested, but labor itself also had some interest in the general prosperity of the community. With an industry that conformed mostly to the local need labor naturally became more stationary, as the market was less fluctuating. At the rate the community prospered chances for continuous employment improved and thereby also the prosperity of the wage worker. Being stationary the workers would also materially benefit by any improvements made in the community.

The laws and ordinances in the community also concerned him in a different way than they do today. Although the petty bourgeois were the dominant element, outside powers did not make themselves felt in the same way as today. The judges and police force were not prevailed upon by big outside money powers as we find at the present time, because there were no such powers in whose interest to dictate policy to the officials. The forces that really did so were weak and easily combatted when compared with the trusts of today. To the unskilled laborer who settled down on some homestead, naturally politics played a still greater part in his life.

Corporations' Orders are our Laws

In the past we were ruled by some state and federal laws. Today we are ruled by some board of directors of some trust. Their rules and orders constitute our laws. Today the prosperity of the community in which some industrial establishment is located, is of little or no interest to the owner. He does not depend upon any local market. His market is the whole world.

In South St. Paul, Minn., a city of hardly 20,000 people, we find two very large packing plants with a producing capacity large enough to supply the whole city of New York with meat. Of what interest is the welfare of that city to Swift and Company or Armour and Company, the owners of the plants? No more than what the conditions in a logging camp are to the Weyerhausers, and not that much. A Weyerhauser must erect a camp in which his slaves can live or there will be no logs, while the slaves in the packing plants are themselves taking care of their housing problems. If conditions are unsanitary, if the workers die like flies in the autumn, it matters nothing to these plutes so long as labor is plentiful. These owners live hundreds of miles away, perhaps on some other continent, if that climate should be deemed more beneficial to their health. Their holdings are managed by hired experts. The expert might be as well disposed a man as can be found and willing to bring relief, but his report to the board of directors on this subject will be thrown into the wastebasket unless he can show that a continuance of the system will endanger the profits. What the owners are interested in is the balance sheet. If any local improvements are proposed that will tax their profit, they certainly will oppose them. Such improvements are of no personal benefit to them and are looked upon as a matter of charity rather than a just taxation.

When the board of directors in the meat trust, per-

haps a dozen in number, meet and pass a motion to cut the wages ten per cent, they decide how much reduction in the standard of living, how much amusement and comfort (if the workers in these plants ever had any) shall be sacrificed by at least 100,000 workers and their families living in every state in the Union. When the same board advances the price of their products a couple of cents per pound, or gobbles up all the eggs and poultry in the country so as to raise the price 25 or 50 per cent, they impose a tax upon every human being in every civilized country. The workers can vote at the polls all they want, protest all they please, and elect whatever representatives they see fit, these laws are final until the workers dispossess these parasites and replace them with executives of their own.

Today we find the major part of the industries firmly in the control of a few financiers. Their huge profits compel them to look towards other fields for investment. There still exists some small amount of private property in the farming industry and among the small home owners. But the process of assuming control and ownership over the homes and farms in America is in full swing. There is a field for exploitation on a more efficient plan in the hands of the trust directly, instead of only mortgaged to the banker, so it will only be a short time until even the big cities are entirely owned and controlled by a very few big corporations.

Henry Holds Detroit In Fist

We have such cities here already. Detroit, Michigan, and Akron, Ohio, are typical of this kind of corporation controlled cities. Both are almost entirely dependent upon one single industry. Detroit, with its million population, depends upon a few automobile manufacturing concerns. Should a Henry Ford find it more profitable to move his plant to another place he would cause thousands of homes to be abandoned and would scatter to all winds enough people

to compose a city of quite large proportions. And no political move whatsoever could prevent him from doing it. The same holds good in regard to the city of Akron and its rubber industry.

It might be argued that laws could be passed that prevent an owner from moving his plant or leaving his employees without any means of support. But it cannot be done. Production takes its course according to that economic law which says that commodities must be produced by that method which affords the best results with the smallest amount of labor power. That means, that if labor power can be saved by moving a plant, or by installation of new machinery, or reorganization of its productive forces, this will take place in spite of all congressional and parliamentary laws. This economic law cannot be abrogated either by any political party or industrial organization. The question before us is therefore to so arrange our activity that we act in conformity to this economic law.

To get an idea of what this centralization of management really means to the workers a few figures from the above named cities ought to be illustrative. In the month of June, 1920, we found in the city of Akron, Ohio, 95,000 workers employed in the rubber factories producing 100,000 tires per day. In the same month, 1921, the number was reduced to 50,000 workers producing 80,000 tires per day. That meant 40,000 workers thrown out of employment and a decrease in production of only 20,000 tires. In Ford's plant in Detroit we found in June, 1920, 65,000 workers employed producing an average of 4,000 cars per day while in the same month, 1921, 45,000 workers produced 4,500 cars per day. The Willis Overland Company in Toledo shows a comparatively still greater reduction in their working force with an increase in their production, and the same tendency to speed up production is manifest in every industry.

What can we do under these conditions with our

voting machinery? Can we hope to bring any relief to these discharged workers by any political move? Can we by any municipal, state or federal laws hope to bring about such changes in our industrial conditions that these thousands of workers will again be absorbed in the industries instead of constantly constituting a weapon in the hands of our employers to be used against us any time we demand a little more of what we produce? Can we really hope for any such action on the political field when all the means by which public opinion is formed and moulded, the press, pulpit and news agencies; when all the agencies and means for enforcing the laws if passed; when the very means of existence of the voters themselves are firmly in the hands of those against whom we should legislate? To all who take the trouble of analyzing our social system with a view to finding some means by which conditions can be so changed that a fuller and better life may be the lot of those who produce all the wealth of the world, it is obvious that by parliamentary action we can accomplish nothing.

Industrial Unionism Only Solution

We have shown in the above resume how the workers through their cooperative effort in behalf of their masters can pile up enormous profits for them. It stands to reason that by applying the same methods in their own behalf they will gain the same result for themselves. We must keep all these Giant Industrial Workers, the butcher, transport worker, steel worker and all the other Giants in the same fighting trim as they are kept as a producing factor for the boss. And still more; we must unite all these Giants into one solid unit; **the one big union of all the workers—The Industrial Workers of the World.** Only so long as our masters succeed in keeping us united when working for him and divided when acting in our own behalf—a Giant when producing profit for him and a multitude of Pigmies

when fighting for our own welfare—can he succeed in keeping us enslaved.

When acting as a unit we can force our masters to concede any demands we place upon them. We can, **we will, and WE MUST** take over the industries and operate them in our own behalf. Because the strength of the ruling class depends entirely upon us; we constitute a power in ourselves without any masters—they are nothing without us. **Industrial Unionism** is the only solution. And not any separate industrial unions, confining themselves to their own particular industry, but all industrial unions combined into One Big Industrial Unit for the ultimate purpose of taking over the industries, on behalf of all producers in society, and operating them according to the needs of the people instead of for the profit of the few.

Independent industrial unions are industrial unions in name only. Industry as a whole is a very complicated affair. Each and every industry is equally dependent upon each other. It is as futile for the workers in one industry to hope to emancipate themselves without the united effort of the workers in all industries as it is for one little group of workers in a factory to accomplish their liberation independently of the other workers in the factory.

The tendency of certain groups, and particularly would-be leaders, in the labor world of today to create independent industrial unions is mostly due to their fear of persecution if they align themselves with the I. W. W. They hope to evade the terrible persecution measured out to the I. W. W. by keeping themselves outside of that organization. The ideal for which they organize is oftentimes the same as ours. But by adopting another name they hope to mislead their masters as to their real object. This, however, is useless. If they insist upon obtaining what they are organized for, there is only one way by which it can be accomplished. We must dispossess our masters, take control of the industries and produce for need and not for

profit. And even in our every day struggle for some small betterments in our conditions, these can only be gained through interference with our master's profits. And every time we interfere with his profits we will face the same kind of persecution even if we call ourselves the Holy Rollers or Salvation Army.

To evade persecution there is only one way: **Unite the Giants!** Only through our organized strength can we protect ourselves from our masters' dungeons, from his thugs and hirelings. But so long as we stay divided or act as individual groups he has the power over us. He will use this power, must use it, to prevent us from uniting our forces which would mean an end to his regime.

For further particulars write to General Headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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MILLIONS OF OTHER WORKERS?

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(2) All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;

(3) All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;

(4) Any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the industrial union covering his new employment — "once a union man, always a union man";

(5) No officer is elected for more than one year;

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(7) All officers are elected by referendum ballot on which all members they represent may vote;

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Historical Catechism of **AMERICAN UNIONISM**





Historical Catechism of American Unionism



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PRICE 25 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
EDUCATIONAL BUREAU OF THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Preface

In publishing this Catechism, the object sought has been to stimulate a desire for knowledge of American labor history. Labor progress we believe to be predicated upon a wider and deeper knowledge than is prevalent among the workers at the present time.

This pamphlet is only an outline which it requires a study of American unionism to fill in. It is our hope that those who read this book will carry their investigations further afield. But, even as it is, this catechism fills a long felt want. It will help acquaint those who read it with some things they should know. The works from which this condensation is made are beyond the means of the average worker. They are available at the public libraries, but so few of the working class have either the time or the inclination to visit these institutions that it was deemed advisable to publish the Catechism as an experimental step in working class education. The price puts it within reach of even the poorest worker.

Whatever shortcomings the pamphlet may have, it is at least an effort to communicate knowledge to the workers of America, of which they stand in great need.

It is intended to follow the Catechism with other works dealing with American unionism, at a later date. Some of these are even now being prepared.

We submit the Historical Catechism of American Unionism to our fellow workers with confidence that it will be received as a worthy contribution to American labor literature.

Educational Bureau of the I. W. W.

Historical Catechism of the American Unionism

1. What is a labor union?

An organization formed by wage workers to serve their interest as wage workers.

2. What is the interest of the worker as a wage laborer?

To secure an adequate wage, reasonable hours, and good working conditions under capitalism. To overthrow capitalism is the objective of the labor movement.

3. Has the worker no other interests than these?

None that are not conditioned upon these.

4. Then the labor union has no other function than to enable the workers to regulate their jobs?

None whatever. When a labor union attempts to function in any other capacity it is undertaking something foreign to its purpose, and which retracts from its usefulness as an instrument of labor.

5. What is an adequate wage?

A wage which will enable the worker to live according to a decent standard and to make provision for periods of sickness and old age.

6. Should it be the purpose of the union to bring about the establishment of such a wage?

That is the purpose of a union. Together with the regulation of hours and conditions, this is the sole mission of a union in the every-day struggle on the job.

7. Is it not functioning within its proper sphere when it provides for sick and death benefits?

It is not. If the union functions successfully in its proper sphere—the job—the workers will be able to attend to their own sick wants. As to death benefits, the union is intended to serve the living laborers; and, as a union—a body with an economic function—is not, at least should not, be concerned about the dead.

8. Is this not a heartless view?

Industry is not sentimental, and we are trying to study the labor union, as an instrument of labor. If we would learn the truth about it, we must be prepared to cast aside sentiment and prejudice and get down to bedrock.

9. Do not unions serve a good purpose by paying sick and death benefits?

No. We must consider, in dealing with unionism, that we are dealing with an instrument designed to serve definite purposes **in industry**, and nowhere else. If unions provide for their sick and injured, to the extent that they do so, they defeat their own purpose, which is to force from the capitalists a return which would make such relief by unions unnecessary. This discourages the spirit that would force the recognition that proper provision for the workers should be the first charge against industry.

10. Then you are opposed to the workers rendering one another mutual assistance?

No. It is folly for labor to foster the belief that the union can function successfully in two opposite directions; that it can secure an adequate return from the employers by lessening the need for it. If the workers are provided for, even insufficiently, during their periods of sickness or unemployment they are so protected, however, that the rigors of capitalism do not effect them, as they would if they were not so protected; and consequently, the workers are not inspired to fight for increased wages, or to find a solution for unemployment. If these features, which have been added to unionism, were removed it is probable that even the conservative unions would be inclined to address themselves to the problem of unemployment; they would devote themselves to essential job problems.

11. Would it be better for unions not to have such features?

Decidedly. If the unions did not have such features they would have to function more aggressively for the workers in industry. They would necessarily strive for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions.

12. And then?

Well, with better wages, the workers could make better provision for themselves; with shorter hours more of them would be employed, and more leisure for self-culture would be available; with better conditions less accidents would occur; the percentage of sick would be enormously reduced; there would be fewer victims of industrial diseases, etc.

13. Then the unions only defeat their own purposes by adopting these policies?

Exactly. Whenever a union tries to function anywhere else than on the job, it is neither successful as a union nor in any other capacity. The union is designed for one purpose—the regulation of the job in the interest of the workers. It cannot function in any other manner. It can no more be a union and an insurance society at the same time, than a saw can be a soldering iron, or a plumber can wipe a lead join with a shovel.

14. Should a union function only in industry?

Absolutely. When a union confines itself to dealing directly with industrial problems, other things will be added to its achievements. The union is the key with which the workers can unlock the treasure house of industry and solve all their problems.

15. Should the employer be permitted in a labor union?

No more than a coyotte in a sheepfold.

16. Why?

Because the interest of the boss is to that of the worker as the interest of the coyotte is to that of the sheep. The union cannot serve the worker and the boss at the same time, though many of the workers believe it can be done.

17. Why can't the union serve both the employer and the employes?

Because their interests are opposed. The boss wants low wages, while the workers want high wages; the employer wants the workers to speed up, while the worker does not wish to. So that it would be impossible for the union to serve these opposing interests.

18. Do not some unions admit the employers?

These are not labor unions. They are employers'

unions, no matter what they call themselves, or are alleged to be.

19. Well, how about letting the bosses join the union?

Not yet. By the bosses, of course, you mean superintendents, foremen, etc. Their viewpoint is the same as the employers', or they would not be holding their present jobs. In the discussion of questions relating to the job they would be putting up and contending for the employers' side, thus preventing the advancement of the workers' interest. They would, therefore, prove a hindrance to the union.

20. Is there not an employers' side to every industrial question?

Well, if there is, let them look out for their side. We have all we can do to attend to ours.

21. Then you have no regard for the employers' interest?

The only regard to be felt for them is to regard them as our enemies, economically.

22. Should they be fought all the time?

That is what a union is, if it is anything at all—a fighting weapon of the workers. People do not take fighting weapons to a picnic; they do take them to a battlefield—and that is just what modern industry is. There is an unceasing battle between the working class and the employing class. The union is the weapon with which the workers wage battle in behalf of their interests.

23. What do we know about the earliest unions in the United States?

Very little is known of the earliest unions in the United States. The printers are known to have organized for and won strikes in New York (1776) and Philadelphia (1786). The carpenters of Philadelphia struck for a 10-hour day in 1791. Shoemakers in Philadelphia organized in 1792, but no records of that union have been preserved. They organized again in 1794. This union was known as the Federal Society of Cordwainers. It lasted until 1806, when there was a conviction for conspiracy. This union conducted the first organized strike in America of which there is record. The printers of New York organized the Typographical Society in 1794. This union lasted two and one-half

years. Later there were organized the Franklin Typographical Society (1799-1804) and the New York Typographical Society (1809-1818). The shoemakers and printers were unquestionably the pioneers in developing unionism among the wage workers in the United States.

The Baltimore tailors struck successfully in 1795, 1805 and 1807. There were sailors' strikes and ship-builders' strikes in Massachusetts in 1817, and a sailors' strike in New York in March 1800.

The first twenty-five years of the 19th century mark a period during which the wage working elements in the U. S. were striving to develop some means for protecting themselves as workers. This may be regarded as the dawn of American unionism.

24. Upon what were the conspiracy charges, referred to in the preceding question, based?

Upon the grounds that the Federal Society of Cordwainers was an illegal and criminal combination for the purpose of raising wages.

25. What was the result?

In the Philadelphia case (1806) the jury returned a verdict of "guilty of a combination to raise wages." The New York case went against the shoemakers. In one of the Baltimore cases the jury found for the journeymen. The Pittsburgh case (1814) was compromised, the shoemakers paying the costs of the case and going back to work at the old rate of wages, practically, if not legally, a defeat. In the Pittsburgh case (1815) fines were imposed without imprisonment.

26. Were the courts biased in these trials?

Professor Commons' History of Labor in the United States says: "On the whole, the judges, especially in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh cases, sided against the journeymen."

27. Were these trials of local importance only?

Commons' history is here quoted: "That other employers of labor were much interested is evident from the dedication of the Pittsburgh case of 1815, penned by the reporter, 'To the Manufacturers and Mechanics... This Trial Involving Principles essential to their interest, is humbly dedicated by their Obedient Servant...'

"Similarly, in his preface the reporter remarks that:

'Perhaps he would not...have undertaken to report it, but for the pressing solicitations of many respectable Mechanics and Manufacturers...The verdict of that jury is most important to the manufacturing interests of the community; it puts an end to those associations which have been so prejudicial to the successful enterprise of the capitalists of the western country. But this case is not important to this country alone; it proves beyond possibility of doubt that, notwithstanding the adjudications in New York and Philadelphia, there still exists in those cities combinations which extend their deleterious influence to every part of the union. The inhabitants of those cities, the manufacturers particularly, are bound by their interests, as well as the duties they owe (the) community, to watch those combinations with a jealous eye, and to prosecute to conviction, and subject to the penalties of the law conspiracies so subversive to the best interests of the country.' "

28. Were these the first cases where aid of the courts was invoked by the employers?

The Commons' history states that "These prosecutions were the first in this country in which the employers invoked the aid of the courts in their struggle with labor"; and it adds: "It was brought out in the testimony that the masters financed, in part at least, the New York and Pittsburgh prosecutions."

29. Does not this look as though the bosses were early alive to their class interests?

Indeed, it does. It shows, moreover, that the courts showed their class character at an early date.

30. How did the workers take these decisions?

That we have organizations today proves that they regarded them as unjust. In the later cases the right to organize was conceded, but the means by which organizations sought to achieve their aims were declared illegal because they injured the employers, and interfered with the rights of others who would take jobs against the rules laid down by the unions. Pretty much the same arguments as are used by the open-shoppers today.

31. How were strikes conducted in those days?

As the unions were local in scope and composed of skilled mechanics, the very earliest attempts to win concessions from the employing tradesmen were to resolve the union into a co-operative concern competing for business with their former employers. Where this policy was not adopted, it was customary for those who remained in employment to support those who were battling for the points at issue, which were wages and hours. The shoe-makers, printers and carpenters very early adopted a system of providing funds from which striking members were supported. The policy of "non-intercourse" (boycott) was a very effective weapon with the early unionists, who employed it seriously and applied it vigorously. They would not patronize a boarding house where scabs were admitted; buy from a store that supplied them with goods; nor have anything to do with anyone who had dealings, social or otherwise, with a scab.

32. What did the early unions mostly concern themselves with?

Wages and hours. As the apprentice system had a bearing upon wages, it received much attention. Part-time workers, in the sense that only part of the time required for apprenticeship has been served, worked for lower rates than certified journeymen. This resulted in lowering the wages and throwing sufficient of the journeymen out of employment to make it a burning question.

33. How did the workers propose to deal with these questions?

They sought to establish the "closed shop", wherein they believed these questions might be more easily dealt with.

34. Did they have closed shop employments in those days?

The shoemakers union would not permit its members to work in any shop where non-union men were employed, nor for any employer who hired non-union help. The printers were opposed to scabs also.

35. Are there any instances where scabs were successfully barred from shops?

In Philadelphia, New York and Pittsburg the shoe-

makers compelled the outsiders to join them as soon as they came to town. New York shoemakers imposed a heavy fine for failure to do so. Pittsburg shoemakers exercised jurisdiction over men not members of the union, who they demanded should attend the meeting at which charges were preferred against them and defend themselves. Employers had to pay fines imposed against scabs.

36. Outside of strike funds did the early unions have benefit features?

Yes. Almost from their first appearance they had sick and death benefit features. The printers allowed benefits "to sickly and distressed members, their widows and children...provided, that such sum shall not exceed \$3.00 per week." The shoemakers allowed "\$3.00 per week", although it was "not an article of the constitution."

37. What effect did these benefit features have on the unions?

Commons' history says of the Philadelphia Typographical Society that "it willingly risked its status as a trade-regulating body in order to secure its benefit funds. Likewise, the New York printers, in their eagerness to make their benefit funds secure, in 1818, agreed to surrender their trade union functions completely, when the legislature declined to grant an act of incorporation on any other terms".

38. Did the employers organize at this time at all?

Yes. The Philadelphia Society of Master Cordwainers was organized in 1789. The master shoemakers of Pittsburg were organized in 1814. The master printers were organized in New York, Philadelphia and other towns. The bosses are never behind-hand with organization.

39. What was the average length of a working day in those times?

The working time extended from sunrise to sunset for all workers, with stoppage of work for the morning and mid-day meals. This applied during the entire year, so that the length of the workday varied with the season. The workday was longer in the summer time than in the winter.

40. **Did not this method give the employers a great advantage in the summer as compared with the winter?**
Undoubtedly.

41. **How did the working day come to be so measured?**

Farming, which was then the prevailing industry, was carried on with sun to sun as the measure of the day. The idea prevailed that this practice was necessary in manufacturing as well. Besides, it was believed that shortening the workday would have "an injurious effect" in all modes of business, agriculture and commerce. Moreover, lowering the working time would be "opening a wide door for idleness and vice," and would destroy the condition of the workers, "made happy and prosperous by frugal, orderly, temperate and ancient habits". As usual, even in our day, the demand for a shorter workday was attributed to foreigners, "bringing with them their feelings and habits, and a spirit of discontent and insubordination to which our Native Mechanics have hitherto been strangers". (1821)

42. **What was the first attempt made by any workers to shorten the workday?**

That of the Union Society of Carpenters in Philadelphia, in May 1791. The men demanded a working day "from 6 o'clock in the morning to six in the evening."

43. **What, besides the long workday, brought on the 1791 carpenters' strike?**

The master carpenters paid by the day in summer, and work was done at piece rates in the winter.

44. **What other ten-hour manifestations have we any record of.**

Journeyman, Millwrights and Machine Workers of Philadelphia (1822); Boston House Carpenters (1825), who struck in the busy season as there was a great demand for carpenters owing to "the recent calamitous fire" and "great public improvements". They "believed the existing wages derogatory to the principles not only of justice, but of humanity", and "that ten hours faithful labor shall hereafter constitute a day's work." They also contended that "on the present system, it is impossible for a Journeyman, Housewright and House Carpenter to maintain a family....with the wages now given".

45. What did the employers reply?

They replied to the effect that this "combination for the purposes of altering the time of commencing and terminating their daily labour, from that which has been customary from time immemorial.....(is) fraught with numerous and pernicious evils"....would have an "unhappy influence....by seducing them from that course of industry and economy of time" to which it was desirable to "enure" apprentices. Moreover, it would expose the workmen "to many temptations and improvident practices" from which they would be delivered by "working from sun to sun". These early bosses were pious old ducks, for one reason why they opposed the shorter workday was because "we fear and dread the consequences of such a measure upon the morals and well-being of society". They were patriotic, too, regular 100 per centers. They did not believe "this project to have originated with any of the faithful and industrious Sons of New England, but are compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth, and one which we hope will not take root in the favored soil of Massachusetts". "And especially", they added, "that our city the early rising and industry of whose inhabitants are universally proverbial, may not be infected with the unnatural production." That is how the bosses regarded unions, and the demands of workers, one hundred years ago.

46. Were the bosses not concerned about the effect of the shorter workday upon themselves?

It is the employers' manner, and very effective strategy as well, to disguise their material interests with morality and patriotism, such as you read in the answer to the preceding question; but at bottom their real concern is always for their material interests. So we find the real (economic) reason buried beneath their moral and patriotic mouthings — "if such a measure (10-hour day) would ever be just, it cannot be at a time like the present, when builders have generally made their engagements and contracts for the season." Then to show their disinterestedness (?) and broad Christian spirit (?) they announce that they will not only not grant the 10 hour day, but "that we will employ no

man who persists in adhering to the project of which we complain." Here is the blacklist as early as 1825.

47. Did the Boston Carpenters win their strike?

They did not.

48. Why?

Because the business elements combined against them. A meeting of the business interests was convened which declared that the proceedings of the journeymen were "a departure from the salutary and steady usages which have prevailed in this city, and all New England, from time immemorial." "If this confederacy," they added, in appealing to fellow employers, "should be countenanced by the community, it must, of consequence, extend to and embrace all the Working Classes in every department in Town and Country.".. This meeting also decided to support the Master Carpenters "at whatever sacrifice, or inconvenience, and to this end extend the time for the fulfillment of their contracts, and even to suspend, if necessary, building altogether." They could foresee, they said, "No loss or inconvenience arising from such suspensions, equal to what must result from permitting such combinations to become effectual".

49. Were they determined to head off unionism?

Apparently. From the standpoint of their relationship they could see what the workers should do, and they feared that organization "would extend to and embrace all the Working Classes in every department in Town and Country". They saw also that "no loss or inconvenience—was equal to what must result from permitting such organizations to be(come) effectual." Note: It is well for the student to bear this in mind when considering the later unions in their structure, policies, and the aims which they sought to achieve. Remember that the early capitalist class saw clearly the necessity of working class organization, and feared it. The capitalists have lost none of their cunning, and have never had scruples or a conscience to lose. They wanted the workers divided, and they are divided. Division is organized in the ranks of the workers.

50. How did these Boston carpenters fight their employers?

They organized a co-operative and advertised to do

This was done in the Phila. strike of 1791, not in Boston, 1825. (See Commons' History of

work at 25 per cent less than the prices charged by the masters.

51. Was their co-operative venture a success?

Evidently not, as they lost the strike. We agree with Commons' history that "co-operation is an indication, not of trade unionism, but of the failure of trade union policies." We shall find much evidence in this respect at a later period. Co-operation has been used (1) for the purpose of retaliation on the employers, and (2) to attain a position where permanency of employment might be achieved. Up to now it has not proved successful.

52. Were the employers permitted to join the early unions?

As the tools of the period were comparatively simple every journeyman expected at some time to become a master. This feeling tended to cloud their perceptions as to the necessity of keeping their unions clear of any influence which might tend to mislead them in the enunciation of principles and the formation of policies. It had the tendency to temper the demands of the day with the idea of its effect upon their own possible changed relation upon the morrow. This was, and still remains, a dangerous influence in organizations of wage-earners. Even though the employer might be barred from membership, which was not the case, the influence of his viewpoint still commanded an important place in the deliberations of these early unions.

53. How long did this condition obtain?

With a few modifications it has remained up to quite recent times. The physical absence of the employer is not important as long as his mentality governs in union affairs. This is the case in the A. F. of L. and "independent" unions today.

54. Were there no exceptions?

There was one exception, an employing printer was expelled by the New York Typographical Society in 1817. According to Commons' history, which quotes from the No. 6 Official Annual of the Typographical Union, March 1892: "Experience teaches us that the actions of men are influenced almost wholly by their interests, and that it is impossible that a Society (union) can be well regulated and useful when its members are

actuated by opposite motives, and separate interests. This society is a society of journeymen printers; and as the interests of the journeymen are **separate** and in some respects **opposite** to those of the employers, we deem it improper that they should have any voice or influence in our deliberations.' "

55. Is that not clearly a recognition of the class struggle?

It is a clear statement, in all probability due to the influence of some member or small group. But all the organizations accepted the doctrine that "the interests of the capitalists and wage earners are mutual and harmonious".

56. How do we know that this is true?

Here are some expressions that go far to prove it: Typographical Society (1802), "We cherish the hope, that the time is not far distant, when the employer and employed will vie with each other, the one, in allowing a competent salary, the other, in deserving it."

Philadelphia Journeymen, pressmen (1816) in presenting a scale of prices to the employing printers: "The pressmen are induced, from a duty which they owe themselves to call your serious attentions to what they here represent.....They therefore anticipate that you will, **with the liberality becoming your profession**, give your decided approbation to the annexed scale of prices. **Your opposition we ought not to expect.**"

It was generally held by the early unionists that employers and employed held interests in common. Says the Commons' history, "There was, indeed, as yet no 'labor philosophy'. . . . The skilled mechanic might expect to become a master, and it did not occur to him to use his organization to abolish the wage system."

57. Was there any connection between the unions in the different towns?

Sometimes the unions corresponded with one another upon their purposes, informing each other about their demands and exchanging fraternal greetings. Sometimes, they rendered financial assistance to one another, as in the case of the Philadelphia printers who sent \$83.50 to New York to aid in relieving "distressed" members. They also used to send out lists of scabs to their organized fellow craftsmen in other cities. At times they notified other unions of their wage demands.

58. Was there ever joint action by these unions?

In particular trades there may have been. In 1809 the shoemakers struck against one firm. This firm farmed out its work to other manufacturers. To meet this situation, the shoemakers called out every man in the trade. It was a general strike against the master shoemakers.

59. What became of these early unions?

Following the Napoleonic wars an industrial depression swept through the United States. Goods manufactured in Europe were dumped into this country. Unemployment made ravages among the working class, and in the resulting competition the unions were destroyed. It is stated that in Philadelphia alone out of 9,762 workmen employed in 1816, about 7,500 were discharged in 1819. It is authentically reported that in 1819 approximately 20,000 workers were seeking work in Philadelphia, a like number in New York, and 10,000 in Baltimore.

60. How long did the panic last?

It reached its height about 1820. Thereafter there was gradual improvement.

61. What important event took place about this time?

Steam power had been successfully applied to water transportation. This made the navigation of western waters commercially more advantageous. There is said to have been 108 steam-propelled vessels on western waters in 1822. The new power made possible readier and more rapid use of the Mississippi, and other navigable waters. This development of production machinery made possible the addition of vast territories, and rendered the rest of the world more accessible to our production, and our markets to their manufactures. Steam as a motive power in industry and transportation was the means upon which capitalist domination depended.

62. What effect did the revival of trade have upon the workers?

We find many unions springing up in trades where previously there had been no organization. In New York (1825) "The Nailers Union (and) the Weavers Union joined with a number of journeymen societies in

celebration of the opening of the Erie Canal". The "female weavers" struck with the men in Pawtucket, R. I. in 1824. In 1823 the New York City stone-cutters struck for \$1.62½ a day. This union also struck for higher wages in 1825. Journeymen Hatters in Philadelphia struck in 1825, **"to establish a regular system of wages, to prevent one employer from underselling another."** New York hatters organized in 1823.

Other strikes were called to resist wage cuts. In 1824, Buffalo Tailors, Philadelphia Ship Carpenters, the New York Journeymen House Painters struck for increased wages. In 1825 there were strikes of tailors, stone-cutters, stevedores and common laborers in New York; hand-loom weavers in Philadelphia, and cabinet makers in Baltimore and Philadelphia. In 1825 the bakers sought the abolition of Sunday work—a shortening of the weekly working time. New York City bakers led this fight.

63. Was there any new factor in those times?

Yes. Prison labor for the first time came into conflict with "free labor". In their effort to minimize the labor cost of production, the rising capitalist class sought to employ convict labor. This had an injurious effect upon a labor market which was just recovering from the effects of the panic. In 1823, the journeymen cabinet makers of New York held a mass meeting and petitioned the state legislature for redress from a practice which threatened "the ruin of . . . free mechanics." Adding, as a recommendation, that "convicts be employed in a state marble quarry."

64. Then it was not the principle of the employment of convict labor they objected to, but its effect upon their own trade?

Evidently. That employment in a marble quarry might have a bad effect upon the quarrymen did not concern them, as long as the cabinet making trade was given relief. The unskilled working strata have always furnished the dumping ground for all the grievances of the skilled workers. That is true even today.

65. What effect did these union activities have on the employers?

They became alarmed, and several prosecutions

upon charges of conspiracy resulted. While the right to organize was no longer denied, the means adopted to build up, and the methods employed by the organizations were questioned. Tactics, like picketing, supported strikes, closed shops, distribution of scab lists were declared illegal by the courts. These were regarded as being coercive, and forms of intimidation. The unionists were found guilty. The position of the courts in these cases is almost identical with the position of the courts in labor cases today.

66. When do we first find anything like a co-ordinated movement of wage workers?

Following a strike of building trades workmen in Philadelphia in 1827 there was organized in that city the first central labor union of which there is record—The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

67. Of what did the mechanics' union of trade associations consist?

It was a body consisting of delegates from existing trade associations affiliated with it. The carpenters, painters, and bricklayers were affiliated. Many other trades were also connected with this moverent; for at one time it embraced fifteen associations. It undertook the work of organizing unorganized trades "who are yet destitute of trade societies."

It adopted a constitution and by-laws. It is alleged that this contained a clause prohibiting political action by the organization. Nothwithstanding this provision, after a year of existence, in May, 1828, it resolved itself into the first labor political party in this country. The decision to function as a political organization was approved by vote of the constituent unions and other trade societies.

Thus, the very first promising effort of American workmen was diverted from its proper economic sphere into the by-path of politics. As the political movement made headway, the Mechanics' Union lost ground as an economic factor, and at its last meeting in November, 1829, only four unions were represented. It was killed by politics. Two years later, in May 1831 a mass meeting was called "to consider the establishment of a ten-hour day"; so that it would appear that there ex-

isted two schools even in that day—the labor politician and those who believed in direct economic action.

68. What particular results followed from the movement?

A labor press was one result of this movement. A recognition of class divisions in society, though not at all clear, is noticeable. It implied the division of the population into "the rich" and "the poor" rather than into the employing and the employed classes. There was a widespread belief that the control of the state by "the rich" was responsible for the evils under which the wage working population suffered. From this there followed a conviction that the wage earners and "common people", who were numerically in the great majority, could remedy their grievances through political action. There was complete failure to recognize the true character of the state—a failure that persists up to this date—and, with the mistaken idea that their ballots would affect their deliverance, the workers were inveigled by their leaders to essay the political role which seemed to have the virtues of being easy and sure.

69. Could not the workers see that their greatest reliance was in their economic organizations?

Why, they do not see that yet. The arguments that won the workers of 1828, and the following years, are as potent to win them today as they were then.

There were many things in the infancy of the labor movement that appeared to be essentially political in their origin, and it was deemed that these would respond to political treatment. That these were basically economic did not occur to the early unionist. Such were (1) the obligatory militia service, (2) imprisonment for debt, (3) denial of educational facilities. The workers of those days sought relief from these very grave matters in the way that appeared easiest and best to them—politically.

70. Well, why did they go to the trouble of organizing unions?

The instinctive promptings that their power lay in the control over their labor power, urged the economic organization. We must remember that the bulk of these workers did not understand the social relationship

which victimized them, and were easily persuaded that "injudicious and partial legislation, and the indifference of our rulers to the general welfare"; that "laws were made for the benefit of the rich and the oppression of the poor" was the cause of their disadvantage. They were thus induced to seek redress in politics. So far was this carried that even the ten-hour day took the form of a political demand.

71. Was this movement confined to Philadelphia only?

No. In New York, as in Philadelphia, it was originally a ten-hour day movement. With the nucleus of these two organizations, the movement spread out over the New England states and through the southern seaboard states, until it is said to have been active from Maine to Georgia.

72. How long was it maintained?

It disintegrated about 1831-1832, because of "the workers inability to play the game of politics", and the all-too excellent acquaintance of the old party politicians with the "tricks of the game."

73. What purpose did it serve?

It served the purpose of directing the attention and energies of the workers from the industrial field, where they might have made themselves formidable, to the political arena, where they became the playthings of capitalist intrigue—a decidedly capitalist purpose, which politics served well.

74. What succeeded the workingmen's political party?

The New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men.

75. What was this organization?

It aimed to be a union of all producers. Its program was both economic and political.

76. What was its origin?

It grew out of a ten-hour movement. The ten-hour day had been established in New York City, and partially established in Philadelphia. But the building trades in Boston had been defeated in an attempt to establish it, by a strike in 1830. A movement to force a ten-hour working day grew in volume in New England. The mechanics and machinists of Providence, R. I. met in November 1831 and declared that "after

March 20, 1832 they would only work ten hours." In December of that year (1831) delegates from several parts of New England held a meeting in Providence and issued a call for a convention to be held in Boston in February 1832. This convention gave birth to the New England Association, and voted to establish the ten-hour day.

77. Did it take in others than wage workers?

Yes, and this was a fundamental weakness. It showed its concern and solicitude for the small employer "who is exposed to a competition that is frequently ruinous from the disproportionate means of those who contend."

78. How did the working people respond to this organization?

It is recorded that the factory operatives proved a disappointment. The New Haven delegates to the convention of 1833 complained that "the absence of delegates from the factory villages gives reason to fear that the operatives in the factories are already subdued to the bidding of the employers—that they are already sold to the oppressor, that they have felt the chains riveted upon themselves and their children, and despair of redemption. The Farmers and Mechanics, then, are the last hope of the American people. If they falter, from ignorance or from fear, if they are diverted from their object by deception or by reproaches, the next generation will find its workingmen pusillanimous subjects of an aristocratic government, naked, famished and in hovels, sowing that others may reap, and building palaces for others to inhabit."

79. What was the general program of this movement?

"To mature measures to concentrate the efforts of the labouring classes, to regulate the hours of labor, by one uniform standard, to promote the cause of education and general information, to reform abuses practiced upon them, and to maintain their rights as American Freemen." It proposed to establish "committees in each state, to collect and publish facts respecting the condition of labouring men, women, and children, and abuses practiced upon them by their employers." They also proposed to petition legislatures on the sub-

jects of hours of labor and the education of child operatives in the factories.

80. Was this movement local?

It was not intended to be. In its structure and proposals, it was a mass organization of producers corresponding to the Knights of Labor of later years. At its second convention, held in the State House in Boston (September 1832), delegates were present from Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, and Massachusetts. The third convention had a representative from Pennsylvania in addition to the states represented in the second convention. At this (3rd) convention the case of the imprisonment of operatives of the Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Company of Thompsonville, Conn. was taken up. A strike had occurred in the plant of this company. Suit for damages was brought against the strike leaders. They were imprisoned upon a charge of **conspiracy to ruin the business of the company** because the demand for an increase of wages was refused. A committee was appointed to propose a statement of facts for publication in "The New England Artisan". The convention denounced the conduct in connection with the strikers in this case as "an alarming abuse of power which ought to be resisted." Arrangements were made by this convention "to call a national convention at some central point."

The next and last convention of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Working Men met at Northampton, Mass., in Sept., 1834. It was only a prelude to the state political convention, which met in the same place immediately afterwards. Politicals had slain another economic movement of the workers.

81. Was the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Working Men responsible for any economic attempt by workers?

Yes. Ship carpenters and caulkers of Boston, and house carpenters, masons, painters, slaters, and sail-makers, jointly strove for a ten-hour day though, apparently, without success. There was later a lockout of the ship carpenters and caulkers belonging to the

Association, and a boycott of those master mechanics who were suspected of being friendly to the union men.

82. Did the political effort succeed?

It accomplished none of the things to which it applied itself. The reforms it sought were later taken up as vote-getting expedients by the dominant political parties, and were thus legally established. As a preventative of industrial unity, from the capitalist point of view, these political parties were very successful; from the working class point of view, they were disastrous.

83. Did any unions continue during this period of political activity?

The typographical societies of New York and Philadelphia, which, however, were of a purely benevolent character since their incorporation, maintained a continuous existence. In 1833 the Philadelphia Typographical Association was formed whose "primary intention" was "the determination and support of adequate wages for journeymen printers".

In 1833 also, the Benevolent Society of Journeymen Tailors of New York divided. The militant members formed the United Society of Journeymen Tailors directed to industrial purposes whereupon the old society devoted itself, in part, to trade affairs and affiliated with the city central union.

The Pennsylvania Society of Journeymen Cabinet Makers, organized in 1806 and incorporated in 1825, revised its constitution in 1829 in order to apply itself industrially, by making it an objective "to establish a stated price, as a criterion for workmen to settle all disputes which may arise between them and their employers, in an amicable and satisfactory manner."

The United Beneficial Society of Cordwainers of Philadelphia during March 1835, held a meeting to organize all non-union shoemakers, and two months later voted to strike for higher wages.

84. What is worth noting about this period?

That division of labor was threatening the handcraftsmen. The period of apprenticeship covered from 5 to 7 years, when the full trade was learned. But now, only certain processes were necessary, and when an

apprentice became an adept in one or more of these, the employer had every interest in refraining from completing his knowledge of the trade. The employer thus got an expert's work in a process for an apprentice's allowance. As a consequence, the apprentice system was a live question with the journeymen, and every effort was made to regulate it. It threw many journeymen out of work as boys were substituted, because their wages were lower. The printers, tailors, ropemakers, bakers, and many trades in other branches of manufacturing were affected. There was great complaint that there was much hardship endured by workers in the various trades because "labor is so divided that what made one trade formerly, now makes half a dozen, and every working tool is simplified or improved—to say nothing of machinery."

Besides the cheap labor of the apprentices, women provided another source of cheap labor. In 1837 women were employed in more than one hundred different trades. Women were used as compositors to break a printers' strike in the Philadelphia newspaper offices in the early 30's, and women seamstresses to break a strike of tailors in 1833 in New York. Cheap convict labor was employed in competition with free labor earlier in New York and Pennsylvania than in other states.—It was systematically used in Massachusetts in 1805, Vermont, in 1808, Maryland in 1811, and New Hampshire in 1812. As early as 1828 the New York and Auburn prisons became profitable undertakings to the state. In Connecticut (1828) the prisons also became profitable, as did those of Massachusetts (1832). The Sing Sing prison in 1835 made a profit of nearly \$29,000. What, do you think, did the manufacturers who contracted for this prison labor make!

85. What organization form succeeded the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workingmen?

Organizations of central labor unions of the type of the Mechanic's Union of Trade Associations, which originated in Philadelphia in 1827.

These unions cannot strictly be said to have followed the N. E. A. of F. M. and O. W., as the first one was

established in New York City in 1833, while the New England Association was still in existence.

This form of unionism gave impetus to organization work among the several trades, for we find unions of Hand Loom weavers, plasterers, bricklayers, smiths, cigar makers, plumbers as well as the pioneer trades which were foremost in advancing the cause of unionism, like the printers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, etc.

The women workers, also, show signs of awakening, and they formed a mass organization, covering Philadelphia and vicinity, which was known as the Female Improvement Society. This organization included in its membership tailoresses, seamstresses, binders, folders, milliners, stock-makers, corset makers, and mantua-makers.

In Philadelphia trade societies increased from 21 in 1833 to 53 in 1836. During the same period in New York, such societies increased from 29 to 52.

Baltimore had 23 trade societies in 1836. Newark (N. J.) 16, Boston, 16. Local unions were established as far west as Louisville, Ky., and St. Louis, Mo., and included Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati.

86. Were there any important local developments?

It is very significant that all the building trades of Buffalo, N. Y. were included in an association of Journeymen builders. This would appear to be the starting point of the modern Building Trades Council.

The Female Improvement Society of Philadelphia was an inclusive union which did not apply itself to remedying ills in one calling but in all callings where women were employed. It won an important demand in Philadelphia by which an increase of wages for all women was secured. We are informed that "the employers appear to have granted the increase without a strike, and the association soon after went to pieces."

Women in many trades had recourse to organization as a means of improving their conditions. We find women's unions in New York, Baltimore, Lynn (Mass.)

87. What prompted the formation of central unions?

It was argued that the trade societies (craft unions)

“having discovered that they were unable **singly** to combat the numerous powers arrayed against them, united together for mutual protection”. It was believed that “trade societies are the best means” for workers in the individual trades, and Trades Unions (central labor bodies) the best means for all the trades.

This idea gained such headway that the cotton operatives in several Pennsylvania towns formed the Trades Union of Pennsylvania. The tailors of Louisville, Cincinnati and St. Louis acted concertedly against the master tailors of those three towns in December, 1835.

88. What was gained through these central unions?

Carpenters won the 10-hour day in Philadelphia and an increase in wages in 1833. Several attempts to cut wages were successfully resisted. Many strikes for benefits were successful. A labor press was one important outcome of these bodies, and a more general knowledge of labor problems was diffused.

89. What appears to have been their general economic policy?

Unions with grievances would strike in the absence of remedial treatment. The affiliated unions would lend financial assistance and such industrial support as refusing to supply raw material, or to handle the products of scab workmen. At that stage of industrial development this meant the exercise of great power, and with the conscientiously strenuous use of the boycott was designed to win a greater measure of success than was possible to a single trade society.

90. What of union political action?

Apparently the unions had learned the lesson of politics, and their experiences were recent enough to suggest to them the taking of a definite stand. So, we find the unionists dead set against participation in politics by the organizations. In New York they counselled the unionized workers “not to lend their standard to decorate the pageant of any political procession”. In Baltimore politics were disavowed. In Philadelphia, the home of labor politics, it was decided that “no Party, political or religious questions shall at any time be agitated in, or acted upon by this Union.”

In 1836 the Philadelphia union gave three reasons

for their position in regard to politics: The third one, after referring to the experience of the Mechanic's Union, declared that "the Trades' Union never will be political, because its members have learned from experience that the introduction of politics into their societies has thwarted every effort to ameliorate their conditions". This says, in effect, that they believed politics to be an instrument of the employers.

91. How did the politicians regard this stand?

They did not welcome it. That this policy on the part of the union militants was not a mere gesture is shown by the demand for the resignation of the first president of the New York General Trades' Union. This individual accepted an appointment by the Governor of New York to serve on a commission to investigate prison labor in the state. The report of this commission was a great disappointment to the organized workmen. The labor president subscribed to it. He was accused of having "deserted the cause of the Mechanics and Workingmen". However, there was enough politics in the union to prevent any investigation of his conduct. The politicians were inside, and laying low while awaiting their opportunity.

92. Was the opportunity provided?

Indeed it was. In 1835 the Supreme Court of the State of New York handed down a decision in which a shoemaker's society was held to be "a combination to injure trade and commerce". The employers took this decision as a basis upon which to institute an action against the journeymen tailors who were then on strike. Twenty tailors were arrested and charged with "conspiracy to injure trade and commerce, and for riot and assault and battery". The tailors were found guilty.

The decision of the court aroused intense indignation. A mass meeting was held at which the judge and courts in general were denounced. This meeting, influenced by the outrageous finding of the court in this, and other cases, upon the spur of the moment decided upon political action instead of economic action, and resolved "to take into consideration the propriety of forming a separate and distinct party, around which the laboring classes and their friends, can rally with confidence." The op-

portunity was provided, and the politicians were ready.

Similarly in Philadelphia in 1836, when some three hundred coal heavers were on strike for a 25 cent per day increase. Several of them were arrested. The bail was fixed by the mayor at \$2,500. He is alleged to have declared when setting the bail that he was determined "to lay the axe at the root of the 'Trades' Union". The threat, and the excessive bail aroused the central labor union, which took up the fight on behalf of the coal heavers. The court dismissed both charges of conspiracy and riot. The union determined to strike at the mayor politically; the politicians were on hand, but the mayor was re-elected.

93. When was a general ten-hour day established in any section of the United States?

In Philadelphia, in June, 1835. It was obtained as the result of a general strike of all workers, which, curiously enough, was inaugurated by the common laborers and coal heavers of the city. The workers in every calling struck, and the employers conceded the ten-hour day. Three or four days of direct action accomplished what years of politics could not make a start on. The New York Journal of Commerce, which was very hostile to the workers, conceded that ten hours was a long enough day, when the workers already had it. Previously, that employers' sheet could not reconcile itself to the demand. But it stated that "What we object to is not the thing sought—but the means of attaining it. For the precedent is full of mischief; if such is to be the rewards of turn-outs (strikes), there will be no end to them."

That these strikers were predicated upon organization, and that organization was made necessary by the refusal of the interests for which this paper spoke is conveniently overlooked.

The strike brought the ten-hour day, and the lead was taken by the unskilled workers. This is worth remembering.

94. Did the unions rest upon the ten-hour day?

No. They immediately set out to obtain increased wages, and met with encouraging success.

95. What effect did this have?

It brought about the organization of the employers. Employers' associations are found in all the industrial towns from 1836 on. The blacklist was used as a weapon against union workers. The blacklist was not equal to the union and the boycott, so the employers again turned to the courts for aid in overcoming the advantages that lay with organized workers. The courts did not disappoint them.

96. What was the general effect of unionism during this period?

There was much activity in organizing work. There were many demands for betterments, and, on the whole, there was a wholesome development in the working class.

97. Was no attempt made for more extensive organization Than Central Labor Unions?

Yes. The first attempt at national organization was made when the New York General Trades' Union issued a call for a national convention in March, 1834.

98. With what response did their call meet?

A convention was held in New York City in August, 1834, which was attended by delegates from Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Poughkeepsie, Newark, and Philadelphia. The unions of Washington, and Baltimore were not represented. This convention gave birth to the National Trades' Union.

99. Was it a harmonious gathering?

The question of politics came very near disrupting it. After an exhaustive discussion, it was decided by the convention to refrain from politics.

100. Did the convention announce any policy?

Yes. It decided to encourage the spreading of education among the workers, for it was impressed "That the primary cause of all the evils and difficulties with which the working classes are environed can be traced to the want of a correct knowledge." Also, it recommended that "such of the working classes of these United States as have not already formed themselves into societies for the protection of their industry, do so forthwith, that they may by this means be enabled to make common cause with their oppressed brethren,

and the more speedily disseminate such knowledge as may be most conducive to their interests in their respective trades and arts, as well as their general interests as productive laborers". It referred to a "line of demarcation between the producers of wealth and the portions of society which subsist upon the fruits of the Working Man's industry".

101. How long did the National Trades' Union last?

From 1834 to 1837.

102. What succeeded it?

Trade societies organized upon a national scale.

103. What unions were so organized?

The National Co-operative Association of Journeymen Cordwainers (1836-1837); the National Typographical Society (1836); (This union became the National Typographical Association in 1837). It was the first union to inaugurate the system of issuing union membership cards. These cards served to restrict the employment of apprentices as journeymen. A union card secured for the bearer courtesies from union craftsmen in towns where he was a stranger, where the society was in existence. The Comb Makers, Carpenters, and Hand Loom Weavers all started national unions in their trades.

104. What became of these national unions?

Where previously the union movement had been killed by politics, the movement rising in 1836-37 committed suicide by undertaking co-operative productive enterprises through which the panic, beginning in 1837, wiped them out.

105. What was the attitude of the working class after the destruction of their unions?

The idea of economic combination survived the passing of the unions. All through this panic, which lasted until 1849, the workers were involved in a condition which they were at a loss to understand; and consequently unable to deal with. Throughout its duration, and following its passing, the wage earners instinctively felt their supreme need to be economic organization. This is testified by their refusal to adopt the suggestions of the humanitarian philosophers who offered many schemes as panaceas.

106. What were these schemes?

Owenism, which had a revival following 1837. It assumed forms differing somewhat from Robert Owens colony, established at Harmony, Ind., in 1826. The most prominent of its intellectual leaders in the revival were: Emerson, Channing, Brownson, Brisbane, Greeley, Weitling. There were many others, but to these belongs the distinction of greatest prominence.

107. What was the nature of their schemes?

Principally co-operative undertakings, but they were not in accord with one another.

108. What were the real wage workers doing?

In 1844 a delegate convention attended by delegations from several states inaugurated the New England Working Men's Association. At its second convention the co-operative associationists dominated. Robert Owen (England), Wm. H. Channing, and Horace Greeley were among the speakers. Another convention was held in the fall of 1845. This convention endorsed co-operative enterprises, and political action. The 1846 convention changed the name to the Labor Reform League of New England. After the 1847 convention this organization disintegrated, the co-operators going into the New England Protective Union, and the others taking part in the Industrial Congresses.

109. Did the organization effect anything?

As an evidence of the working class ambition to achieve the 10 hour day, which was its principal feature, it undoubtedly impressed the employers and the workers. As soon as one ten-hour organization was disposed of, another took its place. We find New Hampshire passing the first ten-hour law in 1847, with qualifications. Pennsylvania followed with a restricted ten-hour law in 1848; Maine in 1848; but agriculture was not included; Ohio in 1852; Rhode Island in 1851, a qualified ten-hour law; California 1851. Georgia passed a law in 1853 making the legal day "from sunrise to sunset for all white persons under the age of twenty-one years".

110. What is meant by "A Qualified Ten-Hour Day Law?"

Longer hours were permitted where contracts were entered into for more than ten hours per day. If a worker signed a contract to work eleven, twelve, or

fourteen hours, the law was not contravened thereby. Even children whose parents or guardians gave written consent, could be worked longer than ten hours. As a result, employers made applicants for employment sign papers, and the law was to all intents and purposes a dead letter. The working people had no organization to enforce the spirit of the law, and its letter was against them. They had a ten-hour law, and, in the absence of economic organization, they had a twelve or fourteen hour workday.

111. What were the Industrial Congresses?

They were primarily an attempt to reconcile the different schools of social and labor opinion. The movement gradually dwindled down to a land reform association, having dropped abolition, the ten-hour day, and co-operation. It finally died out in 1856.

112. Were there still organizations of the wage earners?

Apparently there were, as we find records of strikes by various working groups. From 1849 to 1852, tailors, shoemakers, printers, bricklayers, carpenters, painters, common laborers, longshoremen, and others are recorded as having struck. Some of the building trades struck twice in a year—in the spring for an increase in wages, and in the fall to prevent reductions. The printers, shoemakers, tailors, and the building trades appear to have maintained some form of organization throughout.

113. What do we find in particular about this time?

A tendency on the part of the skilled workmen to disregard the unskilled workers. Some labor men pointed out that the apprentice regulations sought by the craftsmen worked a hardship upon the unskilled laborers, and constituted a denial to the youth of the time. One spokesman, protesting against the apprentice system, claimed that the youth who were denied opportunity might say to the unions: "As you have cast us from your bosoms, as outcasts we will fearfully repay you."

114. Did not general movement of labor come with the return of industrial activity?

There does not appear to have been any. Attempts were made to establish central labor unions in New York City, but seem to have been without result. On

one of these occasions, representatives of forty-nine societies were in attendance. The employers adopted a conciliatory attitude, and the attempt was abandoned.

115. To what extent did craft unions obtain?

It is difficult to say exactly, but in New York, 1853 and 1854, there were strikes by seventy-four different trades and callings. At this time there is said to have been forty-four unions organized in Philadelphia, thirty-eight in Baltimore, twenty-six in Pittsburg. There were some organizations in Albany, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Harrisburg, Milwaukee, Newark, New Haven, New London, New Orleans, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., and Utica, N. Y.

116. With such a degree of organization why could no general labor movement have developed?

The industrial depression which began toward the close of 1854 destroyed the organizations. A few of the stronger unions survived—printers, stove-moulders, and some others.

117. How severe was this depression?

Very severe. It not only crushed the unions, but demoralized the working class. As usual, the politicians were on hand with their cure-alls. Large processions of unemployed marched with banners demanding or requesting consideration of their plight. Societies to aid the unfortunate were formed in the principal cities. Labor looked outside of itself for relief.

118. What is marked about 1853-'54?

The first attempt was made, in New York, to wed the organized labor movement to political Marxism.

119. How was this attempt received?

Very coldly.

120. What national organizations were there in the fifties?

The Typographical Union (1850); Cigar Makers' (1856—out of business in 1857); (R. R. Engineers) National Protective Union (1856); Upholsterers' National Union (1853); Plumbers' National Union (1854); National Union of Building Trades (1854—this union included painters, stone-cutters, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, and masons. Other trades were invited to join); Mechanics' Trades Union of the United States (?); Lithographers' National Union (1853); National

Silver Platers (1856); Painters' National Union (1859); Cordwainers' National Union (1859); National Cotton Mule Spinners' Ass'n. of N. A. (1858); National Union of Iron Moulders (1859); Journeymen Stone Cutters' Union of the U. S. and Canada (1855).

All of these did not succeed in carrying out their intention. The coming of the war of the Rebellion interfered, and nationalization of unions did not arrive until after its close.

121. How many national organizations survived the industrial depression and the war?

About five. The Typographical Union, Molders' International Union, National Union of Machinists' and Blacksmiths', Hat Finishers' National Association, and the Stone Cutters' of the U. S. and Canada.

122. What was the attitude of the workers toward the civil war.

They did not desire it. They favored some compromise, which would leave the question of slavery optional with the several states. When Lincoln called for volunteers, however, the workers responded generously; whole local unions volunteering in a body.

123. Was there any attempt at organizing the workers during the war?

Evidently there was. In 1863 Fenchers' Trades' Review, a labor paper, published a list of unions in sixty-one trades scattered over a wide territory.

The following list showing the number of unions in several states in 1863 and 1864 indicates activity in organization work.

State	Dec. 1863	Dec. 1864.
Connecticut	2	6
Delaware	—	1
Illinois	1	10
Indiana	3	17
Kentucky	2	8
Maine	1	7
Maryland	—	1
Massachusetts	17	42
Michigan	4	9
Missouri	4	9
New Jersey	4	10

New York	16	74
Ohio	4	16
Pennsylvania	15	44
Rhode Island	1	7
Tennessee	—	2
Virginia	1	1
Wisconsin	—	1

Twenty-two organized trades in New York and vicinity sought wages increase in 1864. The establishment of labor papers is another sign of active interest among the workers.

124. Was there any connection between the local unions in the war period?

There were local connections. These were "trades assemblies." The first of these "was organized in Rochester, N. Y., in March 1863. Boston and New York followed in June of the same year. Albany, Buffalo, Louisville, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, St. Louis and San Francisco had trades' assemblies by the end of 1863. At the end of the war trades' assemblies existed in every important centre."

125. How did these assemblies function?

They endeavored to organize the unorganized workers, by employing organizers, calling mass meetings, etc. They also, in some instances formed co-operatives. The assemblies of Albany, Boston, Chicago, and Troy helped establish stores that dealt in groceries alone. The nature of this form of co-operation is significant; it shows that the workers believed they were exploited as consumers.

The Chicago German Trades Assembly, the Philadelphia, and Troy assemblies established free libraries and reading rooms.

126. Were these assemblies of advantage to the workers?

These assemblies were instrumental in winning many local strikes. The employers feared them, which is a good sign of effectiveness. The bosses organized to oppose them in New York and other centers. The Employers' Committee sent out a questionnaire to their fellow employers in which eleven questions were asked, of which the fifth and sixth are as follows:

"5. Would a combination of employers engaged in **one** business be able to successfully overcome a strike of their

workmen if the workers were supported by means of assessments levied upon workmen in **other** trades, then in employment?

"6. Would a General Combination of Employers, representing diverse business interests, be successful in such a case as is supposed in the last question?

Another question was asked: "**Would it be possible to enact and enforce laws, without encroaching upon the liberties of the people, that would wholly or at a considerable extent, prevent the interruption of industry and the other evil consequences of strikes.**" To prevent strikes by making strikes illegal. The capitalists sought that end then, and before; they are still seeking it.

127. Were any steps taken to form a general organization of labor on a national scale?

Yes. The Machinists' Union at its 1860 and 1861 conventions went on record as favoring a national organization by the national unions then in existence. Nothing came of it.

In 1864 the Louisville Trades' Assembly made two appeals for a national convention; the first in April and the second in August. Twelve delegates were present. A constitution was drafted. The next convention of this International Assembly was scheduled for Detroit in May 1865, but it never took place. A tendency toward political action wrecked this attempt; besides this, the Philadelphia Industrial Assembly, the strongest in the country, did not take part. This is accounted for, in part anyhow, by the fact that the national officers of the Molders and Machinists influenced that body. While they desired a general national organization, they desired the national union rather than the trades' assembly to be the unit. Had these officers not been able to influence Philadelphia, the story of American labor might have been written in different terms. .

128. What national unions appeared in the sixties?

From 1863 to 1866 several new national unions were formed; viz: Plasterers' National Union, National Union of Journeymen Curriers', Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' International Union, National Union of Cigar Makers, Journeymen Painters' National Union, National Union of Hatters, Tailors' National Union, Carpenters' and Join-

ers' International Union, Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union.

The spinners were the only ones to organize nationally in 1867. In 1868 the Knights of St. Crispin and the Grand Order of Railway Conductors were organized. In 1869 the Wool Hat Finishers, the Daughters of St. Crispin, and the Morocco Dressers were organized.

Between 1870 and 1873 there were brought into existence: International Coopers' Union of North America (1870); the Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers and Roughers of the United States (1872); the National Union of Iron and Steel Roll hands of the United States; the Furniture Workers; the Miners National Association; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (1873); the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union which had 1,500 members in 1870 had reached 18,000 in 1873. The Sons of Vulcan who had 1,280 members in 1870 had 3,048 in 1873. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers which had 4,108 in 1869 had 9,000 members in '73. The anthracite miners had about 30,000 members, and the Knights of St. Crispin had 50,000. It is conservatively estimated that about this time there were in the neighborhood of a half million workers organized.

129. Were there many industrial conflicts?

The Iron Molders' Union bore the brunt of the attacks upon organized labor. The iron founders organized in opposition to this union. A national strike broke out. The molders assessed themselves generously, but eventually the assessment feature brought disfavor; so the molders established co-operative foundries in several towns. The result was an evil influence on the union feature of this splendid organization. It was not until 1879 that the union, cured of its co-operative idea, again functioned as a union.

The machinists, printers, and other organizations had their encounters with their employers. The union men made steady progress.

130. What other trades were involved in strikes?

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers struck against the Galina and Chicago Union R. R. Co. It developed after the strike that this road had been assisted by other railroads. There was strong resentment. The B. of L. E. was a fighting organization for just one year

—from August 17, 1863 to August 17, 1864—while it was headed by an enthusiast, named W. D. Robinson, who “placed his whole soul and energy at the service of the organization.” He was “framed” in the convention, and charges preferred against him. A handy man for the New York and Hudson River Railway, named Wilson, succeeded him. The structure and policy of the organization was changed to suit the railroad interests. Wilson used the B. of L. E. under the direction of the American Railroad Association. He held office until 1874, when a specially called convention forced him to resign. The opposition to Wilson was led by P. M. Arthur. By special invitation Robinson was present at this convention, and vindicated so that he was cheered to the echo. Arthur followed the path for which he blamed Wilson, and you can judge how Warren Stone is travelling at the present time.

131. What was the Knights of St. Crispin?

A shoemakers' organization. It was started in Milwaukee by seven men. It spread rapidly throughout the shoe trade, having a phenomenal growth. It was primarily an effort to preserve his skill to the shoemaker, and was destined to play a losing part. It directed much of its energy against “green hands.” It produced some fine labor men, many of whom were later leading figures in the Knights of Labor.

132 What was the National Labor Union?

It was a general organization of labor upon a national scale. Its principal object was to have been the establishment of an eight-hour day; but at its first convention it was steered into politics. Its representation was drawn from central bodies and local unions. National Trades' Union officials and representatives were also given seats. This was the first union to establish connection abroad. It had an agreement with the International Workingmen's Association.

133. What became of the National Labor Union?

It was wrecked by politics. It lasted from 1866 to 1872.

134. What succeeded the National Labor Union?

The Industrial Congress and Universal Brotherhood.

135. What was the Industrial Congress and Universal Brotherhood?

It was a national organization called into existence by a convention arranged by officers of the Iron Molders' International Union, Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union, Coopers' International Union, and the International Typographical Union. In addition to representatives from these unions, the miners, tobacco workers, cigarmakers sent delegates, as did the central bodies from Columbus, Cleveland, Indianapolis, and two other cities. The convention was held in Cleveland on July 15, 1873.

136. What was the general policy of this Industrial Congress?

To avoid politics, not to take co-operation too seriously, and to devote itself to economic action. The political policy of "reward your friends" originated with this union. It lasted from 1873 to 1875. Its refusal to play politics and to gain membership at the cost of principle, these, together with the industrial depression killed it.

137. Upon what did workers then depend?

Enough of them depended upon politics to be the backbone of the Greenback party.

138. What was the Sovereigns of Industry?

An organization devoted to co-operation. The Industrial Congress refused to affiliate with the Sovereigns of Industry and won its hostility. It lasted from 1874 to 1878. It failed to survive the depression, and dishonest officials. Co-operation had received another black eye.

139. What was the general condition of unionism in this decade?

The National unions were composed of autonomous locals. The centralization of power, which now amounts to dictatorship, was not invested in the national and international unions. This, it was argued, was a weakness, though that is doubtful. Another thing that was noticeable and which had a bad effect upon the labor movement was that its most capable men could not resist the temptation to use their union popularity for their own political advancement. A seat in Congress, or a good position under the government turned many of them from labor leaders to enemies of the working class. In the closing years of the '60 decade many organizations

were swept away and all of them lost members. Gompers estimated that not more than 50,000 remained in the organizations in 1878.

140. What effect did this have on the workers?

Much that had been gained in wage increases and shorter hours in the eight-hour movement was lost. Many bitter strikes were fought in efforts to resist wage cuts and increased hours. The cigarmakers fought a losing strike which lasted 107 days. The textile workers resisted wage cuts, which amounted to about 45 per cent, unavailingly. The miners fought hard strikes in the 70's and went down to defeat. Their officers did not "play the game."

141. What were the Molly McGuires?

The history of the Mollies has only been written by their enemies. What we do know definitely about them from their enemies is that they were "framed" and betrayed by hirelings of the Reading Railroad Company which operated large coal holdings in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. A scoundrel by the name of McParland was sent down into this region as a spy and agent provocateur. He incited his dupes to assist him in committing murder, or to accompany him in murdering expeditions. He was the ring-leader for a price. This fellow's word hung ten men and sent fourteen to prison. He was hailed spotless as an angel—he had victimized the members of the Mollies and enabled the P. & R. R. to resume operation in their coal properties.

142. When did the policy of employing labor spies begin?

That is hard to answer. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia and Reading R. R., hired the infamous McParland, and again, we find him using Pinkerton detectives in the B. of L. E. Gowen had notified the engineers on his road to withdraw from the B. of L. E. They did, but they intended to pull a surprise strike. The Pinkerton spies informed Gowan who had new men to take their places.

143. Were the engineers the only organization of railroad employes?

No. There were organizations of conductors and firemen. In 1877 great headway was made in organizing a Trainmen's Union. This was to include "engineers, fire-

men, conductors and brakemen on the three grand trunk lines, into one solid body," and to strike simultaneously. The strike was to have been pulled on June 27, at noon. Forty men were dispatched from Pittsburgh to notify the various divisions. At the last moment division developed, and the whole plan fell through. Was this manipulated by agents of the railroads?

There were some desperate strikers in the railroad industry. All the strikes were lost. Had the trainmen's union been in existence, there would have been a different tale to tell, in all likelihood.

144. What is the next important labor development?

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, a secret organization formed in Philadelphia in December, 1869. It was originally a secret union of garment cutters, but admitted workers of every trade as "sojourners" without paying dues. These could not participate in matters pertaining to the trade.

By 1874 six assemblies of textile workers were formed. All of these were in Philadelphia. A District Assembly (No. 1) was formed in Philadelphia on Christmas Day, 1873, with affiliation of thirty-one local assemblies. From this time on the Order maintained a steady growth. It was fed from two sources: Locals of the defunct national unions joined it, and independent organizations threw their lot with it; miners' locals, machinists' and blacksmiths' locals, locals of the Knights of St. Crispin, the ship carpenters' and caulkers' locals joined it. It spread rapidly over Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, New York and New Jersey. The opposition of the Catholic church, and other influences forced it to come out into the open, and in 1878 it aimed at being a national labor body.

The Junior Sons of '76, another secret order with a political bent, which barred from membership a "professional person, practical politician, speculator, corporator or monopolist" unless admitted by a four-fifths vote, invited all existing labor organizations to attend a convention at Tyrone, Pa., in December, 1875. The Knights of Labor and the Social Democratic Party of North America were among the organizations accepting the invitation.

145. What was done at this convention?

It became the battleground in a contest between the greenbackers and the Socialists. Another convention was held in Pittsburgh in 1876.

146. What did the Pittsburgh convention accomplish?

Generally speaking, the economic idea prevailed, tho the greenbackers seemed to triumph to such an extent that the socialists withdrew from the sessions. The convention decided that it was unwise to launch an independent political party, but advised a policy of bringing pressure to bear upon existing political parties.

147. Why did the Knights of Labor hold to secrecy?

There were many who believed that "the veil of mystery was more potent for good than the education of the masses in an open organization." However, the desire to wield national influence forced the abandonment of absolute secrecy, and we find a convention in Philadelphia, (July 3, 1876), taking the name of The National Labor League of North America. The opposition of the Catholic church, in localities where it controlled large numbers of working people, was a force to be reckoned with. Besides, the secrecy of the Molly Maguires and its results had an important bearing upon the decision of the K. of L. to come into the open. It was done haltingly, but it was eventually accomplished.

With all labor organizations that had adopted the policy of secrecy, the intention seems to have been that this course would keep the employers ignorant of what was transpiring in the meetings and of the programs which the unions arranged. Of course, this did not prove correct. Secret deliberations provided a fertile field upon which the profession of labor spy grew like a weed. The Knights of Labor came out definitely as a national labor organization, under its own name, in 1879.

148. What was the structure of The Knights of Labor?

It was a mass organization. It admitted to membership all persons over 18 years of age who "are working for wages, or **who at any time worked for wages**" but "no person who either sells, or makes his living by the sale of intoxicated drink, can be admitted, and no lawyer, doctor or banker can be admitted."

Local Assemblies were "composed of not less than ten

members, at least three quarters of whom must be wage workers; and this proportion shall be maintained for all time." District Assemblies were composed of the Local Assemblies in a locality and had jurisdiction over them. The General Assembly of the K. of L. of N. A. was the highest tribunal, and had full and final jurisdiction in all matters.

149. Did the K. of L. strive for class organization along class lines?

Evidently not. If it had, it would have confined membership to those who work for wages. Under the provision that those "who at any time (had) worked for wages" John D. Rockefeller, Carnegie, Schwab, and other capitalists could qualify as members. Moreover, the provision that local assemblies be composed of three-fourths wage workers implies that the other fourth need not be wage laborers. The K. of L. in its beginnings, was the direct opposite of the separate autonomous trade union, though later on it was proven not to be averse to such modifications as would permit trade unions to form out of the "sojourners" within its own ranks. The adoption of this course was forced upon it by the rivalry of the A. F. of L., which had come into existence in Pittsburgh, in 1881, as the Federated Trades Unions of the United States and Canada, afterward the American Federation of Labor.

150. When did the K. of L. take national shape?

Following the Reading (Pa.) convention in 1878, which provided for a national central body—The General Assembly—to which all parts of the organization were subordinate.

151. Along what lines did the K. of L. propose to advance the interest of the workers?

By the use of economic action, education, and co-operation. As it grew, it found itself involved in many strikes. The Resistance Fund, raised by a per capita tax of 5 cents per month, which it had originally intended to devote to co-operative enterprises and educational purposes, was used to finance strikes. Many attempts were made to commit the K. of L. to a political program in the years of its earliest importance, but it was shy of politics at that time.

152. Was the K. of L. involved in many strikes?

The history of the K. of L. is a series of strikes. Many of its local assemblies were involved in the great railroad strikes of 1877. There were numerous strikes into which the order was precipitated until the great telegraphers' strike of 1883. The telegraphers struck against the Western Union Company for a six day week, an eight hour day shift, seven-hour night shift, and 15 per cent increase in wages. The strike was lost after lasting one month, from June 19 to about the end of July. In 1882 the New York Central freight handlers struck in New York city. This strike was broken in less than a month. A strike of Illinois coal mine workers (Dist. Ass. 33) was defeated, and the mine workers quit the K. of L. New York street car men's Knights of Labor Assembly was rooted out by labor spies.

Some of the strikes were won by the K. of L.: One was the general strike in the Saginaw Valley, Mich., (1885); (this was a spontaneous strike by the workmen who were largely Polish. It lasted about six weeks). The strike of the Union Pacific shopmen, also a spontaneous strike to resist a wage cut of 10 per cent, was won in three days. A strike of the shopmen on the Gould system (Wabash and M. K. & T.), in the spring of 1884 which was supported by the engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen, was also won. The Gould strike of 1885 was won, although the train crews refused to give the support they had given the preceding year. The Great 8-hour strike of May 1st, 1886, succeeded in winning the eight-hour day for thousands of workers. There were other strikes, but out of this strike grew the infamous Haymarket incident in Chicago.

153. What led up to, and what happened in the Haymarket?

In response to the eight-hour strike call for May 1st, the turnout of Chicago workers was the largest of any city in the United States. Of the 80,000 Chicago workers who struck, 10,000 were lumber shovers. On May 3rd a contingent of these lumber shovers were holding a meeting force the McCormick reaper works, when a large force of police arrived and shot into the meeting, killing four persons and wounding many. August Spies who had addressed this meeting issued a call for a mass meeting in the Haymarket on May 4th to protest this

outrage. He urged the workers to come prepared to defend themselves. About 3,000 attended the meeting, which was addressed by August Spies, Albert R. Parson and Samuel Fielden, in the order named. Carter H. Harrison, Sr., Mayor of Chicago, attended the meeting. A heavy rainstorm thinned the crowd to a few hundred. When the crowd was thus reduced a force of 180 policemen marched upon it. Fielden cried out to the captain in charge: "This is a peaceable meeting." A bomb was thrown, by whom has never been learned, and a sergeant of police was killed. Eight men were tried for murder, found guilty of being anarchists, and seven were sentenced to be hanged. Spies, Fisher, Engels and Parsons were hanged; Fielden and Schwab had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Oscar Neibe got 15 years penal servitude. Ling is alleged to have committed suicide.

154. Did they have a fair trial?

Of course not. When Governor Altgeld pardoned Fielden, Niebe and Schwab he scored the unusual and prejudiced manner in which the jury had been drawn. Here is how the jury was selected. Judge Joseph E. Gary appointed a special constable, who selected such men as he, the bailiff, chose instead of drawing them out of a box that contained hundreds of names. (It is said that every man who sat on the jury had pledged himself to find the defendants guilty.) Altgeld also stated that the judge by his ruling had made it extremely difficult for the defendants' lawyer to get consideration for the charge; that the jury had been packed; that the judge connived at getting men on the jury who admitted prejudice against the defendants, including a relative of one of the victims of the bomb; that the judge admitted he ruled without precedent when he denied a motion for a new trial; and that the personal bearing of the judge had been extremely unfair throughout the trial. Fair trial! their execution was judicial murder.

155. Was there no protest by labor?

Labor's best protests are not verbal. In the hearts of the workers there is still protest for what was done. The American Federation of Labor convention pleaded for mercy for the men, but Powderly threw his influence against any sympathetic expression by the General As-

sembly of the K. of L., and the highest representative body in the K. of L. remained voiceless while its bravest were being done to death.

156. Why did Powderly act so?

Only Powderly and his connections know. When the K. of L. decided upon the May 1st eight-hour day strike, Powderly sent a secret letter to his lieutenant throwing cold water upon the idea. Later, Powderly got a Federal job. There may be some connection between that job and his acts relating to the eight-hour strike and the Haymarket K. of L. men. Quien Sabe?

157. Did the K. of L. decline because of the Haymarket affair?

On the contrary it grew rapidly; but within a year it began to decline. This was due in part to the hostility of the A. F. of L., but principally to inherent defects in the structure of the organization itself. Each district was autonomous. As a result three important lockouts in 1886 proved demoralizing. The K. of L. Laundry workers at Troy, N. Y., numbering about 3,000 were locked out; 12,000 of their fellow workers joined them by walking out. After five weeks the General Secretary of the K. of L., Hayes, accepted the manufacturers' terms and called the strike off. In Amsterdam and Cohoes, N. Y., District Assembly 104 pulled 20,000 knit goods workers out on strike. On October 16, 1886 the manufacturers locked out the K. of L. This dispute is said to have arisen out of the promotion of an apprentice to operate a new machine. After five months, in May 1887 the strike was called off.

In the Chicago packing houses the packers decided to restore the ten-hour day on October 11. They refused to negotiate and blacklisted the Knights. On November 10th, the packing bosses had decided to rescind the blacklist, when a telegram was received from Powderly declaring the strike off. This gave the Knights a black eye. Powderly's secret circular in the eight-hour strike; his refusal to allow the Order to plead for Parsons and his fellows; his telegram on this occasion, at the time when these eight men were awaiting their fate, makes it appear that Powderly was serving some interest other than the workers.

The strike of the Coal Handlers and Longshoremen in New York on Jan. 1, 1887, which spread to include

all waterfront workers, railroad freight handlers, ship trimmers, boatmen, bag sewers, involved approximately 28,000 workers. This strike collapsed.

In January, 1888, members of the B. of L. E. and B. of L. F. scabbed on a K. of L. strike on the Philadelphia and Reading R. R., and defeated them. Later, in the same year, when the brotherhood men on the C. B. & Q. struck, the K. of L. retaliated.

The unskilled workers, unable to secure advantages through the K. of L., began to fall away, until in 1891 it was practically liquidated into the People's Party. Another labor organization was laid in a political grave.

158. Was the K. of L. a real labor organization?

Yes. It was developing into a class organization, and would have done so were it not for its weak, if not treacherous, leadership. The Knights of Labor grew to be the champion of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. It had shortcomings, such as the autonomous District Assemblies, but it was developing towards an industrial form of organization, and would have but for its unsympathetic leadership. These men were handicapped by an overestimate of trades union importance. The rivalry of the A. F. of L. with its rigid forms tempted the K. of L. intellectuals to try to fashion and fit similar organizations within the Knights of Labor where they could not find a congenial atmosphere, and, consequently, could not flourish. The timidity of the K. of L. leadership, instead of making the Haymarket affair a point from which to develop, lost heart and missed a great opportunity. Many of the internationals, now organized in the A. F. of L., owe their origin to the Knights of Labor. It was a splendid organization and won the working class of America and the world an experience that will yet serve it well.

159. What was the International Labor Union?

An organization started in the early part of 1878. This body aimed to unite the working class for the abolition of the wage system. Among other things, it proposed:

"1. The formation of an Amalgamated Union of laborers so that members of any calling can combine under a central head and form a part of the Amalgamated Trades Unions.

"2. The establishment of a general fund for benefit and protective purposes.

"3. The organization of all workingmen in their Trade Unions, and the creation of such unions where none exist.

"4. The National and International Amalgamation of all Labor Unions."

This union achieved a membership of about 8,000 members within the year, almost entirely textile workers. It elected a delegate to attend the next Trades Congress of England. But a series of strikes in the textile industry, which failed, reduced the membership so that no funds were available to send the delegate. This union, through one branch in Hoboken, maintained a nominal existence until 1887, when it disappeared.

160. How many trades were organized nationally at the close of the '70's?

There were in the neighborhood of thirty. There were, however, Trades Assemblies in about thirty-five cities and counties in which more than a hundred different trades were represented.

161. When was the American Federation of Labor formed?

In 1881, in Pittsburgh. It was then known as the Federated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. In 1886 it resolved itself into the A. F. of L.

162. Was the A. F. of L. designed to be a national economic organization when created?

The call for the first convention was vague on this point. There would appear to have been an implication that the federated unions would act unitedly whenever an emergency arose. The call stated that "only in such a body (a federation of trades) can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes. **There we can discuss and examine all questions affecting the national interests of each and every trade, and by a combination of forces secure that justice which isolated and separated trades and labor unions can never fully command.**" To the rank and file such "a combination of forces" could only mean industrial joint action, while the officials might interpret it to mean whatever they desired.

The idea of a lobbying committee was put plainly,

which "could be elected to urge and advance legislation at Washington on all such measures."

The idea was also advanced that "a federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers." That is an idea from which the federation has traveled very far indeed.

163. Did the A. F. of L. become a national movement?

It has not yet become so. It is merely a political body imposed upon the affiliated international unions, whose function is to solicit consideration for labor from Congress, decide questions of jurisdiction between the component unions, but without power to enforce its decisions. It cannot order or call off strikes, nor commit the unions composing it to any program, nor prohibit anything that any of them may decide upon. It is not a national movement, but is resigned to prevent the formation of an economic movement upon a national or international scale. Only upon two occasions did it make attempts to function nationally in an economic way: First, on the occasion of the 8-hour strike in May, 1886, and again when a decision was reached in the 1888 convention to make a united effort to establish the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890. The vote favoring this suggestion was 38 to 8. The convention in 1889 revoked the decision to institute a general strike, and adopted a program whereby one union would strike and receive financial backing. After the union selected had won the eight-hour day, another union would be designated to make the demand; until the eight-hour day was generally established. For the purposes of supporting such unions as would be designated "the Executive Council was authorized to levy a special assessment of two cents per week per member for a period of five weeks."

164. How did this program work out?

The Carpenters' Union was the first one selected to make the trial on May 1, 1890. The carpenters are reported to have "won the eight-hour day in 137 cities, and gained the nine-hour day in most other places." The miners were selected to make the fight in 1891, but in the months prior to May, the miners, whose organization did not include more than one-tenth of the mine workers, became involved in a strike in the Connellsville coke region. In this emergency they requested

the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to levy the assessment for their support in this strike. The Executive Council refused to do so. As a consequence, the United Mine Workers refused to strike on May 1. The barbers' union asked the convention of 1891 to be designated as the union to make the attempt in 1892. The matter was referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., where it was buried, and no further attempt has since been made. The eight-hour movement was dead as far as the A. F. of L. was concerned.

165. Was not the A. F. of L. in favor of the shorter workday?

Actions speak louder than words, and are the test by which profession is gauged. It renders lip service to the idea, but, as an organization, does nothing to advance it. While it is recorded as having initiated the eight-hour strike in 1886, there is little question that this was very largely in the nature of an advertising stunt, for its affiliated unions embraced less than one-fourth of the then organized workers. Its annual receipts up to that time had never exceeded \$700. It had an ambition to grow, and to do so, it was compelled to attract attention and membership. As a legislation-seeking body it had failed to impress the workers. So the 1884 convention considered two proposals: (1) a general strike for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886, and, (2) that each affiliated union pledge two per cent of its total revenue toward creating a strike fund. This was an attempt to transform the A. F. of L. into a national economic organization. The strike proposal carried by a vote of 23 to 2. The strike fund proposition was referred to the affiliated unions. So few of these favored the idea that it came to naught. In 1888, as stated in the answer to the preceding question, a strike fund was again provided for in a modified form, but soon was abandoned.

166. If the A. F. of L. inaugurated the eight-hour strike in 1886, how came the K. of L. to be involved in it?

The shorter workday was of surpassing interest to all labor. The A. F. of L., with less than 50,000 members, could not hope, of and by itself, to make much of an impression. It therefore extended an invitation to the K. of L. to co-operate. This appeal was warmly received by the Knights. However, Powderly and his

official family threw cold water upon the idea. The leading figures in the A. F. of L. were lukewarm. Had the spirit that animated the rank and file of organized labor in both camps been shared by the officials, a great deal more could have been done than was accomplished. Only a fraction of what was possible was secured. Moreover, the seed of enmity and resentment was planted in the minds of the workers, and a crop of prejudices had grown up amongst them that smothered their class instincts and prevented that toleration of opinion upon which working class progress must depend.

167. Why should such an organization die while the A. F. of L. survives?

If you are an employer it is likely that you would prefer not to have an organization in your establishment which would embarrass you and compel you to grant concessions that in its absence you would not even deign to consider. It is more than likely that you would give a great deal to be rid of it. Now, when the K. of L. brought Jay Gould to terms it demonstrated that labor solidarity was equal to the power to the strongest corporations of the time. This exhibition of power was regarded by the capitalist class as a menace to be removed. That which offers hope to labor is always a menace to the employing class. Now, the capitalists saw a contemporaneous organization of workers which behaved itself in an entirely different manner. So they were prompt to take advantage of the situation. They used the A. F. of L. unions to stab the Knights of Labor in the back. This tactic of the employers inaugurated the era when the charges were hurled back and forth between the organizations that each was scabbing upon the other. The desire for membership upon the part of both was at the bottom of this suicidal conduct. The A. F. of L. temporarily enjoyed the favor of the capitalists as their choice of the least of two evils. By the time the Knights of Labor was hors de combat the A. F. of L. bore the brand of capitalist agent burned deeply and inefaceably into it.

168. Has not the American Federation of Labor overcome some of the difficulties that beset earlier union attempts?

It has survived for over forty years, but has done so

only by avoiding everything which a labor organization should have attempted. If it had aimed to be a body influencing legislation to be consistent it should have formed a political party. It has not done so. If it had aimed to influence legislation by a show of economic power it should have become a national economic expression. This it has not done. It has attempted, or pretended, to advance and improve the legal status of labor by making its appeals for consideration upon moral and humanitarian grounds. That it has not been successful as a legislative getting body is testified by the fact that the legal status of labor is on a lower level now than ever before. What laws have been secured are of a minor character, and many of these laws have been declared unconstitutional by the courts. It is capitalistic and militaristic — both anti-labor features. It never meets adverse decrees or legislative inaction with the challenge of economic power. It is a belly-crawling organization at best, which deludes the workers and holds them helpless before every onslaught of capital. Its failures in regard to labor, if not its betrayal of the labor interest, is the price it has paid for capitalist tolerance.

169. Was the A. F. of L. ever a real Labor Organization?

No. Common's History of Labor in the United States says of the unsuccessful attempts by national unions to effect a national organization: "The initiative which was finally crowned with success came apparently from a non-trade union source. A disaffected group of the Knights of Labor, **who desired to establish a rival order**, called a conference for this purpose." It was significant that 68 of the 107 delegates were from the Pittsburgh vicinity and mainly Knights of Labor. Common's history says: "The large attendance of Knights was due to fear that a rival to their order was to be established." Their fear was well founded.

170. Is it possible to change the A. F. of L. by boring from within?

About as possible as irrigating the Sahara desert with a garden hose. The A. F. of L. is capitalistic and cannot tolerate the spreading of working class ideas within its ranks. Those who preach boring from within capitalist unions are on a par with workers who pay for member-

ship in a Chamber of Commerce to use it for the advancement of the proletarian interest. Craft unions, in our day, are not labor unions; they are gatherings of workers under the control of capitalist agents. They are not designed to further the labor interest but to restrain the laborers in the interest of capitalist property. As long as the working people regard them as well-intentioned but poorly constructed and ignorantly wielded working class weapons, attempts will be made to remodel and regenerate them. Only when they recognize them for the capitalist instruments that they are, will the workers cast them aside and fashion a weapon suitable to and capable of successfully furthering the working class end of a world-wide battle. An augur may bore a hole that will empty a tank, but a tank cannot be remodelled with an augur or a gimlet. It is impossible to change the A. F. of L. It is as impossible to change it as to change a timber wolf into a lap dog, or to make a house pet of a skunk.

171. If the A. F. of L. is not a labor organization, what is it?

It might be called a national association of labor brokers. In the first years of its existence there were some influences at work trying to mould it into a national economic body. For ten years these influences and others tending in the opposite direction were in conflict. The forces that made for an economic function were out-manoeuvred, and the A. F. of L. settled itself down to solicit political conventions and implore legislative bodies, while the international unions through all their branches undertook to obtain the control of jobs and to deal in labor power. The unions were prostituted from their job-regulating functions to instruments for the aggrandizement of the officialdom. For many years the official machines that have been built up have controlled these unions and used them as political levers and stepping stones to power and financial security for the official groups.

Any city craft union movement will bear out this contention. The building trades achieved great power at a time when the margin between journeymen and contractors was slight. Rival contractors vied with each other for the favor of men who stood high in union circles, and as a result vicious combinations with business and

political connections were established. Slight advances to the rank and file had to be conceded, and the business agent or labor leader who fixed a deal whereby his union constituency benefitted even slightly won the devotion of the men. He became automatically a personage for politicians to connect up with and for business interests to deal with. One of the consequences was the establishment of a new, or go-between element in the union movement with their own peculiar interests to serve—neither capitalists nor workers—who shared with the capitalists and preyed upon the workers. They “called” and “settled” strikes as their interests dictated and when in their judgment situations were ripe.

Graft had become an institution in the name and under the auspices of unionism. So true is this, that, while real labor people deplore that graft, the grafters are seldom challenged or impeached; so great has their power become. This refers principally to local labor movements, but these had to depend upon national and Canadian connections. So, raised upon this basis, the international offices could only differ in the modification of the means employed. Where the business agents connected up with local politicians, the higher-up officials sat in with the Big Capitalists and national party riggers in the Civic Federation, and the whole craft union system was dominated by an influence foreign, alien and inimical to the working class interest. The so-called labor movement of the United States and Canada is a business institution for the purpose of controlling and guiding labor discontent into channels where it threatens least injury to the capitalist interest, which is only another way of saying that the least possible benefit is conferred upon the workers.

172. Is it meant that the A. F. of L. is consciously so?

Just that. Any visitor to an A. F. of L. convention who is conversant with and interested in the welfare of the American workers is struck by the alertness of the international officers in suppressing or diverting expressions of rank and file opinion, which challenge their wisdom and sincerity, or the effectiveness of their organizations. This convention truly represents the dominant labor movement in America. The interests or opinions

of the working members have no place in its deliberations. It were far more correctly termed an annual convention of American labor-brokers. These delegates, with the exception of a scattering few with little voting power, represent the controlling influence over organized American labor power. That is their special and particular business. Unity of the workers would destroy that business, and these well-fed, well-groomed, well-paid business men cannot tolerate any idea that would deprive them of their comfortable means of livelihood and relegate them to their old working places, even the memory of which they are reluctant to renew.

173. How do these men exercise such a power as is here attributed to them?

If you are the average union man you joined the union, after having paid an initiation fee which you thought excessive, and dues you felt to be beyond the requirements of the union. After a meeting or two you failed to attend meetings, except upon special occasions, because you found the local dominated by an influence against which you and those who thought with you were powerless to contend. There was ever present in your mind the thought that upon being parted from your present job, or changing your present location you must find another job, either in your present location or a new one, and a union card would make it easier to do so. Moreover, as a general thing, wages, hours and conditions were better in unionized employment. So you "kept up your card." That card was a letter of introduction and a recommendation for a job in strange places and new employments. You came to regard your union expenses as an employment fee paid for a chance to obtain employment easier than without such connection. The result was that you grew to pay no more attention to local and international union affairs than you would to the conduct of any other employment agency to which you had paid a fee. You kept a union card to facilitate your getting employment. Your union you did not regard seriously as an instrument by which much greater benefits might be secured and steadier employment obtained. In fact, encountering, as you did, the ubiquitous business agent, you learned to regard him as a personage

to conciliate more than the foreman or superintendent under whom you worked. He exercised more control over your life than any other agency with which you came into contact. He was one to conciliate and to "stand in" with. THE UNION WAS HIS. It was, because the union members abdicated in favor the officialdom. That is the power in which the officialdom of the A. F. of L. deals; that is their business; the business of controlling—and delivering—unassertive, docilely obedient, and submissive packages of human labor power like you.

174. Why say the A. F. of L. bears the brand of capitalist agent?

Because it does. It has lost the militancy that marked the first ten years of its existence. Its aggressiveness was tempered by the reluctance of forces that came to control it absolutely after its tenth year. The jealous regard of the international unions for autonomy made itself felt in the adoption of the first and second sections of Article I, of the constitution. The first of these, by confining the function of the A. F. of L. to the effort of securing labor legislation, denied it the opportunity of ever becoming a national labor union; and there was retained to the international unions, in the second section, the privilege of being the only national economic expressions of their particular organized groups. Here, at the very outset of its career, the Federation became the loosest kind of a bond between the international unions. It took on the appearance of national unity, behind which was hidden permanent and unalterable division of the American working class.

The A. F. of L. really performs no legitimate function for labor, but it does serve the interests of the capitalists by making for a perpetually divided and, therefore, weakened condition of the American working class. **What serves capitalism is capitalistic.** Its preamble is contradicted by its constitution. The one proclaims the class struggle, the other denies it. Where "strict autonomy of each trade" prevails, it will, in the words of the A. F. of L. preamble, "work disastrous results to the toiling millions." Between unions unassociated and those separated by the rigid lines of trade autonomy

there is little difference, and whatever difference there is redounds to the advantage of unassociated unions. While the fiction of unity is preserved by the A. F. of L., the industrial kinship of the different groups can never find expression.

As long as a permanent organization for soliciting labor legislation is passed off for effective combination of national unions, the organized workers are being imposed upon. If the best that more than two million workers can do is to provide themselves with a lobbying committee, some influence, that is not a labor influence, is misguiding them. And what is not a labor influence in capitalist society is a capitalist influence. There is no neutral ground.

And what have they got, these labor solicitors for more than 2,000,000 organized workers? A beggar's portion—more refusals than laws. What laws have been conceded were of a minor character, and while the courts were empowered to decide, even these are not secure. The invocation of the Lever Act against the miners in 1919, and the Coronado decision recently, is a negation that ought to drive home to the American workers the need for some other attitude than a begging posture before legislative bodies and cowering posture before the courts. The craft union system was made to order for the capitalists.

The policy of time agreements, which originated with the employers in 1890, is an essentially capitalistic feature of craft union policy. All agreements are arranged to expire at different times. As a result, the employer whose industry is organized under the craft union system is always assured that his industrial inconvenience will be as slight as the craft system can make it. Craft unionism is insurance for the boss against very serious embarrassment. Contrariwise, it is a serious handicap and an embarrassment to the working group which it condemns to fight alone; for one set of union workers in an organized employment may strike to adjust a grievance, but the rest of the organized workers, bound by their agreements, remain at work and assist the employer—thus helping to defeat the strikers with whom they are in sympathy to the last heart beat. Nothing on earth,

except the craft union system, could induce these workers to scab upon their fellows.

So often has this happened that it would be a waste of paper to set forth all of the numerous occasions. These are a few of the most flagrant instances:

The Homestead strike (1892); Buffalo switchmen's strike (1892); Pullman strike (1894); Bituminous strike (1902); the Harriman System Federation strike (1911); San Francisco street-car men (1907); Chicago packing house workers (1904), etc. These are only a few of the lost strikes for which the craft system of unionism is solely responsible. These were only a foretaste of what the many strikes since and the open shop drive of the present were to make the craft unionists acquainted with.

Even the agreement is being denied and arbitration demanded. To this the A. F. of L. seems to agree,—that the brokers may still deal in American labor power—for we find only today (July 22, 1922), that the committee of international officers of the A. F. of L. building trades have determined to bring the Chicago building trades under the terms of the infamous Landis Award and under the domination of the anti-labor Citizen Committee; and to do so, they are organizing a dual Building Trades Council. Verily, the A. F. of L. bears the brand of capitalist agent.

175. Why say craft union system?

Because unless we see the craft unions as a system, we fail to understand their significance. A body of men following a special line of work might advantageously organize themselves into a union to advance their interests. Then when they found out that such a union was unequal to serving them, they would naturally incline to enlist with them such other labor classifications as would enable them to meet and deal with a condition or conditions which they could not favorably influence alone. As the function of unions is economic, it is natural that an alliance between them or a federation of unions, would have an economic object. When, therefore, we find alliances that serve another and different purpose to the extent that they entirely defeat the natural object of the component units, the intent of the workers composing these bodies has been misdirected. The American

Federation alone is only a part of that system. The railroad unions are the other part. Combined, these constitute a system whereby the purposes of inter-union combination is defeated.

176. How was such a system brought about?

By fostering economic ignorance among the workers. Without that it would have been impossible to foist such a system upon them. The philosophy of individualism extended only to include a group, is the base upon which the system is built. Every man is vain enough to desire the good opinion of his neighbors, and in the labor world, as in national life, every man and group desires to be regarded as a patriot. It is popular to be patriotic when patriotism calls for nothing more than pretense. So we find the appearance of unity in the craft union system, concealing effective and disastrous division. A system that not only divides, while pretending to unite, but which finds its main excuse for existence in the internicene strife that it cannot eradicate without destroying itself, is in the nature of a conspiracy.

177. What is meant by internicene strife?

Jurisdictional disputes between unions. When two unions each claim jurisdiction over the workmen who perform a certain operation, and such disputes occur continually, it is not the interest of unionism that is involved in the controversy but the "rights" of the conflicting officials to the dues emanating from workmen who are employed on such jobs. If it were only the interest of unionism, the one requirement would be good standing in any union. If it were working class interest, the ability to do the work would be the only requirement. The settlement of such disputes between unions affords employment for Executive Councils that never give satisfaction. Autonomy is the great God of union division. In the interest of autonomy millions of dollars have been wasted and thousands of opportunities lost to the organized workers.

178. How are opportunities lost?

If even the comparatively small fraction of the workers at present organized into the craft union system would act as an economic unit, they would exert a power that legislatures would heed and courts not treat con-

temptuously. Through the craft system they are prevented from doing so. The open shop drive could have been broken before it had gotten under way. The miners' strike could have been won in a week. The steel strike would not have gone under. The maintenance of way men could not have received the first wage cut, let alone the others. The shop crafts would not be fighting a lost cause. There would have been no Coronado decision, no Mooney case, no Centralia murder. All of these and thousands of things equally bad in the working class sense, are directly traceable to the craft union system. It holds nothing in check but the aspiration of the workers; denies nothing but their hopes; and defeats nothing but their longing for united action.

179. How does the system endure if that is true?

By support, not necessarily financial, from capitalist sources.

180. If that be so, how is the open shop drive accounted for?

The capitalist class is not without division. The highest strata of the employing class are intolerant of any form of workers' combination which has in it the kernel of resistance to the capitalist ambition. The craft system has within it a working membership who are compelled by the nature of their economic circumstances to analyze even their own unions and the system which these compose. The value of the craft system to the capitalist depends upon the ability of the managers of the system to control the members of the unions. If, at any time, this would prove to be beyond the power of these managers then a situation would result which would be extremely perilous to the capitalist regime.

If, for instance, the unions' members were to realize the capitalist nature of the system, and would deprive the system managers of control, these members, cognizant of organization value, might consolidate their forces into a single union with disastrous consequences to the capitalist control of society. If, however, with the aid of the craft system, they could destroy these unions, the idea of unionism would receive a body blow from which it would take it some time to recover. These capitalists have started out to destroy existing unions, regardless of the past services the system has rendered, not because

of any impediment they offer as unions, but because they are the breeding ground from which may spring that menacing thing—one union of the working class.

181. Are the large capitalists behind the open shop drive?

It looks that way. They are not only the driving force behind the assault upon unionism in the open shop movement, but behind all the legislation proposed for national arbitration bodies by means of which it is intended to compel workers to labor under unacceptable conditions of unemployment. They are also trying to circumvent organizing efforts among their workers by means of Industrial Congresses, Benefit Societies, pension schemes, Industrial Relation plans, Loyal Legions, etc.

182. Why should the large capitalists take the lead in such a program?

Because they represent, to the greatest realized extent, the fulfillment of capitalist ambition, while their working forces represent largely the other extreme—a little—skilled proletariat. In the very largest industrial establishments the so-called unskilled workers predominate. Once this element of the working class is organized the end of capitalism is in sight. As long as the craft organizations exist, while there is no danger of their organizing outside of their restricted limits, there exists a source of inspiration, even tho it be an example of what to avoid. Therefore, the large capitalists, arrogant and at the same time fearful, are breaking down the barriers behind which they have found protection. A protection far surpassing anything which they, themselves, are capable of creating.

183. But do not craft unions organize unskilled workers?

Not as they should and must be organized. "No man understands better than the king, how much a man the king is." And no man knows better than the modern "craftsman" how much a fiction his alleged "craft skill" is. When the craft unions move their membership lines to include helpers, it is not done to assist the helper but to remove a menace to themselves. The average helper can, in a comparatively short time, learn to perform the operation upon which he assists the "journeyman." Therefore, it is only common sense to enroll him in the union as a subordinate. Seniority rules, and other handi-

caps, tend to control him better, and he enters into every situation with a feeling of family loyalty. However, he remains a "helper" and should he find himself out of employment he returns to the realm of the unskilled and poorly paid. Should he secure employment in an organized shop in some other calling, he may again become a "union helper" upon the payment of a new initiation fee and new dues. Should he desire, in view of industrial uncertainty, to retain his old along with his new union membership, we have the lowest paid worker in industry called upon to furnish the greatest financial proof of his adherence to, and belief in unionism. Now, as the unskilled or little skilled worker in the course of a few years may find himself attached to several trades—boilermaking, machinist, pipe fitting, firing, mining (coal or metal), building, etc.,—it not only is financially impossible for him to retain union membership, but it is heartless and absurd to expect him to. Thus, any fair-minded person is able to see at a glance, not only that the craft union system cannot organize the so-called unskilled, but is designed to deprive that element of every possible chance to organize.

184. Are there not federal labor unions composed of workers of every calling in the A. F. of L?

Yes. But these are merely recruiting unions—a form first adopted to compete with the mixed Assemblies of the K. of L., and used later to oppose the I. W. W. In these unions when the number of members, following any calling which is organized nationally, reaches the minimum required for a local charter, upon demand of such international they are required to withdraw themselves from the Federal Union and to organize as a local of the International. It may be said of such unions that unity is accomplished only for the purpose of division.

185. What does this suggest?

That after the workers achieve unity in a Federal Union the capitalists take charge of it and divide it up to suit their own interests. You, as a worker, would desire such a union as is implied in the Federal Labor Union—all workers in one union. An employing group, or even an individual employer, would want them divided up, and bound by rules and agreements, so that they could not act to-

gether. The Federal Union and what becomes of it demonstrates the difference between a working class conception of a union and a capitalist conception. It is just the same difference as between the working class conception and the A. F. of L. conception. The A. F. of L. views and treats labor as do the capitalists.

186. What was the American Railway Union?

An industrial union of land transportation workers. This union was brought into existence as a direct result of the railroad workers' experience in the Buffalo switchmen's strike. It made rapid headway and in the spring of 1894 won a victory over the Great Northern Ry. Co. in less than three weeks.

During the same summer the Pullman strike was inaugurated and was lost through the treachery of the craft union system. The loss of this strike has been attributed to the hostility of the courts, the federal government; but it was really lost because the craft system of unionism could not lend its aid to the workers involved. A general conference of persons nationally prominent in the labor movement of the U. S. met in Chicago in connection with this great strike. It is said that this conference "arranged the funeral of the A. R. U." as a previous similar conference had doomed the strike of the Buffalo switchmen.

187. What became of the A. R. U.?

It rapidly lost prestige after the failure of 1894, and what was left merged with the Social Democratic Party in 1889.

188. What international figure was connected with the A. R. U.?

Eugene V. Debs. Debs contrary to all precedent quit a high official position with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen to organize the A. R. U. He has devoted his life to the emancipation of labor, and in pursuit of his ideal has made almost as many enemies as any character in history. His admirers number millions and include most of his enemies. To hate and persecute, as his enemies have Debs, is to fear him, and fear is the highest tribute of admiration.

189. What was the Western Federation of Miners?

An industrial union of mine workers that embraced all working classifications necessary to the production and treatment of minerals. At first it included coal miners as well as metal miners, and coke workers as well as mill and smelter employees. This was one of the most militant labor organizations in America. Its decline was due to a campaign of destruction directed by agents of the Mine Operators' Association.

190. When was the W. F. of M. organized?

Following the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1892. Previous to that time the metal and coal miners of the west were organized in local unions. The results of the Coeur d'Alene strike showed the need for greater unity, and the W. F. of M. was brought into existence. It had a brilliant history in the battle of American labor until reactionary influence gained control of its machinery. Only a vestige of it is left to provide a nucleus with which it is hoped to defeat or delay the rise of a worthy successor to the W. F. of M. of the nineties, and the first five years of the twentieth century.

191. With what events was the W. F. of M. connected?

With the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case and the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World. It also assisted in the starting of the Western Labor Union.

192. What was the American Labor Union?

An organization that aimed at organizing the unskilled elements in American industry as the basis of a working class union.

193. What became of the A. L. U.?

It became a constituent part of the I. W. W. in 1905.

194. What was the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees?

An organized protest against craft division in the railroad industry. It was dissolved into the I. W. W. in 1905.

195. What do we find in our sketch of American unionism?

That politics is deadly to unionism.

196. What instances prove this?

Beginning with the Mechanics' Union of Trade Societies in Philadelphia up to the Knights of Labor, politics killed every promising union movement.

197. What other factor helped to kill unionism?

Cooperative enterprises. Many of the attempts of the earliest American unions were co-operative, and either through a lack of business capacity, or the dishonesty of those directing them, they invariably had the effect of losing out and ruining the economic organizations that relied upon them. The opposition of both Catholic and Protestant influences to co-operation as a labor policy no doubt prevented to some extent the financing of such enterprises. The Catholic churchmen opposed it as a "first step to Socialism," and a writer in the *Christian Advocate* denounced "the attempt to improve on the divine law (which) is not ridiculous simply; it is absurd and blasphemous. If men cannot live and get along as God has arranged and ordained, they can get along in no other way."

The stove molders had at one time eleven co-operative foundries. One at Troy, N. Y. was very successful. So much so that the co-operators adopted the capitalist view that "the fewer the stockholders in the company the greater its success." While these co-operators still held to membership in the Moulder's Union they said: "but the trades unions are of no use now, really." Co-operation in successful enterprises felt the restriction of union rules and interference.

198. What conclusion may we draw?

We are justified in drawing the conclusion that whenever a union tries to operate outside its sphere—job regulation—it only defeats its purpose and destroys itself.

199. What is the Industrial Workers of the World?

A working class organization with the revolutionary aim of overthrowing capitalism. The unit of organization is an industry. All the industrial unions are united in the general organization. All laws originate in the General Convention and become effective only when passed upon by majority vote of the membership. Its aim is toward inclusiveness, and with this end in view its policy favors low initiation fees and dues. It has a universal card system so that a member can transfer from one industrial union to another without extra charge; thus making it possible for its members to hold continuous

membership regardless of changes of employment and location.

This union has had remarkable success in handling large strikes, such as the textile strike in Lawrence and other Massachusetts towns, and in Patterson and Little Falls, N. Y., It also struck terror into the hearts of the steel kings at McKees Rocks, Pa. The rubber barons of Akron, Ohio, were taught a bitter lesson by the I. W. W. This organization, never strong in numbers until recently, has so strong a working class appeal that it has gone into unorganized territory and stirred whole working class populations into activity on behalf of their interests as workers.

No organization just like the I. W. W. has ever before appeared above the American labor horizon. It embodies all the experiences of American labor and crystallizes all its spirit: It is a purely genuine proletarian type of organization. It tears the sham from the craft unions and exposes them, showing up all their fallacies and weaknesses. It is the terror of the craft union oligarchy, as it is of the capitalists. Both have vilified, slandered, and persecuted it. No other organization has been so grievously misrepresented and pitilessly persecuted. While its members have, and are yet, selected for victimization in industry and by the legal authorities, the organization itself has gained membership and influence, and is today strategically the most advantageously placed economic organization in America.

Every attack upon the I. W. W. has redounded to its benefit, driving it more securely into the consciousness of the world's workers. For, peculiarly enough, every act of this organization was of proletarian origin and every tactic an adaptation of the workers' experiences in industry. It was enabled to turn attacks upon it to its own advantage with the versatility of that proletariat whom it can truly claim to represent. When a task is to be performed in industry, it is to be performed; there must be no acknowledgement of defeat. The same spirit has dominated the I. W. W. This makes it an enigma to the capitalist class and a thorn in the side of "the Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism," as Mark Hanna aptly termed the craft union officialdom. They do not understand the workers' problem and are only concerned about the cap-

italist side of the problem. Consequently, anything genuinely labor is to both a profound mystery.

If the I.W.W. had been controlled by "intellectuals," or dominated by professional labor leaders, it would have gone the way of all previous efforts to supply labor with an effective instrument. Having been wrested from the control of these elements at an early stage of its career, and having been controlled by purely proletarian elements, it has weathered all the heavy seas and kept its course despite cyclonic storms of persecution. The bludgeon, the bullet, the penitentiary, lynchings, and tar-pots—every outrage, every scurrilous attack has added a new leaflet to its propaganda, put a new tone into every new appeal. The I. W. W. has demonstrated that capitalism can recruit no force to smash or to deter it. The I. W. W. has nothing to fear from the outside; it can only be destroyed from the inside, and its proletarian character makes that unlikely.

200. What is an "intellectual"?

This term is applied to those who are not experienced as wage workers and who attempt to play a more or less important part in the labor movement. This term should not be used loosely to include all those who do not perform manual labor. The class-conscious labor movement is a target for all kinds of so-called "intellectuals." Preachers, physicians, college men, lawyers, etc., are the main offenders. They are usually obsessed with the idea that they are born leaders of the workers. They seem to feel that the workers will "go to the dogs" unless they be allowed to control the workers' destiny. As a matter of fact, the "intellectual" is, more often than not, a nuisance and a detriment to the class-conscious labor movement.

201. When was the I. W. W. organized?

In Chicago, June 27, 1905, with an initial membership of somewhere about 50,000.

202. Is it purely economic organization?

Yes. Originally it declared for political as well as economic action by the workers, but at the fourth convention, (1908), the idea of political action was discarded, and the I. W. W. decided to devote itself exclusively to industrial action. This won for it the hostility of the

politicians. In fact, it has succeeded in antagonizing every anti-labor and psuedo labor element in society since it refused to be a breeding ground for fallacies.

203. What are its principles?

Its basic principle is recognition of the class struggle. Because of this it is a militant labor organization. It is attempting to organize the working class for victory over the capitalist class. Its preamble, as amended by the fourth convention and endorsed by the membership, is:

Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be

organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

204. What is meant by "organizing industrially?"

Organizing in the industries as wage workers—economically — not politically. The I. W. W. believes the worker as wealth producer to be the social unit, for society cannot exist without its workers. The politician believes the citizen to be the social unit. Therefore, the I. W. W. relies upon the workers, organized as producers to exert greater influence industrially that is possible to them as citizens in capitalist society. That is what is meant when the preamble states "By organizing industrially we (the working class), are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." This denies the possibility of doing so by political action, or by any other means.

205. Explain this more clearly?

The I. W. W. seeks to organize the workers in all the industries into one organization. But this is not a mass organization. It proposes to follow the present arrangement of the workers in production, and to organize them as they are placed in industry. It does not ask the worker what tool he uses, or what operation he performs. It only asks for what object his labor power is expended. If it is for the purpose of assisting in coal production, it classifies him as a coal mine worker and enrolls him in the Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220. If his work is to assist railroading, no matter what the nature of his task, he is put in the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520. So with any worker in the textile mill; whether he be an engineer, loom fixer, or janitor, he takes his place in the Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 410; and so on until the whole field of working class activity is covered. All the time the I. W. W. is organizing, it is educating the workers, giving them a new viewpoint, filling them with a new consciousness. When its organization is sufficiently extensive, trained and disciplined, it is ready to take over industry—because it has prepared the workers to do so.

206. What do we mean by an industrial union?

All the workers, all over the world, have a common interest and are interdependent — the workers of one country upon the workers of all other countries. So, likewise, the workers in one industrial calling are dependent upon the workers in all the other callings and these other workers upon them. Yet, in industry, national and international, there are more or less clearly defined divisions which we know as industries, such as coal mining, railroading, lumbering, farming, steel, manufacturing, etc. When a man works in any one of these industries he comes into more intimate contact with his associated workers than he does with the balance of the working class. For instance, in or around a coal mine, whatever he does is done to assist in bringing the coal deposit to some convenient place from which it can be transported to where it is needed. Whether he be an engineer, machinist, blacksmith, miner, driver, loader, weighman, bookkeeper,—whatever he does—his labor fits in with that of all the other workers in and around the mine, and the objective of all their labors is to get the coal in a convenient place. They could not fulfill this purpose without his labor classification, nor he without theirs. They are necessary to him and he to them; they are all the coal mine working force. The I. W. W. organizes all of them in one industrial union.

Now, while each of these coal workers are in more or less personal contact with each other in the process of coal production, it is only through the industry as a whole, represented by the product—coal—that they come into contact with transportation and the transportation workers. The I. W. W. arranges for their contact, co-ordination, and co-operation in its general organization—the working class organization. By thus organizing the workers by industries and uniting them in one solid organization, you can see how the I. W. W. is forming the structure of the new society.

207. But are not the coal miners so organized now?

No. "All is not gold that glitters," and every organization that appears to be is not an industrial union. Being an inclusive union in the industry is not by any

means all there is to being an industrial union. Industrial unionism, as exemplified in the I. W. W., means something entirely different from the U. M. W. of A. The U. M. W. of A. reconciles its members to holding aloof from the other workers. If the I. W. W. organization held a commanding position in industry, when the mine workers threw down their tools and walked out of the mines on April 1st (1922), that hour the hauling of coal would have stopped. The operators and "the public" would not be figuring how long the surplus and scab production would suffice. The strike would have had an entirely different aspect from the first day, and, in all likelihood, would not have occurred at all. It would avail nothing to mine coal in scab territory for no train crew would haul it.

If the I. W. W. was in the coal industry, the tonnage (piece-work) system of mining would not be in vogue. The miners would be spared all the inconveniences and controversy growing out of that operators' scheme. Miners would work by the day. There would be no check-off, for the miner would have his wages without bothering about dockage, short weight, minimum turn, or what not. There would be no danger of "sell outs" in negotiations, or forced arbitration, for a united working class would secure justice for the miners, and could depend upon the miners in their turn. The miners constitute about the most dependable element of the American working class and it would be strange if they were not the first to see the light—and soon. The U. M. W. of A. with the most intelligent and largest aggressive minority in the American organized movement is not an industrial union. More is the pity.

208. Has the I. W. W. conducted any strikes?

Yes, many. In 1906 the I. W. W. established an eight hour day for hotel workers in Goldfield, Nevada. This town had the first universal eight-hour day in the United States as a result of I. W. W. activity, and a minimum wage of \$4.50 per day for unskilled labor.

209. Was it retained?

Through the combined forces of the mine operators, the business element and scabs led by Grant Hamilton,

general organizer for the A. F. of L., the established conditions were lost. The treachery of the general officers of the W. F. M. was a factor in breaking I. W. W. control in this district, and degrading the conditions of the workers.

210. What were the other strikes?

In Skowhegan, Me., three thousand workers struck over the discharge of active I. W. W. men. The strike was won in a short time, though the A. F. of L. union of United Textile Workers, under John Golden, tried to break it by furnishing strike-breakers.

Three thousand saw mill workers in Portland, Ore., won a nine-hour day and a 75-cent increase in wages in 1906

In Bridgeport, Conn., an I. W. W. strike of 1,200 tube workers was scabbed to defeat by A. F. of L. unions.

In McKees Rocks, Pa., in 1909, eight thousand employes of the Pressed Steel Car Company struck and won all their demands after a stubborn contest lasting nearly three months. This was one strike where the Cossacks were tamed.

In 1912, a textile workers' strike and a shoe workers' strike were both won in Haverhill, Mass.

The great Lawrence strike (29,000 workers) was won despite the contemptible and traitorous scabbing tactics of the A. F. of L. unions. New Bedford (13,000 workers), Little Falls, N. Y., (about 1,500 workers). United Textile Workers used scabbing tactics here also. This strike was a victory (1913). Lumber Workers (La.), in 1913; Akron Rubber Workers' strike (22,000 workers). Lost in seven weeks. (1913). Paterson Silk Mill Workers' strike (50,000). A. F. of L. unions tried to scab but failed, owing to the feeling of the workers and the thorough picketing. Result was a compromise settlement. One thousand I. W. W. metal workers in Toledo, Ohio, won a strike after a few days. I. W. W. Garment Workers of Baltimore, Md., lost a fourteen weeks' strike through the scabbing tactics of the A. F. of L. union of United Garment Workers, which furnished strike-breakers.

In 1916 the Mesaba Range strike of iron miners took place. This strike was typically handled by the corpora-

tions who imported large forces of gunmen thugs whom compliant sheriffs deputized. MANY of the striker pickets were murdered by these plug-uglies.

A shingle weavers' strike the same year in Everett, Wash., requested assistance from the I. W. W. The mill owners and the (ir) authorities attempt to drive all I. W. W. members from the city. The I. W. W. answered this challenge by chartering a steamboat. When this boat was docking in Everett, the sheriff, who was drunk, and a large force of gunmen opened fire upon the passengers with high power rifles. Seven of the passengers were killed and many wounded. Just imagine what followed—seventy-four I. W. W. members were indicted for this crime of a drunken sheriff and the lumber barons' gunmen. They were acquitted, but the sheriff was never punished.

In 1917, one thousand two hundred I. W. W. members were deported from Bisbee, Arizona, in connection with the copper strike. The copper-collared sheriff was supplied with an army of 2,500 selected ruffians. A federal commission investigated this affair but no one has ever been punished though the tactics employed were brutal—one of the I. W. W. members being done to death.

A general strike of the lumber workers in June where genuine I. W. W. tactics were used. The general strike was continued under various forms — irritation strikes, striking on the job, individual strikes, striking in one camp and going on another job, and all the time working to win the strike. This was something new to the employers, and they were not prepared for these tactics. Consequently, they gave up the struggle and the eight hour day, wage increase, and greatly improved conditions resulted.

211. What is a craft union?

A craft union is a union of workers following a special trade. Formerly, a craftsman, taking the raw material, worked in all the processes required to complete production of the finished article. At that time a long apprenticeship was served, and was necessary in order that the workers in the craft might learn how to perform the work accurately and expeditiously, in the different stages. These workmen formed unions, such as we learned about,

at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. These craftsmen were highly skilled workers, employing hand tools, and hence, often termed handicraftsmen.

212. Are there any such workmen now?

Very few, if any. Most of the present day crafts are no more than sub-divisions of the old time trades. The mechanical tool displaces skill without dispensing with it so far as the production of commodities is concerned. That is to say that the individual workman does not require that versatility of skill in machine production which was indispensable to the handicraftsman. The machine changes the technique in industrial operation so that all-around skillfulness, while unnecessary to any workman, is still demanded of the working force. In order to reap the full advantages of machinery preference is given to workmen in the various processes who display ingenuity in machine attendance and develop a knack which operates a machine tool at its approximate capacity. The skill, formerly the possession of the mechanic which enabled him to perform several operations, is now distributed so that the skill required in each operation is the qualification of special workmen. Where the old time tradesman's skill consisted of a series of knacks gained from long experience, the skill of the modern workman in machine industry may be confined to a knack in one operation gained by a comparatively short experience. Today we have many skilled workmen, but few craftsmen.

213. How would skill be defined?

That depends. . . If the skill of the old time craftsman is meant, the standard by which skill is determined might be defined thus: Skill:—That quality in workmanship which enables the workman to surpass the average untrained worker in all the processes necessary to transform the raw material into the finished product; intimate knowledge of, and a facility acquired by practice in the processes required for the production of a particular thing; that efficient versatility which we are accustomed to associate with the handicraftsman who served a long apprenticeship.

Skill, in the modern sense, applies to the faculty of doing one or a few particular things exceptionally well.

214. Does not that imply that there are no crafts now?

Strictly speaking, there are none. We speak of printers as being craftsmen, but it is a long step back to the time and condition when that was true. The work of the old-time printer is now done by many specialized workmen. Where he did everything in a printing plant, now a number of specialists, each doing a particular thing, co-operate to perform his task. This holds for the tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith, etc. The tendency is toward the sub-division of labor and simplification of processes, so that the skilled worker of a period of long passed development is unknown and unnecessary to modern production. As has been said, strictly speaking, there are no crafts, and it follows, as day follows night, that a craft union is an anachronism in modern industry. As the Industrial Union Manifesto well said: "Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. **These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.**"

215. How is the I. W. W. constituted?

The I. W. W. is composed of Industrial Unions, Industrial Departments, Industrial District Councils and General Industrial District Councils. Each Industrial Union has branches at strategic points within the industry and maintains contact with the members through the job delegate system.

216. What is an Industrial Department?

Industrial Unions of closely allied industries are combined into departmental organizations. For example, the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Unions referred to above, would be united with Railway or Steam Transportation Industrial Unions, Municipal Transportation Industrial Unions, Motor Transporters, and Aviators' Unions, into the "Department of Transportation and Communication."

The Industrial Departments are combined into the General Organization, which, in turn, is to be an integral part of a like International Organization; and through the international organization establish solidarity and co-operation between the workers of all countries.

217. What is an Industrial District Council?

Organization is of first importance in the I. W. W. It is not enough that the workers are class-conscious. They must be organized. Industrial district councils are composed of delegates from all the shop or job branches of one industry within a given district. It aims to promote unity of thought and action within the district.

218. What is a General Industrial District Council?

To achieve general solidarity among the workers in a given district, two or more industrial unions elect delegates to form a general industrial district council. Its function is to keep the different industrial unions of the district in touch with each other and to transact all business pertaining to the general welfare of the workers in the district.

219. Is there anything corresponding to the General Industrial District Council of the I. W. W. in the A. F. of L.?

Not exactly. The A. F. of L. central labor unions most nearly resemble it. Their bodies, however, being composed of representatives of craft unions, cannot be as truly representative of the workers in a given locality as would a body representing the workers in the industry as working forces. Moreover, the geography of the A. F. of L. is political, while the geography of the I. W. W. is economic. A central body in the A. F. of L. is concerned about the political management of the municipality, whereas an I. W. W. central organization would use the economic power of its constituent unions to improve the status of labor. The A. F. of L. central bodies wait upon the political management and endeavor to secure through petition and political influences the desired changes. The A. F. of L. central bodies have no economic power unless they usurp it. The autonomy of the affiliated unions denies any power to the central labor unions. The A. F. of L. central bodies mediate between employers and crafts having grievances. No

boycott by a dissatisfied union can become binding without the consent of the central bodies. These simply constitute local parliaments of labor with only the privilege of recommendation but without the power of enforcement. The State Federations of Labor, likewise, geographically are political divisions, which try to influence legislation in the state legislatures, but are without any economic authority. Both the central labor unions and the State Federations organize unorganized employments. Generally the organizing work of these bodies is negligible.

220. Do the city and town workers generally understand the limitations of these A. F. of L. subordinate bodies?

Not generally. It frequently happens that craft unions with grievances expect the industrial support of the central labor union, and are much puzzled when denied it. We have heard it asked many times what a central union was for, if a union in difficulties could not count upon it for industrial support. We have also seen central labor unions disintegrate in times of industrial strife because they proved a disappointment to the workers belonging to the affiliated unions, who felt that the central body was a local body to achieve industrial unity of its affiliations. The workers can think only in terms of industry, and politics has no appeal to him. While the central bodies do not serve labor in an industrial way, while they hinder advancement through industrial action, they are the one valuable feature of the craft union system. They are training schools in what labor must avoid, and out of them have graduated most of the exponents of real unionism, many of whom have severed relations with the A. F. of L. through disgust and in recognition of its capitalistic character.

221. Could not the same thing happen in the I. W. W.?

It could if capitalist ideas dominated its councils. But the first concern of the I. W. W. is the education of the workers in the economics of capitalist production and what are known as "the class struggle sciences." A rank and file grounded in these, will make it difficult to impose fallacies upon and to mislead them. The I. W. W. in its seventeen years has spread more sound literature among the workers, out of its small treasuries, than has

the A. F. of L. in more than forty years. The I. W. W. is safeguarding the worker with education.

222. What is a job delegate?

A job delegate is an organizer in the I. W. W. Any qualified member in good standing may become a job delegate. To become a job delegate a member fills out an application for credentials and sends it to his industrial union secretary. He will receive credentials and supplies. He is then authorized to initiate any wage worker into the I. W. W.

The job delegate system is the product, and typical of militant industrial unionism. It is an efficient way of organizing.

223. How does a job delegate function?

Job delegates in the I. W. W. perform the same function as paid organizers do in other unions; they secure new members. After receiving credentials and supplies they begin operations. The supplies consist of membership cards, dues stamps, voluntary assessment stamps, and I. W. W. literature.

The job delegate will explain the principles and program to all workers he comes in contact with. He will sell and distribute literature. He agitates on the job, and initiates new members there. He talks to the workers while at work, at noon time, and after work. He will visit the workers in their homes. He never loses an opportunity of agitating for the I. W. W.

The job delegate not only secures new members, but affixes dues stamps in the books of old members. He performs the work of a branch secretary on the job. Job delegates do not receive wages for their organizing efforts. Delegates must make reports to their industrial union every week.

224. What is a traveling delegate?

Traveling delegates carry large amounts of supplies. They travel through the harvest fields and industrial districts supplying the job delegates with membership cards, dues stamps and literature. They, also, are authorized to enlist members in the I. W. W. They are, as a rule, members of the General Organization Committee of the industrial union. They make surveys of industrial

conditions and inform their general office. They are the field representatives of the industrial union.

225. What is a stationary delegate?

Stationary delegates are placed at strategic points by their industrial unions. In the Marine Transport Workers' I. U. No. 520, they are known as "Port Delegates." The office of the stationary delegate is the base of operation for traveling and job delegates. Their offices usually are located at the gateways to the harvest fields and industrial centers. They are recruiting stations for migratory and stationary workers. The stationary delegate makes regular reports to his industrial union headquarters. The report will be comprehensive, giving much valuable industrial data to the general secretary and the officers of the industrial union stationed at headquarters.

226. How about initiation fees and dues in the I. W. W.?

As the I. W. W. wants the workers to organize, it makes it as easy as possible for them to do so. So it inclines to make initiation fees and dues as low as possible. The initiation fee is \$2.00 and the dues are 50 cents per month. Contrast this with the A. F. of L. unions, some of which charge several hundred dollars as an initiation fee. Evidently, unions which charge high initiation fees do so to keep workers out of the unions, and the purpose of high initiation fees is to keep men out. That is why the craft unions are called job trusts.

227. Does each Industrial Union demand an initiation fee?

No. A member of the I. W. W. is called upon to pay only one initiation fee. Once a worker joins the I. W. W. and becomes a member of one industrial union, whenever he changes his occupation he automatically becomes a member of the industrial union in his new occupation upon presentation of his union card. Once a union man in the I. W. W., always a union man, unless he violates the laws of the union. In the craft union system whenever a man changes his occupation from one industrial calling to some other calling, he is required to pay a new initiation fee. If he refuses to be bled, or has not the price, a long and distinguished union career will not help him. He must pay. He can have a whole album full of union

cards, they will not help him. He must take out a new union card. It might be stated thus: When a man joins an industrial union he joins the I. W. W.; when a man joins an A. F. of L. union, he does not join the A. F. of L., for the A. F. of L. has no economic existence. He joins the plumbers' union. But when he changes his occupation he must join another union. The policy of the craft union is to keep them out, or get their money. The policy of the I. W. W. is to get them in the union; never mind the money, if they have a paid up card in any union. The I. W. W. depends upon the industrial power of the workers. Other unions depend upon finance. The I. W. W. wants all the workers. Other unions only want the select few.

228. Is the I. W. W. a secret organization?

The I. W. W. is not a secret organization. It never holds secret meetings. It has no passwords, secret signs, or other tomfoolery. All meetings are wide open. The I. W. W. holds that it can be more effective as an open organization than as a secret one. Underground movements cannot hope to be effective as working class organizations in this country. Secret organizations of labor are breeding places for spies. It would be impossible to have a labor union broad enough to include all wage workers and maintain secret rules, program and aims. Since the I. W. W. is not plotting to capture the political state, but is organizing to control industry, it is not necessary or good to deliberate in secret.

229. What workers can join the I. W. W.?

All wage workers are eligible to membership in the I. W. W. It seeks to organize every wage worker in industry. The position or wage is not taken into consideration. Clerical workers, technicians, teachers, engineers, etc., can join the I. W. W., provided they work for wages.

The term "brain worker" is used to draw lines in the working class and should be avoided. It is an aim of the I. W. W. to bring about solidarity among the workers, and all terms suggesting division are taboo.

230. What is solidarity?

The term is used to denote the common interest, fellowship, aims and action of the working class. It means

an entire consolidation of interest, responsibilities, and aims of those in a common condition or situation, and the organization of those so conditioned or situated to conserve their common interest, bear their collective responsibilities, and to achieve their common aim.

Industrial unionism is the only medium through which industrial solidarity can be achieved. "An injury to one is an injury to all" is the best expression of the spirit of solidarity.

231. What is syndicalism?

In Europe, syndicalism means unionism. In the United States the word is so lost in a maze of misunderstanding as to mean almost anything. State legislators, at the instigation of employers and aided by the press, have so perverted and misrepresented syndicalism that most people believe it to be a criminal and iniquitous conspiracy. Syndicalism is derived from the French word *syndicate*, meaning a local trade union. In France the labor union movement has two wings—radicals and conservatives. To distinguish themselves from the conservatives, the radicals call themselves "revolutionary syndicalists." When the I. W. W. began to assume power in this country, the phrase-mongering apologists for the capitalist system attacked it most bitterly. To create a prejudice against it, they called it an importation—syndicalism from Europe. The name so attached itself to the organization that well-meaning "historians" have called the I. W. W. the syndicalist movement of America. The I. W. W. and the syndicalist movements of Europe differ widely in many respects. The I. W. W. is not a by-product of the syndicalist movement; it is a purely revolutionary industrial unionism. The I. W. W. is really the first international of labor. Its philosophy, structure and aim mark it as the foundation, and the only foundation upon which international unity of the world's workers can be upreared.

232. What is "criminal syndicalism"?

If the law makers of this country were compelled to write their laws in English there would be no such phrase as "criminal syndicalism." Syndicalism is a French word meaning unionism. It would not be good politics to place on the statute books Criminal Unionism laws; so the law

makers have coined the phrase "criminal syndicalism."

Several states have passed laws against "criminal syndicalism." It is untruthfully and maliciously defined as a doctrine advocating violence, terrorism and crime to effect political and industrial changes. There is no union on the American continent advocating violence, terrorism, or crime, so, therefore there is no "criminal syndicalism." The law were passed for the obvious, but underhanded, purpose of attacking unionism. The law makers did not have the courage to call their laws "criminal unionism."

233. What law of nature supplies the incentive to organize unions?

The law of mutual aid.

234. What is the law of mutual aid?

Mutual aid is a fundamental law of nature that causes animals to band together for self-protection.

235. What is the highest human expression of the law of mutual aid?

The principles and program of the I. W. W. are the highest expressions of mutual aid, because they embody the idea of mutual protection and advancement for the greatest number of human beings.

Mutual aid prompts man to give and receive help from his fellow workers. It is the instinct for solidarity and self protection that causes workers to organize labor unions. Mutual aid is expressed in many ways. It is mutual aid that causes employers to form organizations. The secret societies are expressions of mutual aid. Among the lower animals mutual aid is practiced. Deer and wolves band together for mutual aid. Bees and ants practice mutual aid to a great extent. It is not the love for a fellow being that causes man to aid one in distress, but the instinct of mutual aid. In winter, animals will huddle together to keep warm. It is not the love of the herd that causes a sheep to run with it, but the instinct of mutual aid. A puppy does not cuddle close to the other puppies to keep them warm, but to keep himself warm. It is mutual aid. Workers do not organize unions because they love each other, but because thru organization they are enabled to get more of the good things of life.

IN CONCLUSION

Students will be impressed that from the advent of unionism in the United States there have been attempts to fasten political parties upon the economic organizations of labor. The idea that politics offer a field for resultful labor activity is hard to dispel, notwithstanding that all the past experiences of organized labor in America go to show its ineffectiveness where the working class interest is concerned.

From the second decade of the Nineteenth Century, the record shows that political action by labor has been the instrumentality by which promising labor movements have been done to death. Political parties of labor have sapped the economic organizations of their vitality and kept the labor movement marking time when it should have been marching forward. Politicians today may "point with pride" to past political activities of the organized workers in America, but they fail to note, or at least do not draw attention to the fact that the rise of the political idea has always marked and been in proportion to the decline of economic effectiveness.

Every now and again movements aiming to provide American labor with a national expression were foundered upon the reef of labor politics. We find here, and there, on different occasions, representative bodies of labor protesting, because of previous experiences, against the commitment of organizations to political action. Nevertheless, down even to this day, the conception of the organized workers as a political force has survived; that unions can function effectively in more than one capacity. Though the past of American labor proves beyond cavil or doubt that the introduction of political action exerts a disruptive and paralyzing influence upon unions in their economic functions, there are still those who, perhaps because they have not understandingly analyzed the past, maintain that political action is a proper and legitimate function of a labor union.

The interference of the state in disputes affecting the relationship of employer and employe, upon the side of the employing interests, tends to mislead those who do not see beneath the surface of things into the belief that through the voting power of the workers the character of the state can be changed. To believe this is to misunderstand the state, which is the instru-

ment by and through which the ruling class endeavors to maintain and perpetuate the relationship between the capitalist class and the working class—a slave relationship.

The capitalist state functions for the ruling class in modern society just as the state functioned for the ruling classes in chattel slave and feudal times—to preserve an industrial relationship by which the fruits of the labor of one class are the property of another class. The ownership of socially essential things—resources and means of production is guaranteed by the state and the social relationship growing out of that ownership is a concomitant which the state is designed to preserve.

The United States, more plainly than any other modern country, shows the state to be not only the means by which the existing class relationship is maintained, but the very means by which the ownership out of which it grows was instituted. Railroad grants, timber, mineral and oil steals plainly demonstrate that government (the State) has been the instrument by which the capitalist class has risen to power and the working class has been reduced to its present plight in the United States.

Government has always been a disguise under which acquisitive predatory powers moved for the conquest of socially necessary things and by which they held the producers of the United States and other countries in subjection. This ownership and the class relationship, the state will array all the powers at its command to defend and to continue indefinitely. That, primarily, is its function. It is a social instrument only in the sense and where a slave relationship exists within a society, or a social division. The capitalist state, like its chattel slave and feudal prototypes, is the social instrumentality by which a ruling class is enabled to control the labor power of the working class, and as a consequence, the products resulting from the expenditure of that labor power.

The acts of the legislative bodies, the decisions of the courts, the use of repressive forces by executives, the control of the educational system, all manifest class hostility and all tend to “keep the working class in its place.” Yet, the whole superstructure of modern society is upreared and rests upon the working class. To exist and to progress capitalist society must control the labor power of the working class. It must, and it will, use any means or any weapon which will assist it in achieving this end. Political pretensions only conceal industrial ambitions. The im-

portant thing, therefore, for the workers to recognize, is the industrial character of our society, and the true nature of the state.

When they do, they will direct their energies against the wage relationship and offer battle to the masters of society where these are least qualified to offer resistance—in the industries. There the workers are masters when they understand their position and realize their power. With this conception there must develop the recognition that with an instrument which will enable them to control their labor power, they can successfully resist aggression, and change their present status.

With the state the workers need not concern themselves except to recognize its class character and function. To scheme for concessions and favors from it, as an institution, is to cherish a delusion. To construct and develop an instrumentality by which the workers in the industries can assert and advance their interest as social factors against their employer is to have generated a power that will compel the state to modify its programs and conduct so as to accord with the changes which the workers will force in this relationship to the employers. As the organized proletariat advances in the control of labor power, the prestige of the capitalist class declines and the state as a repressive power is weakened correspondingly. The workers need not, and indeed should not direct their efforts against the state but against the wage relationship of which it is the guardian, custodian and defender.

The right to strive for shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions—modifying the class relationship—is acknowledged, even in capitalist circles, as a legitimate ambition and effort of the workers. Such readjustment as will presently lessen and ultimately eliminate unemployment is also admitted as a worthy endeavor of the workers. The social character of labor is the point that a real working class movement must stress, and the social importance of the points for which the organized workers contend, in their demands, is the logical and successful way for a union movement to make progress. This is the way of revolutionary preparation. For, as working class organization extends, its influence is felt socially. That influence is necessarily beneficial and advantageous. A genuine labor movement is constructive, and social construction, or reconstruction, is predicated upon industry and the social industrial relationship.

Moreover, as the class organization grows, in corresponding measure does class consciousness develop. And, as this class conscious feeling spreads, the source upon which the state depends for its repressive forces dries up. The bayonets of its soldiers and the clubs of its policemen are wielded by those who were lately of the working class, and who upon dismissal or resignation will return to that class and face its problems with the rest of us.

It must be the effort of the workers to remove every obstacle to solidarity. The rivalry of antagonistic groups must give way to co-operation. Division in the ranks of labor is the objective desired by the capitalist class. Labor when divided is weak and powerless. The one reliable source of labor's power lies in its control over the means of production—the vitals of society. This power inheres in the worker as producer. It can be organized effectively in no other capacity. It cannot be organized politically. Economic organization by the workers will produce economic changes, and, in the very nature of things, the state will accommodate itself to the modified arrangement. Actual changes in the wage relationship will compel political changes while rule by the capitalist class obtains. The political records of these changes will mark the transition from political government, by and in the interest of a class, to an economic administration, by and in the interest of a workers' society.

By organizing industrially the workers will form the structure of a new society within the shell of the old, and prepare for the change which will revolutionize social conceptions, forms and methods. The worker as worker—producer—alone can carry out the historical social process.

Politics is the temptation of careerists. It may offer a future to some of them, but only at the expense of that understanding at which labor must arrive. The great duty of the present is economic organization along class lines, guided by the conception that labor is the important social factor. With the growth of such a movement—labor will progress to a better state of society, where new problems will be met squarely with social understanding undimmed by class antagonism; and will be solved upon the basis of common benefit. Let us prepare for the next step—build up the Industrial Workers of the World.

* * *

You have read the pages of this catechism. You have learned how the craft union system grew on the ruins of the Knights of Labor, how it provided good livings for the officials of the craft unions, not to mention banks and mines and farms and office buildings. You are yourself a constant reminder of its failure to provide you with all that you desire. You are yourself, as this pamphlet is published, witnessing how the ebb and flow of economic laws, decide your wages and working conditions for you. You have seen and can see, for yourself, how markets, panics, "good business" eras, and "hard times" whip you about like a straw in the wind, from work and temporary security, to unemployment and starvation, without your craft union or your insurance association, whichever it should properly be called, being able to solve your problems.

In the summer of 1923, as this pamphlet issues from the presses of the Industrial Workers of the World, a series of great craft strikes has failed. The Railroad strike has broken down after months of struggle. The few roads on which the battle still (theoretically) drags along, are operating more and more efficiently with scabs, organized into company unions in most cases. The old Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers has become a great banker, and mine owner, and finds himself an exploiter of Labor. He is widely quoted in the capitalist press as registering his undying disapproval of any general railroad strike. "It is loaded with dynamite," he says, "for the public, for the employers, and for us". (Us evidently meaning the bureaucracy of the Railway Brotherhoods, which might lose some of its mines and banks, if a general strike took place.

As this is written, the coal miners are writhing in their realization of the fact that they have been sold out in the Cleveland agreement. A portion of the Rosslyn Cle-Elum fields in Washington is operating under a company union, which includes in its preamble a statement that the interests of Capital and Labor are identical, that the union shall be controlled by a board on which the Employers have a majority of votes, and that no member shall belong to the United Mine Workers of America, nor shall any person who does belong to the A. F. of L. be employed in the mines. In Kentucky, an over-lapping contract has been signed, by which one group, one district of coal miners, binds itself to remain at work while the rest of the union goes on strike, if it is able to once more resist intolerable conditions by the strike.

In the marine transport industry, we find the old "leader", Andrew Furuseth, urging his seamen to sling cargo, and his firemen to make steam for winches in order to break the strike of longshoremen, including A. F. of L. longshoremen, at Portland and San Pedro.

In the oil fields of Southern California, we find regularly elected officials of the A. F. of L. oil workers union deliberately urging that members who belong to another union than theirs—men who adhere to the Industrial Workers of the World—be jailed for from one to fourteen years. We find them urging their following to act as stool pigeons, and to point out to the brutal authorities, representing capitalism, all members of the I. W. W., to the end that those who will not pay tribute to the job trust of the A. F. of L. shall be buried in dungeons of San Quentin.

In the summer of 1923, the Capitalist Class of America is treating you as well as it ever treats its slaves. It is filling the boards of the employment offices with jobs, at what seems to the man long unemployed, to be reasonable, "living" wages. If this announcement comes to you while business is still good, you should not conceal from yourselves the fact that this condition is temporary, that just as panics have succeeded "boom" periods in the past, so depression, and lack of work will haunt you in the future, the near future. Many of you will look upon these lines after that depression, that unemployment, has you in its grip. Many of you will read these pages after you have travelled in despair and danger over many a railroad, through many a city and town, in search of a job that does not exist.

When that time is upon you, or now, when you can see the signs of it, the necessary preparations for it, on the part of the boss—in this very speeding-up process of which temporarily provides you with the right to toil and make a fortune for him—is the time when you should seriously consider the situation you are in, and seriously determine what shall be done by yourself (for no one else will do it) to relieve yourself from danger.

Fellow Workingman, do you, can you expect any aid from craft unions? Is not their treason and their swindling exposed in a thousand deeds? If you get hold of this little book before the great panic, which we, the Industrial Workers of the World tell you is certain to come, then use a half day's wages to take out a card in our organization, and if this writing does not fall into

your hands, until the chaos is upon us, and the capitalist is "re-trenching" at your expense, why then employ your leisure, you'll have lots of it, in studying the plan and method of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Here is something different, here is something hopeful. We do not have to tell you that your government has done nothing but marshal the forces of capitalism against you. We have proved to you in its pamphlet that the craft union system has shifted you into positions where capitalism can not help but defeat you.

The following manifesto, which was issued as the call for the formation of the I. W. W. is as potent today as when written, 19 years ago.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonism more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by

class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and prices grow higher. Shifted here and there by the demands of profit takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this hopeless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his masters may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the workers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary, and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while workers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson.

The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia, and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers subject to the same masters; the long struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, the thousands of subway railroad workers of New York City forced into defeat by orders from the Civic Federation, the unholy alliance between leaders of labor and captains of industry; the hatmakers in a long-drawn-out struggle fighting the industrial power of their opponents with weapons of by-gone days; the iron and steel workers defeated in

their efforts to beat the gigantic combination of capitalist interests with a disintegrated, powerless craft union of mechanics; the switchmen of the Northwest losing their contest through the allegiance of their fellow unionists to the common enemy; the suffering coal miners of Pennsylvania and Illinois, starving in a hopeless conflict while other union miners are supplying the markets with coal; the defeated street car workers of Philadelphia unsupported by other craft unionists in their conflict; the tens of thousands of militant men and women of that city who, not shackled by craft union contracts which would force them to scab as the craft unionists had done, preferred to stand by the striking car men in struggle against oppression, wrong and abuses and be crushed with them as the result of this division in the ranks of the workers; the steel and iron workers of Bethlehem deserted when support and co-operation would have brought victory and amelioration of the evils they rebelled against; the seamen once in the employ of the same corporation by which the steel workers' craft unions were crushed, appealing in vain for the support in their struggle for the rights of free men, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement or adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from renders industrial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies. Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by an universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

is an organization to fulfill these conditions. It is the modern, scientific movement of the working class toward emancipation by INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. All the workers in any division of an industry are organized into an INDUSTRIAL UNION, so branched as the needs of the industry may require; these INDUSTRIAL UNIONS are in turn organized into INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS of connecting, or kindred industries, while all are brought together in the GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—ONE BIG UNION OF ALL THE WORKING CLASS of ALL THE WORLD, making possible world-wide working-class SOLIDARITY.

It is founded on the class struggle and its general administration is conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class. It is established as the industrial organization of the working class, without affiliation with, or support of, any political or non-political sect.

All power rests in the collective membership.

Industrial branch, industrial union, departmental and general administration, union labels, buttons, badges and emblems, trans-

fer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax are uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the industrial union in which they are employed, but there is a universal (free) transfer of membership between all unions.

Workers bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries are freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration issues publications representing the entire union and its principles which reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, in every civilized country are coming to understand the principles of industrial unionism. They are organizing for the battles of today, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lock-out of the parasite class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possession.

If you are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task, join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists be the first to get busy. Get others, organize them. Learn to tackle the industrial problems, show others how the workers will be able to run the industries through agencies of their own creation the world over.

Write for further information to

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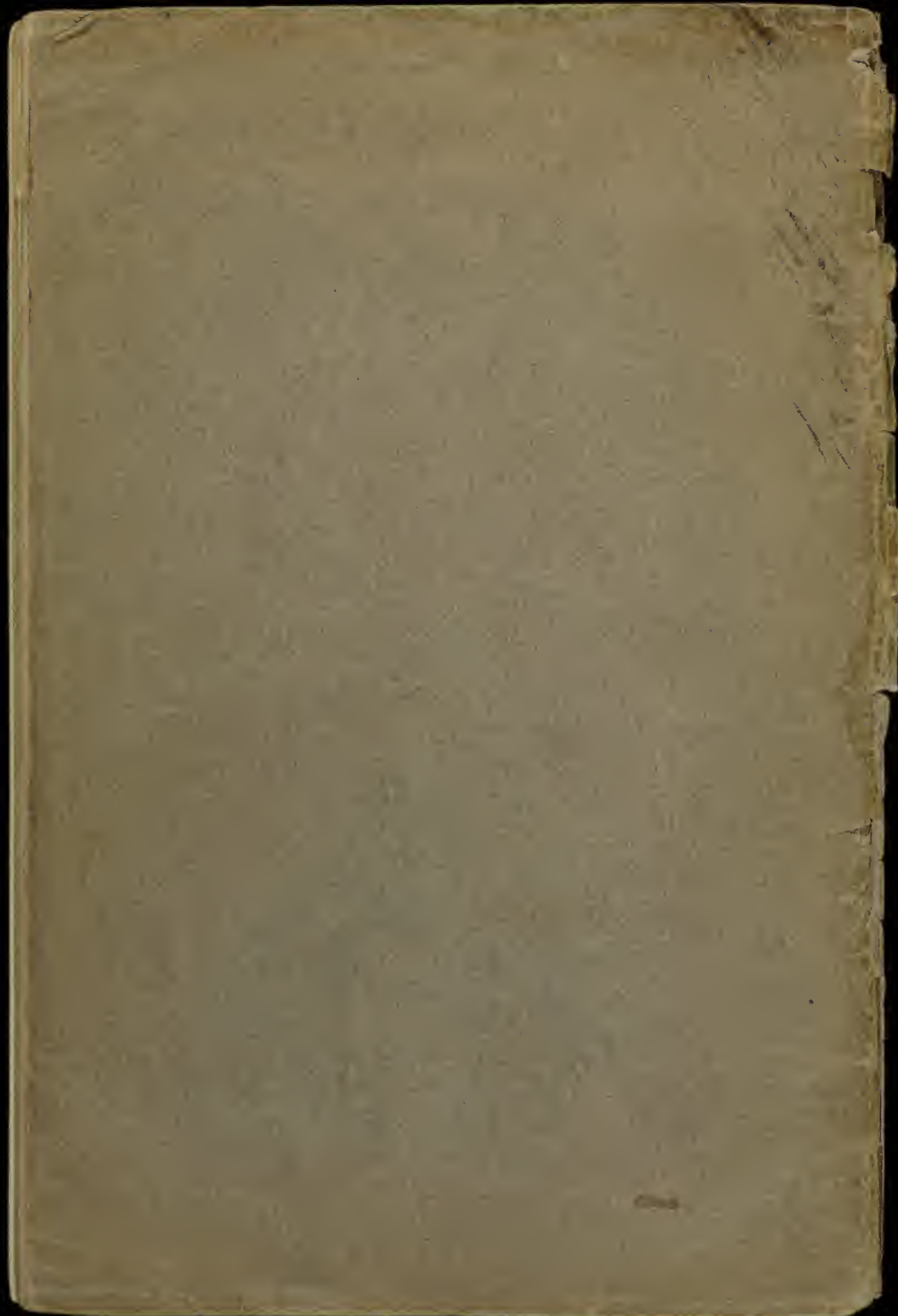
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CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

Foreword

This is the second of a series of booklets, written in a semi-fictional form, and dealing with the Preamble, History, Structure and Methods of the Industrial Workers of the World, popularly known as the I. W. W.

The first is called "The Preamble of the I. W. W." It should be read in conjunction with this pamphlet. This pamphlet, however, may be read alone, as it is practically an independent work.

This series aims to educate the workers in all that the I. W. W. stands for.

The I. W. W., is not a secret, underground society. Nor does it believe in assassination and crime; all misrepresentation and persecution to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The I. W. W. is a labor union, that organizes according to industry, instead of trades; with branches and affiliations all over the world, hence its name.

Its headquarters are in Chicago, Ill., where it was first organized in 1905.

Read this booklet and learn more about it. If you agree with its aims and objects, then join it.

PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

Truth is stranger than fiction; and
history more absorbing than the novel.

THE TALKERS:

Bob Hammond, a mill-hand and migratory worker.

Sam Scissorbill, steel worker and home guard.

Jack Walsh, a rough and ready longshoreman.

Ed. Morrison, another "dock walloper," lover of history.

SCENE:

Along the Inland State Canal. Wharf of the G. E. Co., whose plant is partly closed down, thanks to the industrial depression. The idle workers gather there from force of habit, to await developments and "chew the rag" on conditions in general and their own prospects in particular. Depressions are periods of great mental development. They make some of the workers think.

Walsh (a newspaper before him): So the Ku-Klux Klan at Shreveport, La., has kidnapped the I.W.W. lawyer and run him out of town, after beating him up. The war ruined Europe, but, evidently not the I. W. W. It comes back stronger than ever before.

Morrison (admiringly): It's great! In all history——

Scissorbill (interrupting): There you go again! Who cares for history? We don't live according to history!

Marrison (unabashed): That's just the trouble! Past persecutions teach us nothing. Martyrdom is the seed of the church now as be——

Hammond (impatiently): Ah, can that stuff! It is organization in spite of persecution that is the secret of I. W. W. vitality. Martyrdom, me eye!

Scissorbill (sarcastically): "Organization," where is it? It hasn't got any'round here. And it never did amount to much anywhere. What good is it, anyway? I wouldn't join any organization; much less such a gang of anarchists, pro-Germans and Bolsheviks like the I. W. W.!

Walsh (laughing with the others): Scissorbill, you always were synonymous with stupidity, when it comes to realizing the necessity of uniting with your fellow-workers in safeguarding and advancing common interests. Christ, man! Wake up! You don't think the I. W. W. is lambasted because it is without organization, do you? It must amount to something to cause the other side to go after it so fiercely!

Hammond (chiming in): Now you're spouting, Jack! But let's cut out personalities. This is not a matter of persons, but of organization and all that is back of it. (Turning to Scissor): That's old stuff, that "anarchist," "pro-German," "Bolsheviks" stuff is. The abolitionists were called names like that, too. But they lived to see the negro slave free. Maybe if we stick around as long as they did, we'll see something like that happen in connection with the I. W. W. Maybe sooner. Things move faster nowadays! Who knows?

Morrison (delighted): If Scissorbill only knew history as you do, Bob. He'd——.

Scissorbill (angrily): Can that highbrow stuff! I want to know, what good is the I. W. W.? What has it done, besides burn crops and forests, destroy machinery, and raise hell generally, all to no good purpose?

Morrison (amused): Why, Sam, that's an appeal to the records in the case—to history! If——.

Walsh (laughing again): Don't you admit that, Sam. Tell him that Napoleon said, history is a fable, and that the history of the I. W. W., accordingly, does not exist, even if the newspapers, labor journals, court records, and libraries are full of it. Sic'em, Scissor!

I. W. W. NO FUN FOR EMPLOYERS

Hammond (after the laughter had subsided): Let's be a little more serious, fellers. Judging from the way the employing class persecutes the I. W. W., they don't see any thing funny about it. Neither should we. Besides, guying Sam does not answer his argument. (After a pause) In the Chicago war-trial, it was shown that the I. W. W., instead of destroying forests, fought fires in gangs in the employ of the State Foresters. No German gold, it was also shown, was found, either directly or indirectly. The farm machinery was destroyed by defective insulation and lack of care. In the Chicago and other war trials, the I. W. W.'s were convicted as a result of war propaganda and hysteria.

Morrison (interrupting): That's an old story. It won't help Sam any! Your true Scissorbill wants his prejudices confirmed; not overthrown. It is prejudice, not reason; trust interests, not the commonwealth, that is back of modern persecution. War is the opportunity, patriotism the cloak behind which the ends of the monopolists controlling modern American life have been furthered. Current history is full of this persecution. In agriculture, it was the Non-Partisan Leaguers that were victims; in religion, the Russellites; in education, the public school teachers; in politics, Debs and the communists. But the I. W. W. got the worst of it. And it lives, despite it all. The history of American labor in modern times shows nothing like it.

Scissorbill (with impatience): Ah, what has history got to do with it, anyway?

Morrison (continuing undisturbed): As I have said so often before, if truth is stranger than fiction then history is more absorbing than the novel. Here is the history of the I. W. W. A history of current tendencies, in keeping with modern industrial development; prosaic, sordid, repulsive, in its materialistic details; yet one that has given us song writers, poets and artists, and self-sacrifice and heroism that is not occasional, but continuous and unending. Talk about moral granduer.

Walsh (impulsively): By Christ, Morrison; that ought to stir even Scissorbill.

Scissorbill (breaking out): "Moral grandeur," hell! They go to jail because they've got to.

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF I. W. W.—WHAT FOR?

Morrison (unabashed): In the pursuit of an ideal, yes! Think of it! Eighteen years of hostility, suffering, prison and death; such is the I. W. W.! And for what? For the immediate improvement of the workers! For the era coming in which the workers shall not only have better conditions, but emancipation from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Scissorbill (viciously): Get out! They don't want freedom. They want the capitalists' wealth. They want to divide up; that's what they want! They——.

Walsh (laughingly): Well, Scissor; you ought to be with them, if they want to divide up. You'll have something then, for the first time in your life.

Hammond (joining in the laughter): Talk about dividing up, look at the way the capitalists divide up the wealth the workers create. They take the lion's share for themselves, and give the workers only enough, in the form of wages, to live on and reproduce themselves. If you want to stop dividing up, Scissor, join the I. W. W. Its slogan is, "Labor creates all wealth. All wealth belongs to labor!"

Walsh (laughing): Ah, that's throwing water on a duck's back. It rolls off. All Scissorbills are good for is to kiss the hand that smites them. They crawl on their bellies to their masters.

Hammond (interposing): Come, fellers; let's can that sort of chatter. We were all Scissorbills at one time! I was one myself, before I become a wobbly, that is, an I. W. W. If there were no Scissorbills, there would be no capitalism. Without Scissorbills and capitalism, where would the wobblies come from?

Morrison (soothingly): You are right, Bob. The wobblies are an outgrowth, like everything else. The six men who founded the I. W. W., in 1905 were dissatisfied

with the A. F. of L. form of organization and consequently, saw the need of the new industrial union form.

THE I. W. W.'S FOUNDERS AND IDEA.

These six men were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain; Clarence Smith, General Secretary-Treasurer, American Labor Union; Thomas J. Haggerty, Editor "Voice of Labor," organ of the A. L. A.; George Estes, President United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; W. L. Hall, General Secretary-Treasurer, U. B. R. E.; and William E. Trautman, Editor "Brauer Zeitung," United Brewery Workers' organ.

They called a conference that came together in Chicago, Ill., on January second, 1905. This conference drew up an industrial union manifesto, calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, Ill., on June 27, 1905.

This industrial union manifesto stated, substantially, that mechanical and industrial conditions so grouped men as to wipe out trade divisions among the workers and competition among the capitalists. With the centering of industry into fewer hands, the trade unions are unable to meet the new conditions; for instead of consolidating, in accordance with industrial changes, they keep the workers divided in the old trade way, thus making them easy to defeat.

As a remedy for the condition they proposed industrial unionism. That is, a unionism in accord with industrial development and strong enough, consequently, to combat successfully capitalist concentration. They also proposed to make industrial unionism the means whereby the workers could secure control of production and establish industrial democracy. This they call "forming the structure of the new society in the shell of the old."

This conference was attended by forty men, all active in the radical, socialist, and labor union movement of the time. The convention that followed, was attended by one hundred and fifty-six delegates representing thirty-six state, district, national and local

organizations, with a membership of ninety thousand. Among them was the then powerful Western Federation of Miners, which had taken an active part in calling the convention and promoting the new industrial union movement. Its General Secretary-Treasurer, William D. Haywood, was the convention's permanent chairman.

Walsh (interrupting): Christ, much water has gone 'round the I. W. W., turbine since 1905; driving it on to achieve much good for the workers, in spite of shortcomings and defeats.

AN INHERENT DEVELOPMENT.

Hammond (chiming in): Its had enough of both. Its a miracle how it persists. But——.

Morrison (laughingly): Its amazing that so meager a body should cause so much horror to trade unionism and capitalism. The I. W. W. is feared not so much for what it is, as for what it might be. It is a development inherent in capitalism and impossible to eradicate, on that account. Its possibilities are always immense.

Take that first convention. Seven organizations, with a combined membership of fifty-one thousand, were installed as a part of the I. W. W. Subsequently, the Western Federation of Miners withdrew, while the memberships of the others were found to be either non-existent or greatly inflated. On this rickety foundation was erected the I. W. W., "the menace to society," to quote the press. It looks like a joke. But the power of an idea, such as Industrial Democracy, when advanced at the right time, even by a minority, is more frightful to capitalist autocracy than are vast numbers without a definite inspiration, indiscriminately pushed. An ideal with an organization behind it, no matter how small, is more to be feared than an organization without an ideal before it, no matter how large. As Sam Scarlett used to say: 'The I. W. W. is an organization whose time has arrived and all hell can't stop it.'

Well, the first years of the I. W. W., were years of difficult assimilation and formation. Many of the

elements taken in were unsuited to the purpose. Charles O. Sherman, president of the United Metal Workers, was the first and last president of the I. W. W. After serving one year he was removed and the presidential functions were performed by a General Executive Board and General Secretary-Treasurer, subject to referendum and recall by the membership.

Since 1905, eight hundred thousand members have been enrolled in the I. W. W.

The successful movement to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, W. F. of M. leaders, accused of the death of Ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, was initiated by the I. W. W., and formed most of its first activities.

In 1906, it established the eight-hour day for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada. Owing to A. F. of L. scabbing, a strike of sheet and metal workers at Youngstown, O., in the same year, was lost.

In 1907 three thousand textile workers in Skowhegan, Me., won improved conditions, after a four week struggle and in spite of A. F. of L. scabbing. In Portland, Ore., 3,000 saw-mill workers struck for the nine-hour day and a wage increase from \$1.57 a day to \$2.50 a day. The strike and its aftermath won a wage increase and improved conditions. It also gave impetus to I. W. W. organization in the lumber industry of the north-west, which became and is now one of the best I. W. W. strongholds. A strike of one thousand metal workers at Bridgeport, Conn., was lost through A. F. of L., scabbing.

The panic of 1907, caused shut-downs that killed the strike of eight hundred silk workers at Lancaster, Pa. In the spring of 1917 a prolonged strike at Goldfield, Nevada, was compromised by the treachery of the general officers of the W. F. of M. In the fall, however, the I. W. W. gained ground and, under its sway, the \$5.00 and 8 hour day became universal. During the I. W. W. regime at Goldfield, all the local laws were made in the **union hall** and posted on the bulletin boards of the union. They were generally observed.

Walsh (interjecting): No wonder the I. W. W. is hated.

Think of a labor union usurping the bossism of a chamber of commerce or the corporations that run a city. It's terrible to contemplate—from a capitalist standpoint!

Morrison (continuing): The panic of 1907, with its depression and unemployment, hit labor unions hard, especially the I. W. W., which had been barely formed. However, the I. W. W. managed to hang on, by participating in the many unemployment movements and agitations of the time. It did the same in the "hard times" of 1913-14.

THE McKEES ROCKS STRIKE.

It was the great strike at McKees Rocks, Pa., that gave the I. W. W. its first big impetus on a wider scale. This occurred in the plant of the Pressed Steel Car Co., in July 1909. This was originally a spontaneous revolt, affecting 16 different nationalities, in all branches of labor in the industry. Though Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, passed up the revolt, saying, "They are only Hunkies," the I. W. W. organized them so successfully that, despite the most ruthless opposition, advanced wages and improved conditions were subsequently conceded.

Following the McKees Rock strike, came the successive free speech fights at Spokane, Wash., Fresno, Cal., and other cities. The authorities attempted to squelch the growing I. W. W. by preventing outdoor speaking in defiance of constitutional rights. The I. W. W.s went to jail by the hundreds in order to preserve those rights to keep alive their organization. The expense and notoriety of these fights caused the tax payers to compell the authorities to yield, and thus to put a big feather in the cap of the I. W. W.

About 1910 came a big strike at the Schwab steel mill at Bethlehem, Pa. In this strike, which was proceeding successfully, the I. W. W. yielded to the jurisdictional claims of the A. F. of L. and, rather than cause dissension withdrew. Some of the more skilled crafts got beneficial agreements, but the strikers, on

the whole, were defeated. The outcome again raised I. W. W. prestige.

Next followed a series of strikes with varying successes, such as the shoe workers of Brooklyn, N. Y.; textile and shoe workers, Haverhill, Mass.; clothing workers, Seattle, Wash.; railroad workers, Prince Rupert and Lytton, B. C.; lumber workers in the Northwest and at Grabow, La.

Then came the Lowell textile strike, followed by the great Lawrence strike of 1912.

THE GREAT LAWRENCE STRIKE.

It might be well to state, by way of reminder, that the history of the I. W. W. is the history of growth in unionism. As industrial development combines all the trades in one industrial whole, so does the I. W. W. seek to combine the trades into one big industrial union. And as industrial development tends to expand beyond national boundaries, and become international in scope, so does the I. W. W. become international, too. The Lawrence strike of 1912 was an epoch-making strike. It proved the value of industrial unionism on a larger scale than any previous I. W. W. strike. It bound all the trades, conflicting unions and nationalities, organized and unorganized, into one solid whole. It gave rise to a new word. "That word," writes George Briton Beale, journalist, in a "Review of the Lawrence Strike," "was 'Solidarity.' Its meaning, as given in the dictionary, is 'Community of interests and responsibilities.'"

The Lawrence strike caused a raise in wages thruout the textile industry of the country, variously estimated by capitalists authorities at from five to fifteen millions of dollars annually. Subsequently, its memories halted threats of wage reductions at Providence, R. I., and New Bedford, Mass. It, further, gave a new impetus to labor organization, not only in New England but thruout the United States.

The Lawrence strike alone should answer Scissorbill's questions "What good is the I. W. W.? And what has it ever organized?"

Scissorbill (ruffled): Bah, that strike occurred long ago! Show us—

Hammond (breaking in): Let me say something about the agitation and success of the I. W. W. among the migratory workers, especially in the lumber industry and harvest fields, since the Lawrence strike in—

Morrison (interrupting): Just a minute, Bob. I was going to say, the Lawrence strike of 1912 was followed by strikes in many other parts of Massachusetts and in Little Falls, N. Y.; in the silk centers of Paterson, N. J., and New York, N. Y.; the rubber works of Akron, O.; the hop fields of Wheatland, Cal.; and the steel trust iron ore mines on the Mesaba range of Minnesota. They all happened between 1912 and 1916 and resulted, either directly or indirectly, in many benefits to the workers involved.

ORGANIZING THE MIGRATORY WORKERS

Hammond (emphatically): You bet they did! That Wheatland affair was a spontaneous revolt, that was afterwards led and supported by the I. W. W. Though crushed out, it gave rise to conditions that caused wages to be raised and camp conditions to be improved thruout California. For years the I. W. W. had led in the organization of the agricultural workers, with increasing success. In 1916, it organized a 1000 mile picket line, extending from the Southwest into Canada, that boosted wages and improved conditions thruout the western farming country. The I. W. W. has, to a great extent, eliminated the high-jacks, bootleggers and stick-ups from among the migratory farm laborers; and turned a lot of aimless, so-called bums into self-respecting workingmen, with a sprinkling of idealists. The I. W. W. protects the migratory worker from petty police and other graft and the attempts of the commercial clubs and farmers' organizations to reduce wages and conditions to the previous low and abominable standards. It defends its members. It substitutes mutual aid for exploitation.

In 1912, the I. W. W. consolidated the migratory workers in the lumber camps of the Northwest into a real industrial unit. Its first clash was in the very heart of the lumber trust domain, in the city of Aber-

deen, Grays Harbor County, Wash. The strikers won their demands and improved conditions, after a strenuous tussle.

In 1916 came the Puget Sound struggle with the lumber trust. This struggle is typical of the I. W. W. conception of working class solidarity. In it, the I. W. W. joined the A. F. of L. shingle weavers and 'longshoremen on strike, in a fight for free speech. The lumber trust decided the time had come to hit back. This resulted in a summer replete with lawlessness and disorder on the part of the trust's henchmen. It ended in a final desperate attempt on the part of the lumber trust, aided by the commercial club to drive the I. W. W. out of Everett, Wash. Seven I. W. W. members were massacred. Seventy-four of their fellow workers were, subsequently, found not guilty by a jury, and the odium of the whole tragic episode thrown where it belonged, on the commercial club and its master, the lumber trust. Infuriated, the lumber trust took steps that later ended in the passage of the notorious Washington State "Criminal Syndicalism" Law, which has been used against the A. F. of L., I. W. W., Socialist Party, and even common working stiff not connected with any organization, revolutionary or otherwise.

But, O boy! 1917 was the eventful year. In the early summer of 1917 the lumber trust strike started. It spread like wildfire thruout the Northwest, tying up the lumber trusts' operations in five states tighter than a drum. The industry was paralyzed. It was a long and bloody fight, with the workers apparently defeated. But the lumber "beasts" went back to work, only to continue the fight there. They worked 8 hours and then quit for the day. In this way they gained their main demand, their principal demand—the eight hour day. Most of their other demands were granted as well, including mattresses, clean linen and shower baths, where filth and foulness had been before! This struggle was a great test of militant unionism vs. industrial autocracy, with the victory going, for the time being, to the former. The war—

THE I. W. W. AND THE WAR.

Morrison (breaking in): Now you are coming to it, Bob. The war! That was the great, the crucial period for the I. W. W., which has come out of it covered with glory. The war caused the I. W. W. to be subjugated to every outrage conceivable, at the hands of both authorities and mobs. Its members were illegally arrested, lynched, deported, driven insane, and denied every vestige of fair play and decency. The treatment accorded to them was inhuman and uncivilized. Still, the I. W. W. lives, triumphant, thru it all.

Walsh (with emotion): Sure, there is no killing them! Like truth itself they are hard to down! They—

Morrison (continuing): This persecution was originally supposed to be due to the initiative of the lumber and mining interests, against which the I. W. W. had waged extensive strikes, in 1917, in the states of Washington, Oregon, Montana, Arizona and elsewhere. It was charged that these lumber and coppermine strikes hampered the pursuit of the war industries. But subsequent federal investigations disclosed the fact that the aeroplane and ship building programs were held up by defective material sold by lumber interests at exorbitant prices; while the copper industry was not at all affected. Further, the A. F. of L. conducted over 7,000 war-time strikes, without suffering any such savage attacks as the I. W. W., encountered. It was also charged that the I. W. W. was paid "German gold" to plot against the country. But, as Bob has already shown, no evidence was ever produced to sustain this charge, either directly or indirectly.

WAR THE PLUTOCRATS' OPPORTUNITY.

The fact of the matter is that the war provided a good opportunity to crush an organization with such democratic ideals of industry as the I. W. W. The results show that the war was a plutocratic war.

The I. W. W. was and is strictly industrial in its aims and methods. This, in a state with an industrial

foundation and frame work, is intolerable to the capitalist powers that be. It menaces their might. In that consist the real offense of the I. W. W., whether in peace or war.

President Woodrow Wilson, in his St. Louis, Sept. 6, 1919, speech said: "The seed of war is industrial and commercial rivalry." This war (referring to the world war) is an industrial and commercial war."

Since then a rear-admiral of the United States Navy, A. P. Niblack, has written a book entitled "Why Wars Come." In it, on page 146, he says: "No one can, however, make a thorough an impartial inquiry into the causes of war without realizing their roots run deep into the soil of trade rivalry and economic aspirations."

The I. W. W. was aware of all this in advance of the entrance of the U. S. into the war. While it opposed the war it could not stop this country from going into it. It was far too small for the enormous job; and, accordingly, did not undertake it. It also had its hands too full of agriculture, mining and lumber strikes to take any collective stand thereon. It, consequently, left the matter to the discretion of its individual members, some of whom turned conscientious objectors; while many more were conscripted and went into active service, seeing actual warfare in the trenches in France; or risking their lives, as seamen, aboard transports, in the submarine zone.

As was said before, the war provided an excellent opportunity to crush the I. W. W. This opportunity was seized upon with avidity. Frank Little, a member of the general executive board of the I. W. W., was lynched in Butte, Montana, during this period, by copper trust thugs. One thousand, two hundred copper mine strikers at Bisbee, Arizona, were illegally deported from that state into New Mexico by similar forces. Scores of others were forced to leave the country or were illegally detained by department of justice and department of immigration authorities. Hundreds of I. W. W.s were seized in Chicago, Wichita and Sacramento in the fall of 1917 and afterwards sent to prison for long terms. Not on evidence proving individual overt

acts, but showing the possession of collective ideals not in conformity with the prevailing plutocratic war spirit; though thoroughly in accordance with the constitution, whose guarantees of free speech, free press, free assemblage, had been overthrown. In the war for democracy, among the truest defenders of its ideals, were the I. W. W. They fought that war at home, against plutocratic conspiracies.

The truth is, that the I. W. W. was the victim of war hysteria. This, in turn, was the result of a well planned propaganda in favor of war; and in determined, ruthless opposition to every movement opposed to war, either lawfully or otherwise.

WAR ACCENTUATES SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND INCREASES I. W. W. GROWTH

This, all of the above and subsequent facts too plainly show. But the I. W. W. is alive today, strong and flourishing, because the war has not only failed to kill it, but also because the war has not abolished the conditions out of which the I. W. W. grew. On the contrary, the war has accentuated every one of them instead.

Hammond (seconding Morrison): Even after the war, in the armistice period, when interference with the war could no longer be alleged, patriotism continued to be the cloak behind which the I. W. W. was persecuted. In Centralia, Wash., on armistice day in 1919, a conspiracy of commercial and lumber trust interests used the American Legion as a cats-paw to mob the headquarters of the I. W. W. there. The members of the latter defended their lives and property, killing four of the lawless element. In this, perfectly lawful defense of themselves, the I. W. W.s suffered losses also. One of the members killed was Wesley Everest, an overseas veteran, who was treated most inhumanly and then hung from a bridge.

Another I. W. W. went insane, due to the same causes. A jury at Montesano, subsequently, despite great pressure in favor of capital punishment, sent seven I. W. W.'s to the penitentiary at Walla Walla. Since then, five members of the jury have signed affi-

davits declaring the innocence of the convicted men and that the jury was intimidated. The whole gruesome tale is told in "Was It Murder?" a book by Walker C. Smith, to which the reader is referred for all of the details, including the jurors' affidavits. Another work, by Ralph C. Chaplin, "The Centralia Conspiracy," should also be read.

"CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM"

Nor was that all. Scores of states passed criminal syndicalism laws that have been enforced only against the I. W. W. and were evidently intended to be used solely against it. These laws are flagrant abuses of constitutional law and common decency. Under their customary interpretations in Washington, California and other states, no crime needs to be proven; membership in the I. W. W. alone is enough to convict. The I. W. W. is accordingly sent to prison not for its acts but its ideas.

Hammond (angrily): Yes, the I. W. W. gets some awfully raw deals under these laws. Take the case of Howard D. Welton, ex-soldier and I. W. W. member, sentenced to 14 years in San Quentin prison on a charge of criminal syndicalism, who refused an offer of pardon on the ground that acceptance would be an admission of guilt in the commission of a crime.

Says Welton, of himself and five companions sentenced together with him, in a letter to the judge who sentenced them and who made him the offer so heroically rejected:

"Our 'crime' was advocating a change in the present insane social system by peaceful, orderly, efficient methods, and it is in the efficiency of industrial unionism to provide such a change that our offense lies, in the eyes of the dominating class today."

Therein will be found the real "crime" of the I. W. W. and the real attitude of the criminal syndicalist laws passed against it. The I. W. W. wants to change society in an orderly, efficient manner by means of industrial unionism. For this is it oppressed, and for this do the Weltons and thousands of other workers in its ranks suffer martyrdom!

But despite it all, the I. W. W., like Banqou's ghost, refuses to down. Though put on the defensive for some time, its intrepid course soon put the criminal syndicalism laws into the discard in the state of Washington and tempered its rigorous enforcement in other states, not even excluding the most vicious of them all, California, the beautiful and damned. The I. W. W. lives and grows despite them. All hell can't stop it.

Walsh (playfully): Quit slandering hell! Its hell—the capitalist hell here on earth—that makes the I. W. W. grow!

Scissorbill (perplexed): Sure, something makes it grow; nothing seems to kill it. And it can't grow of itself.

1921—THE I. W. W. "COMES BACK"

Morrison (laughing): Even Scissorbill can see that. Between you and me, Scissor, I think the authorities and the capitalists are bribed by the I. W. W. to attack it and keep it alive by doing so. But, say! It sure does "come back" in great style. Look at that 1921 drive in the harvest fields, eh, Bob?! 13,000 new members added to the list, because the agricultural industrial union prevented the commercial clubs and farmers' organizations from knocking the bottom out of wages and increasing hours to any old length, with the aid of industrial depression. That drive gave an impetus to the task of organizing the oil workers industrial union in the Southwest. It also inspired the construction workers and lumber workers industrial unions to renewed efforts. And how about the seamen along the two coasts and the great lakes; eh, Jack, old scout? They are joining the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, together with the longshoremen and dock wallopers at New York and other ports. And the metal mines are opening up again in Butte, and other copper centers, with a resumption of I. W. W. activity there too. Did the war kill the I. W. W.?!?

Walsh (in the same mood): Sure it did; just as Henry Ford killed off the Jews and Lloyd George set old Ireland free.

SOLIDARITY I. W. W.'S MIDDLE NAME

Morrison (growing eloquent): Talk about "coming back." Did you see the way the I. W. W. came out in sympathy with the United Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots in the New York harbor strike, in January, 1922; and how it also took part in the packing house strike in Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha in the winter of 1921-22? Did you notice the way I. W. W. press, backed up the striking miners of West Virginia and Kansas, during the same period? When it comes to solidarity, that word is written all over I. W. W. history. In 1911, the I. W. W. took the leading part, at Lawrence, Mass., in forming a textile alliance of independent organizations. In New York City, in the winter of 1920, the I. W. W. took the initiative in calling the One Big Union conference, for the purpose of forming the independent unions of the metropolis into one central body. Early, in 1921, the I. W. W. in the same city, took part in the formation of the unemployed conference. The I. W. W. has helped along the Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, Political Prisoners, and other workmen's defenses. And it has stood behind Howat and Dorchy in their struggles with the Kansas Industrial court and the reactionary Lewis machine. The persecuted miners of New Laferty, Ohio, and Somerset and Fayette counties, Penn., and of Logan county, West Virginia, (1922) have received its support, as have also the movements for civil liberties, peace, and against Fascismo, both at home and abroad. The I. W. W. is nothing if not working class in spirit and history. It is an organization that every worker ought to join.

THE BIG STRIKES OF 1922

1922 also saw a series of big construction workers' strikes under the I. W. W. leadership. They took place in Washington, Oregon and California. The largest were in the latter state, on the Hetch-Hetchy and Southern California Edison reservoir and power plant projects. Approximately 20,000 workers were involved in all these strikes. They resulted in the

granting of the eight-hour day, increased hourly wages and improved other conditions. Another noteworthy strike was the Portland, Oregon, waterfront strike against discrimination. An arrogant Mayor was compelled to back down in this strike. Lesser strikes took place among oil, marine transport and lumber workers, with gains in proportion.

It was during 1922 that the great A. F. of L. coal and railroad strikes also took place. Almost a million coal miners and railroad shop craftsmen were out against wage reductions and the open shop. In both strikes the militia and the injunction played a part; the latter figured most largely in the shop crafts strike.

I. W. W. RAILROAD FACTOR

The I. W. W. was a factor in both strikes, giving its whole-hearted support to them in accordance with its principle of working class solidarity in times of conflict with the capitalist class. During August, 1922, Attorney General Daugherty stated "that a relation existed between the railroad strike and the I. W. W." "There are indications," he said, "that the I. W. W.'s are willing to take over some responsibility of railway transportation and even the government itself in the West."

To this statement Martin Carlson, then general secretary of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W., made the following answer: "It is true that there are I. W. W. members among the railroad strikers in various centers, who have demonstrated their objection to military despotism by quitting their job. There are I. W. W. members also among the men at work in other railroad departments, and they, too, would be out on strike if the majority of the workers in those departments had not been under the domination of their Grand Lodge officers.

"It is true, too," Carlson admitted, "That the I. W. W.'s are willing to take over some of the responsibility of railroad transportation. They are willing and eager," he declared, "to take over, not merely 'some responsibility,' but all responsibility for railroad transportation and for the conduct of all other productive industries.

"But the charge that the I. W. W. wishes to take over the reins of political government is no more true than it ever was. We have no interest in directing any of the affairs which are directed at the White House. The industries of the country, and not the political parties, are the nation's life-blood.

"If the great army of productive workers in the basic industries were solidly organized instead of being split apart as they are in the railroad crafts and throughout the American Federation of Labor, they would become the supreme power. They could be certain then of adequate nutrition, adequate clothing, and sufficient leisure in which to replenish their bodies and minds instead of being worn down on the industrial treadmill as they are today."

Among other important 1922 events in I. W. W. history was the 14th Convention, held in Chicago, Ill., beginning November 13. Thirty-five delegates were present from the agricultural, lumber, marine transportation, railroad, oil, mining, metal-machinery, textile, printing, and other industries. The development of an Educational Bureau, international relations, extension of organization press, and many other problems were discussed and legislated upon.

THE 1923 GENERAL STRIKES

This brings us down to 1923, which was made noteworthy because of the general industrial strikes in behalf of the class-war prisoners and immediate economic demands. These strikers were most effective in the lumber industry of the Northwest and marine transport industry, particularly of the Atlantic Coast, with New York as headquarters. Reinforcements of oil workers and construction workers were also a part of the general strikes. Their storm center was San Pedro, Calif. About 100,000 workers are estimated to have taken part in them. They were marked by order and solidarity.

A noteworthy incident of the general strikes was the "clean-up" of booze joints in Seattle, Portland and Tacoma by "direct action" squads. The slogan was: "Workers, you can't fight both booze and the

boss." So the illegal saloons were closed—and closed tight, as long as the general strikes lasted.

The results of the general strike were beneficial. They served to call attention to the continued incarceration of wartime prisoners and the vicious California criminal syndicalism law. A large amount of publicity for general amnesty appeared in the press, and the California syndicalism law was rendered almost void, subsequently to the general strike.

In the lumber industry, greatly improved camp conditions and a growth of organization resulted. While the marine transport workers got a 15 to 20 per cent wage increase above Shipping Board rates, and the three-watch system, which was lost during the 1921 A. F. of L. strike.

The general strikes had another great effect, namely, to give renewed impetus to I. W. W. activity in all directions.

SOME I. W. W. PRESS ACHIEVEMENTS

In June, 1922, the I. W. W. press, acting in conjunction with the Defense News Service, secured the first representation of the mine workers' side of the so-called massacre at Herrin, Ill. It sent Geo. Williams there, and his write-up, showing that the mine workers had acted in defense of their rights and lives against the attacks of lawless gunmen, made a great impression in the miners' favor, and, no doubt, created a sentiment that helped to defeat the subsequent legal attempts to fasten the crime of murder upon them.

On March 16, 1923, in its March 24th issue, Industrial Solidarity, I. W. W. weekly published at Chicago, Ill., printed the first report of the Martin Tabert turpentine camp tragedy. This tragedy was subsequently investigated by the New York World and acted on by the Florida legislature, which caused the county officials responsible for Tabert's death to be indicted.

It will not be amiss to add that, both in 1922 and 1923, the I. W. W. was a factor in the steel industry. In the former year, it lead a successful strike at Chicago Heights, Ill. This was followed by a general increase in steel workers' wages. In the latter year,

it took charge of a revolt in the Bethlehem Steel Company's works at Bethlehem, Pa. Again was a general increase of 11 per cent an after-effect. The prevention of more extensive I. W. W. organization was the motive behind both raises. It should serve to show the workers the value of continued organization. By means of the latter, they will finally be able to obtain all the wealth that their labor produces, thereby excluding the profits of capitalism.

In 1923, the I. W. W. was also a great factor, quite logically, in behalf of the eight-hour day for steel workers.

It was during 1922-23 that the I. W. W. had its internal struggle with the communists, who undertook to do what all the other forces in American society had failed to do, namely, liquidate, i. e., destroy the I. W. W. The communists wished to drive the I. W. W. back into the A. F. of L. They wished to force on the I. W. W. the theory of revolutionizing the A. F. of L. from within. They have since learned the error of their ways, as the A. F. of L. has made "boring from within" impossible by throwing out the borers, in real old-fashioned style—body, boots and breeches. However, the I. W. W. declined to change and, in the short and decisive struggle that followed, the communists found themselves on the losing side, in the I. W. W., just as they are in the A. F. of L.

The I. W. W. has a record of which every worker should be proud and which should cause every worker to join it.

Walsh and Hammond (together): You bet! Every worker ought to join the I. W. W.

Scissorbill (catching the fever): Gee, I think I'll join it myself, only——

Walsh, Morrison, Hammond (in unison): "Only," you'll change your mind and won't.

Scissorbill (anxiously): Honest fellers. Only, I am not clear on some points.

Morrison (eagerly): What are they? Out with them quick!

Scissorbill (complying): I am not clear as to why the I. W. W. is called the Industrial Workers of the World. It seems to me that it is only a small body of American workmen, and those, mainly, migratory workers—"pesky runabouts," I think they have been called.

Walsh (derisively): Ah, what are you giving us, Scissor? Sure your tribe hates internationalism more than it loves nationalism. You're individualists. It's yourselves only that you're stuck on——

THE I. W. W. ABROAD.

Hammond (deprecatingly): Say, Jack, lay off the personalities. Let's give Scissor the benefit of the doubt. Let's tell him what he wants to know. The I. W. W. is called the Industrial Workers of the World because it tries to organize the world's workers on the industrial union basis. In pursuit of this object, it has administrations in Great Britain, Mexico, Sweden and Chile. The I. W. W. is also international in the make up of its membership, who come from all countries; and of its press, which consists of thirteen publications in ten languages. The I. W. W. press has a history of its own. It is read and exerts a great influence in foreign lands. The Spanish I. W. W. paper, for instance, is a great factor in Mexico, and Central and South America. The I. W. W. preamble has been printed in Greek, Chinese, Japanese and other languages. The internationalism of the I. W. W. is evident in the character and circulation of its publications. In addition to its own administrations in various foreign lands, the I. W. W. maintains affiliations with labor organizations all over the world. In 1919, the I. W. W. issued a call for an international conference of labor organizations. It took part in such a conference at Berlin in December, 1920. At this conference, it was agreed to participate in the Red Trade Union International congress at Moscow, in July, 1921. Though represented on this occasion, the I. W. W. subsequently, repudiated the decisions of the Moscow congress, as they provided for communist political domination instead of co-

operation, as at first agreed on. These decisions, further, were destructive of industrial unionism and favorable to reaction in labor organization. At the close of the Moscow, 1921, conference, however, the I. W. W. joined with labor organizations in Italy, Germany, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Argentina and Uruguay, in favor of a real international labor organization, free from political domination and advocating the industrial method in social change.

In 1922 it decided on friendly relations with all labor internationals.

THE I. W. W. AND POLITICS.

The I. W. W. is neither anti- nor pro-political. Members may vote as, or belong to any political party, they please.

The I. W. W. has had to struggle with political socialists at various times in its history. Once, in 1907, when it practically expelled the followers of the Socialist Labor Party, who sought to fit the I. W. W. into their own secretarian straight-jacket. And again, in 1912, when the Socialist Party enacted its suicidal section six. These struggles were the cause of much friction and disruption. The struggle with the communists, in 1922, however, was short and decisive. This was partly due to the settled convictions of the I. W. W., regarding the superiority of the industrial over the political method of social transformation. The change of Russian economic policy, in favor of capitalism, by the communist political leaders, also helped the I. W. W., as it deprived the politicians of moral prestige and standing. When this change of policy ran up against I. W. W. convictions, born of experience, the communist chances of securing control of the I. W. W., were completely wrecked. As a result, the communists lost out quickly and decisively.

THE I. W. W. AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The I. W. W., in its internationalism, has always stood ready to help the cause of revolution in other lands. When the Mexicans overthrew Diaz, the I.

W. W.s rushed over the Southern border and took part in the work of liberation there. When the November, 1917, revolution in Russia gave all power to the peasants', workers' and soldiers' councils, the I. W. W. naturally rejoiced. Though sorely pressed by domestic war reactionists, though its members were jailed and persecuted by the thousands, though its press was often destroyed and put out of business, the I. W. W. advocated the cause of the Russian Revolution, regardless of consequences. This is especially true of the Industrial Worker, weekly English I. W. W. paper. The Worker printed interviews with the mate of the Shilka, a Russian ship that arrived at Seattle, Wash., shortly after the November, 1917, upheaval. These interviews were among the very first printed in this country, to give real information about the situation in Russia. They caused The Industrial Worker to be more bitterly assailed than ever before. They even led to its suppression for a short period.

Also, as in the case of Mexico, scores of I. W. W.s left for Russia, to engage in the struggle there, and to aid in the economic reconstruction of the country. Their more modern American industrial training and experience made them invaluable aides. That the I. W. W. did not engage in armed insurrection and mass action here, as a back fire in favor of the Russian revolution, was due to its opposition to these theories. The I. W. W. had too much faith in industrial union action to start any revolution here in favor of Russia. The American Communists themselves neither insurrected nor mass-acted; for "strategic" reasons best known to themselves.

RUSSIA VINDICATES I. W. W.

However, the Russian revolution, by forcing the labor unions of Russia to operate private industries and state enterprises, thereby saving the country from utter chaos and disaster, proved I. W. W. methods right. The Russian revolution showed once more, as did the subsequent peasant sabotage of the Bolsheviki, that no state can rise above the economic development of its times. This is I. W. W.

teaching—vindicated by a great episode in the world war.

Regarding Russia, it may be said, that scores and scores of workers in Russia since the beginning of the revolution, from England and America, former members of the I. W. W., join in saying that their experiences there have proven the I. W. W. position correct. The new society can not be state-made. It must grow out of industry, through industrial organization.

Morrison (approvingly): That was a good long explanation, on why the Industrial Workers of the World are the Industrial Workers of the World, Bob. But it leaves Scissorbill's question regarding the migratory make-up of the I. W. W. untouched. How about that?

Walsh (interrupting): Ah, Scissorbill simply asks questions to get excuses for not joining. Before he gets the floor, I want to say something about I. W. W. internationalism. Now, take the members of the marine transport workers' industrial union. They have taken part in strikes in Tampico, Mexico, and in other ports. They now exchange cards with German, French, Scandinavian and other seamen's unions, giving their members the same rights in I. W. W. unions as the I. W. W.'s enjoy. They have branches in Sweden, France and England. Also port delegates in England, Mexico, Chili, Germany, Panama, Uruguay and Argentina. Leave it to the I. W. W. to live up to its name.

Hammond (breaking in): The I. W. W. also helped the strikes of miners in Mexico, near the border. It has aided the Mexican workers in the border states. In Canada, it co-operates, in the lumber industry, with the Canadian One Big Union lumbermen's locals. Solidarity!—industrial and international—is the I. W. W. slogan.

I. W. W. A CLASS, NOT A CASTE, ORGANIZATION

Morrison (laughing): Say, will you wobblies ever get over the habit of expounding doctrines when Scissor-

bills ask for facts? Is the I. W. W. a migratory workers' organization, or is it not?

Walsh (disgusted): Christ Scissorbill, you won't even join when you do find out. A Scissorbill is an excuse for a human being who is always looking for an excuse for not being human.

Hammond (rushing in): That was some metaphysics for an Irishman, Jack. But it doesn't answer Scissorbill's question. I may say that Scissorbill's question has been answered, indirectly, by what we have been telling him. The I. W. W. has had all kinds of strikes, with all kinds of strikers; lumber jacks, harvest workers, hotel and restaurant workers, miners, steel workers, metal workers, machinists, silk weavers, seamen, longshoremen, textilers, clothing makers, shoe makers, and Lord knows what not. The I. W. W. is not a caste, but a working class, organization. It is a home guard organization, as well as an organization of itinerant workers. Hoboes, migratory workers, and Scissorbills are alike welcome to membership, provided that they are actually wage earners. Will you join now, Scissor?

Scissorbill (squirming): I'll,—I'll have to talk it over with my wife first.

Hammond (quickly, to head off Walsh): Get her to join, too, Scissor. All workers, regardless of sex, color, religion or age, previous or present condition of servitude, and trade classifications, are welcome.

THE I. W. W. OUTLOOK

Scissorbill (still looking for excuses): What is the outlook for the I. W. W.? I don't want to join any organization that hasn't any chance of growing.

Hammond (delighted): The outlook was never better. The I. W. W. has weathered the industrial depression as well as the war. That speaks volumes for its strength. Industry in general, is entering a new era of consolidation, both at home and abroad. The open shop drive has exposed the weaknesses of trade

unionism. It has caused the workers to seek better unionism. It has caused the workers to turn to the I. W. W. These conditions will give the I. W. W. an opportunity to grow at home and abroad. It is already beginning to grow! Come on join us, Scissorbill. Don't delay! Do it now. Become a part of the great history and possibilities of the I. W. W.

Scissorbill (with emotion): By God! I will. And so will my wife and the whole family.

Walsh, Hammond, Morrison (enthusiastically): Bully for you, Scissorbill. Hurray for Scissorbill. He has joined the I. W. W. Its history now begins in earnest for him.

THE END

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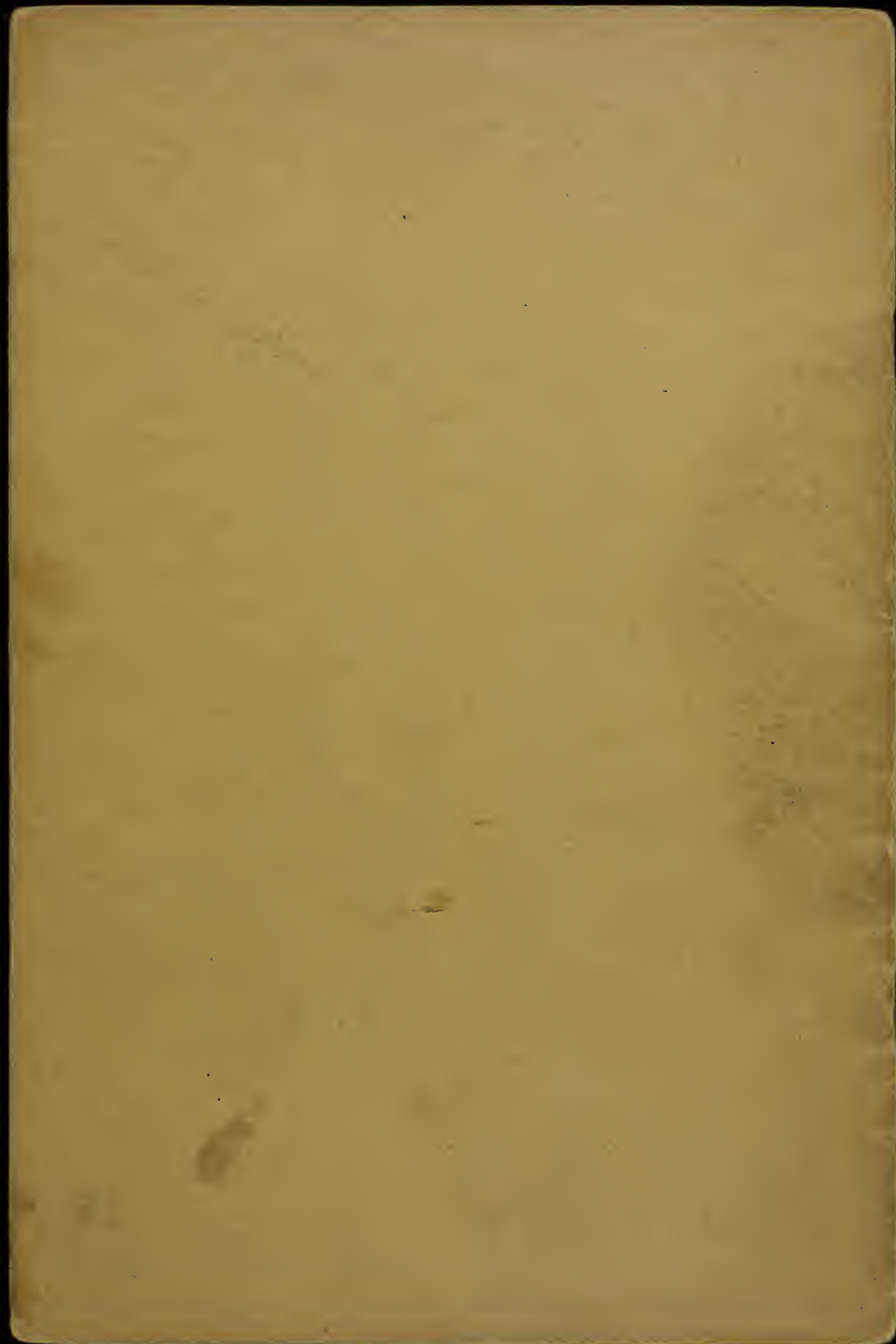
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THE HISTORY OF THE IWW IN CANADA

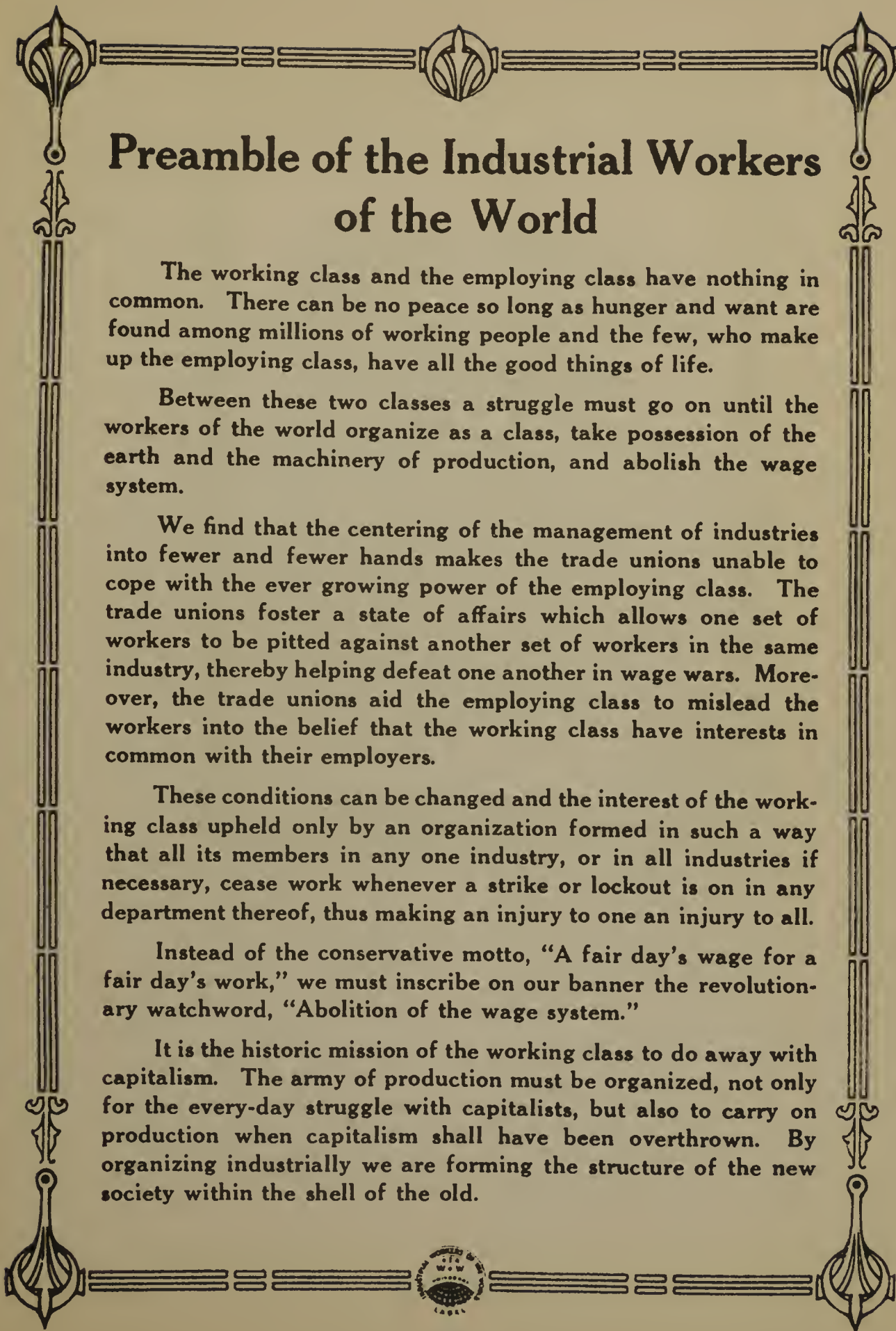


THE MINERS ARE OUT!

The miners of Wayne have struck, and it is the finest fight ever seen. They have tied up the mining industry of Alberta, Canada, and they will win if properly supported. They have joined the I. W. W., and the I. W. W. must stand by them. Raise money to feed 2,000 striking coal miners with families; raise money and send it to Fred Peters, Box 68, Wayne, Alberta, Canada. Raise money to establish the I. W. W. in Canada, and to win the 1924 scale for the miners of Wayne!

Appeal in the old *Industrial Pioneer* magazine for support for striking Alberta IWW coal miners.





Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

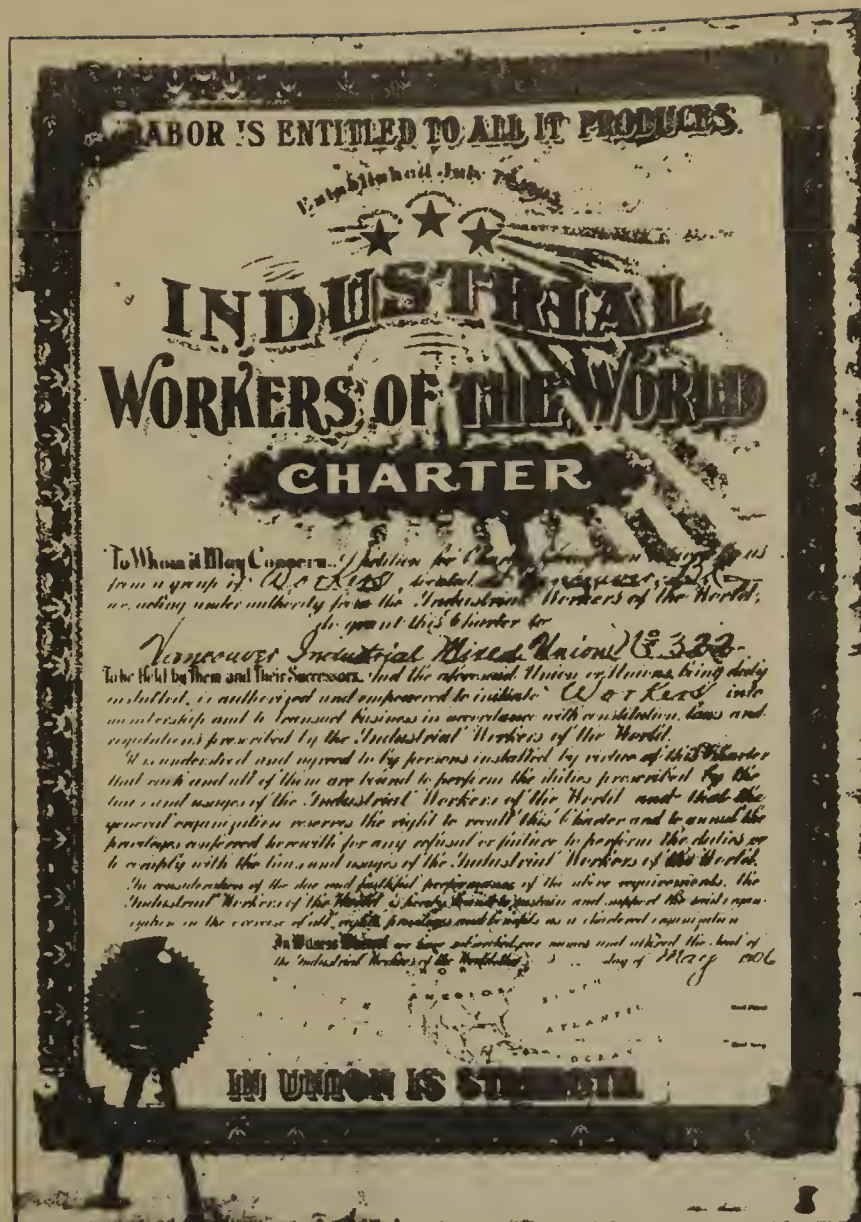
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





The first IWW charter in Canada, issued May 5th, 1906 to Vancouver Industrial Mixed Union 332.

THE IWW IN CANADA

by G. Jewell

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

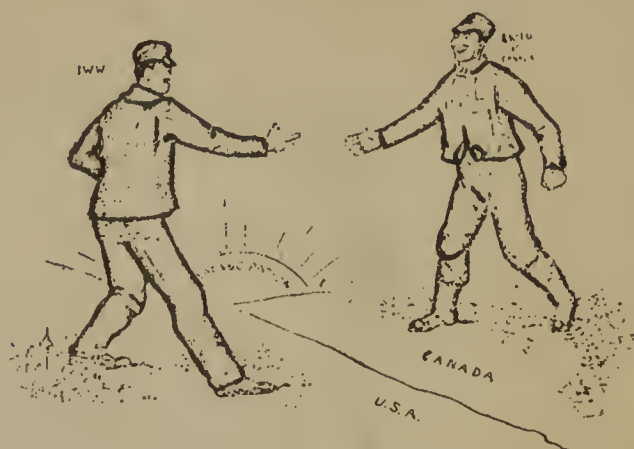
Established in 1886, the American Federation of Labor had, by the turn of the century, secured its domination over North American organized labour. True, the federation was still a shaky affair; the AFL—interested primarily in “respectable” craft unions—refused to organize the great bulk of industrial workers. But with the Knights of Labor (the first genuine, albeit mystical attempt at bringing all workers under one all-embracing organization) everything but buried and industrial unions like the American Railway Union destroyed and the Western Federation of Miners under increasing attack by the mine owners, the AFL managed to establish hegemony and either batter down or absorb all rivals.

This craft union hegemony existed in Canada as well as the United States. The original Canadian unions—insular and indecisive—failed. The same fate met the first mass-industrial union from the U.S., the Knights. In 1902, the Trades and Labour Congress, already the leading force in Canadian labour and controlled by the AFL union branches in Canada, expelled from its ranks all Canadian national unions, British internationals, and the Knights of Labor. The opposition formed a Canadian Federation of Labour but it never amounted to much. Prospects seemed clear for the TLC and, behind it, Samuel Gompers, U.S. president of the American Federation of Labor.

Yet only three years were to pass before the IWW emerged as a revolutionary challenge.

BIRTH OF THE I.W.W.

The Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) was founded in 1905 in Chicago. The driving force behind the new union was the Western Federation of Miners, which had been fighting a bloody but losing battle throughout the western U.S. and Canada. Joining it were the WFM's parent, the American Labor Union (which included several hundred members in B.C.), the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Observers were sent from the United Metal Workers (U.S. and Canada), the North American branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, the International Musicians' Union, the Bakers Union, and others. Keynote speeches were delivered by Big Bill Haywood of WFM, Eugene Debs of the Socialist Party, Mother Jones of the United Mine Workers, DeLeon of the Socialist Labor Party, Lucy Parsons, anarchist and widow of a Haymarket martyr, Father Hagerty, who drew up the One Big Union industrial structure, and William Traut-



1924 cartoon from *Industrial Solidarity* illustrates the accession of 2,000 new members in Ontario where the Lumber Workers' Section of the One Big Union of Canada has voted to merge with the IWW.

mann from the German Brewery Workers of Milwaukee (who was expelled from that union for his participation in the convention). Trautmann's and Hagerty's views were influenced by European anarcho-syndicalism, as were Haywood's by the revolutionary syndicalism of the French CGT. A claimed membership of 50,827 was pledged to the union. The professed aim was nothing less than the overthrow of the capitalist system by and for the working class.

Two months later, after the United Metal Workers brought in 700 of their claimed 3,000 members, the actual total of union members was a mere 4,247. There was a magnificent \$817.59 in the treasury. The new union had begun to march on the wrong foot and the AFL crowed with delight. Within a few years all the founding organizations had either quit the IWW or had been expelled. By 1910, a low year with only 9,100 dues-paid members, the IWW was the unruly bastard of the labour movement, ridiculously challenging the AFL and the Capitalist Class to a battle to the death.

However, the IWW then suddenly burst out with an amazing explosive force, becoming a mass movement in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Chile, and leaving a fiery mark on labour in South Africa, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Great Britain and the world maritime industry.

The reasons for this sudden expansion lay at the very root of the economic crisis underlying capitalist society in the years immediately prior to the First World War. To begin with, organized labour, divided as it was into squabbling craft unions, was in a pitiful state, unable to effect even the most innocuous reforms. The larger mass of unorganized and chronically under-employed workers lived in appalling misery as it reeled from a capitalist “boom and bust” cycle of high speculation followed by crushing depression every five or ten

years. Yet despite this seemingly tremendous weakness of the working class, many unionists had already recognized the great power inherent in the vast industrial monopolies which the ever-shrinking number of super-industrialists themselves scarcely knew how to handle. That a working class already trained in the operating of these industries might continue to do so in the enforced absence of the capitalist owners was a matter of new-found faith and high expectations. At this particular moment it was precisely the IWW which gave not only voice to these hopes and desires, but also offered the first *industrial* strategy to effect that transference of power.

The IWW, cutting across all craft lines, organized workers into industrial unions—so that no matter the task, all workers in one industry belonged to one industrial union. These industrial unions formed the component parts of six industrial departments: (1) Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products, (2) Mining, (3) Construction, (4) Manufacturing and General Production, (5) Transportation and Communication, (6) Public Service. The industrial departments made up the IWW as a whole; yet although functioning independently, they were bridged by the rank-and-file power of the total general membership to vote on all union general policy and the election of all officers of the General Administration coordinating the industrial departments.

The IWW was characterized by a syndicalist reliance on the job branch at the shop-floor level; a strong distrust of labour bureaucrats and leftist politicians; an emphasis on direct action and the propaganda of the deed. Above all, Wobblies believed in the invincibility of the General Strike, which to them meant nothing less than the ultimate lock-out of the capitalist class. They wrapped their theory and practice with a loose blanket of Marxist economic analysis and called for the abolition of the wage system and the state.

The IWW pioneered the strike-on-the-job, mass sit-downs, and the organization of the unemployed, migrant and immigrant working people. It captured the public's imagination with free speech fights, gigantic labour pageants, and the most suicidal bluster imaginable. Its permanent features were an army of roving agitator-organizers on land and sea, little red song books, boxcar delegates, singing recruiters, and even a plan in Australia to forge banknotes and bankrupt the State. During the Mexican Revolution of 1911, Wobblies joined with Mexican anarchists in a military effort that set up a six month red flag commune in Baja California. In the Don Basin they faced Cossacks; at Kronstadt they died under Trotsky's treacherous guns; in the German ports they were silenced only by the Gestapo; in the CNT anarchist militias and the International Brigades they battled Franco.

CANADA 1906-1918

The IWW immediately began organizing in Can-

ada and experienced erratic growth from 1906-1914, especially in British Columbia and Alberta. The first union charter was issued May 5, 1906 to the Vancouver Industrial Mixed Union No. 322.

Five locals were formed in B.C. in 1906, including a Lumber Handlers Job branch on the Vancouver docks composed mainly of North Vancouver Indians, known as the "Bows and Arrows."

By 1911 the IWW claimed 10,000 members in Canada, notably in mining, logging, Alberta agriculture, longshoring and the textile industry. That year a local of IWW street labourers in Prince Rupert struck, initially bringing out 250 but swelling to 1,000 assorted strikers. Fifty-six arrests resulted from several riots, and a special stockade was built to house them (reportedly by TLC union carpenters). A number of strikers were injured and wounded; the HMS Rainbow was called in to suppress the strike.

In 1912 the IWW fought a fierce free speech fight in Vancouver, forcing the city to rescind a ban on public street meetings.

Organizing began in 1911 among construction workers building the Canadian Northern Railway in B.C. In September a quick strike of 900 workers halted 100 miles of construction. IWW organizer Biscay was kidnapped by the authorities and charged as a "dangerous character and a menace to public safety." A threatened walkout by the entire Canadian Northern work force prompted a not-guilty verdict in a speedy trial. In December a 50-cents a day raise was won by on-the-job action.

THE THOUSAND MILE PICKET LINE

By February 1912, IWW membership on the CN stood at 8,000. A demand for adequate sanitation and an end to piece-rate or "gypo" wages was ignored by the government. On March 27th, unable to further tolerate the unbearable living conditions in the work camps, the 8,000 "dynos and dirthands" walked out. The strike extended over 400 miles of territory, but the IWW established a "thousand mile picket line" as Wobs picketed employment offices in Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, San Francisco and Minneapolis to halt recruitment of scabs. Meanwhile, the strike camps were so well run and disciplined that the press began calling the Yale camp in particular "a miniature socialist republic." While not going that far, the west coast IWW weekly, the *Industrial Worker*, proudly pointed to this example of working class solidarity, in which "Canadians, Americans, Italians, Austrians, Swedes, Norwegians, French and old countrymen—one huge 'melting pot' into which creed, color, flag, religion, language and all other differences had been flung"—were welded together in common effort. Even "demon rum" was proscribed, which alone indicates the seriousness of the strikers.

Authorities arrested the strikers by the thousands for "unlawful assemblage" and vagrancy.

Many were forcibly deported at gun point. But the picket lines held. In August they were joined by 3,000 construction workers on the Grand Trunk Pacific in B.C. and Alberta. The entire action, better known as the Fraser River or Fraser Canyon strike, was popularized in song by Joe Hill's "Where the Fraser River Flows." The strike also spawned the legendary nickname 'Wobbly.' A Chinese restaurant keeper who fed strikers reputedly mispronounced 'I.W.W.' in asking customers "Are you eye wobble wobble?" and the name stuck.

The Canadian Northern strike lasted until the fall of 1912, when exhausted strikers settled for a few minor improvements: better sanitary conditions and a temporary end to the gypo system. The B.C. Grand Trunk strike was called off in January, 1913, after the Dominion government promised to enforce sanitation laws. A greater gain was development of the "camp delegate" system in which the IWW secretary in town delegated a worker to represent him in the field—a method later refined into the permanent "job delegate" system of the roving Agricultural Workers. Other unique features of the strike are worth mentioning. One, used again in the 20s on the Northern Railway strike in Washington, was to "scab on the job" by sending covert Wobs into scab camps to bring the workers out on strike. Another came in response to the 'free' transportation offered scabs by the R.R.'s on condition a man's luggage was impounded until such time as his strike-breaking wages repaid the fare. Large Wob contingents signed-on, leaving the R.R. with cheap suitcases stuffed with bricks and gunny sacks, and then deserted en route.

Edmonton, Alberta was then a major railroad construction center and in the winter of 1913-14, thousands of workers from all over Canada and the U.S. were stranded there without jobs or funds. The city fathers refused to alleviate their plight. The IWW established an Edmonton Unemployed League, demanding that the city furnish work to everybody regardless of race, colour or nationality, at a rate of 30 cents an hour, and further, that in the meantime the city distribute three 25 cent meal tickets to each man daily, tickets redeemable at any restaurant in town. These demands were backed by mass parades which police clubs and arrests could not stop.

On January 28, 1914, the *Edmonton Journal* headlined the news: "I.W.W. TRIUMPHANT!" The city council provided a large hall for the homeless, passed out three 25 cent meal tickets to each man daily, and employed 400 on a public project.

That summer the IWW began organizing a campaign in the Alberta wheat fields, but the guns of August were drawing near.

REPRESSION IN W.W. I

With the outbreak of World War One and Canada's subservient entry into it as British cannon-fodder, the federal government effected a number

of articles of the War Measures legislation embodied in the British North America Act. IWW members were hit by a wave of harassment and arrests which presaged that which swept most of the American IWW leadership into jail in 1917-18 (by 1920 some 2,000 Wobblies were behind bars in the U.S.). In late 1914 the union could claim only 465 members in Canada and in 1915 its last three remaining branches dissolved. Agitation continued, however, especially among Finnish lumber workers in Northern Ontario.

The Russian Revolutions of 1917 caused severe jitters in the ruling classes around the world and with the unilateral withdrawal of Russian forces from the war effort against Germany, the conflict in Europe entered a critical stage. This was coupled with a number of mutinies in the Allied forces and weary dissension on the homefronts. Repression was intensified and in Canada a number of Wobblies were jailed in 1918. The *Vancouver World* of August 5, 1918, headlined the "facts" in the case of Ernest Lindberg and George Thompson:

"Two 'I.W.W.' Prospects Caught in Police Trap" . . . "Couple Declared Active at Logging Camps Arrested and German Literature is Seized" . . . "LOT OF GOOD REBELS QUITTING," STATED LETTER" . . . "Message in German to Tenant of House is Postmarked 'Glissen'."

Lindberg, accused of delivering speeches in a logging bunkhouse, after which a number of workers quit their jobs and returned to the city, was held under the Idlers Act. Thompson, "who is alleged to be a firebrand and whose connection with the pro-German element is said to be close," was charged with having banned literature in his possession, including copies of the *Week*, of LaFollette's Magazine (LaFollette: anti-war Progressive U.S. Senator), and of the *Lumber Worker*, as well as letters written in German.

The *World* went on to editorialize:

"For some time past the Dominion authorities have been alive to the situation existing in the camps, and have been desirous that the ringleaders of the movement which is responsible for draining of the logging centres, should be found . . . By the arrest of Lindberg and Thompson, the authorities believe they have succeeded in locating two main workers in the I.W.W. cause, although there are others who will be carefully watched and apprehended in due course . . .

"The 'I.W.W.' is the short term used for the Industrial Workers of the World, an American organization with very extreme policies, Bolsheviki principles, and far-reaching aims for the betterment of the conditions of the masses. Like other large organizations, it has two factions, the 'red flagging' element generally regarded as dangerous as inciters against the observance of law and order. The organization is disowned by all but the lowest type of union labour men, as well as by Socialists."

On September 24, 1918, a federal order-in-council declared that while Canada was engaged in

war 14 organizations were to be considered unlawful, including the Industrial Workers of the

World and the Workers International Industrial Union (DeLeon's expelled 'Detroit faction' of the IWW). Penalty for membership was set at 5 years in prison.

The same order banned meetings conducted in the language of any enemy country (German, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Turkish, etc.) or in Russian, Ukrainian, or Finnish (except for religious services).

IWW organizer Dick Higgins was tried under the War Measures Act in Vancouver, but a defense by the Socialist Party of Canada (which was not banned) kept him out of jail. In the United States, 93 out of 110 IWW organizers, including the General Secretary Big Bill Haywood, were convicted in Chicago of subverting the U.S. war effort. Two of those receiving minor sentences were well-known British Columbia unionists who had been temporarily organizing in the U.S., as headlined in The September 1918 *B.C. Federationist*:

"I.W.W. MEMBERS GIVEN LONG TERMS: G. Hardy and A.E. Sloper Among Those Who Receive Year Term."

PART 2 POSTWAR GROWTH

1918 witnessed a major change in Canadian Labour. The drive for industrial unionism resumed and stiffened resistance against the AFL-affiliated Trades & Labour Congress and the latter's support for conscription and suspension of civil liberties. This groundswell culminated in the founding of the One Big Union at the Western Labour Conference in Calgary in March 1919. Directly affiliated to the OBU were a number of independent mining and lumber industrial unions, but its influence reached into the majority of TLC locals west of Port Arthur, Ontario. This explosive mix of militant independent unions and rebellious TLC units resulted in the Winnipeg General Strike that summer. It began with the building trades striking for union recognition, followed by the metal trades, and on until 30,000 workers were out directly or in sympathy and a Central Strike Committee was running the city. Fred Tipping, a member of the Strike Committee, explains the situation:

"First of all, you should remember that there were a series of unsuccessful strikes through 1918. In a sense, the 1919 strike was a climax to many months of labour unrest due to a great deal of unemployment after the war, big increases in prices and no job security. Bear in mind too that Winnipeg and Vancouver were centres of advanced radical thought at the time. The Socialist Party of Canada (Marxist) had been strong for a number of years and had gained support among industrial workers and even farmers. In the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council you would find men who were Marxists and men who supported the I.W.W.

(Industrial Workers of the World). There was also The Social Democratic Party. Many of these people were strong enthusiasts of the Russian Revolution and were commonly called Bolsheviks. When the Social Democrats split during the war some of these later joined the Communist Parties. Others of us became members of the Labour Party (later to become the Independent Labour Party and then the C.C.F.). The idea of the general strike seemed to have been in the air. Don't forget that not too many months before, some key people on the Strike Committee had attended the One Big Union conference in Calgary and the general strike was a weapon much favoured by the OBU. Then there was the attitude of business. They were first generation businessmen. I call them Ontario bushmen. Most of them had been farmers. They felt paternalistic to the men. "I don't want a bunch of workers telling me how to run my plant," was a remark commonly heard. On the other hand, the union leaders had come from industrial England. They had years of bitter industrial experience. They were no novices." (*Canadian Dimension*, Winnipeg, "The Winnipeg General Strike: Looking Back.")

The strike was smashed by a combination of government troops and a "Citizens' Committee." Many of the strike leaders were arrested and tried for subversion; a number of immigrants were deported. The OBU was shattered as an all-industry federation as court after court ruled that the TLC "internationals" owned the contracts in the majority of organized locals, though the OBU continued to hold the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, some mine unions, the Winnipeg streetcar workers, and the Saskatoon telephone operators. After a series of disastrous strikes by its 23,000 members, the LWIU collapsed in 1921. Stepping into the breach, the newly-founded Workers' Party (later the Communist Party) declared war on the OBU's industrial unionism and succeeded in directing it into "geographical unionism"—following the dictate of Lenin's 3rd International union strategy, which was to break up "dual" or independent unions and bring them into locals affiliated with the AFL, which the Communists hoped to capture from within (by the mid-twenties, the Communist TUEL had captured about a third of the important union positions in the AFL, but were purged overnight in a counter-coup by the Gompers faction). The Communists were aided in the move for geographical unionism by some syndicalists, especially in Edmonton, who had moved toward that defensist concept in the period of the OBU's decline. In B.C. the Communists managed to get many of the lumberworkers "east of the hump" into the AFL Carpenters Union.

At the same time, however, the IWW was reorganizing in Canada. In 1916, virtually extinct in the rest of the country, the IWW had moved from the Minnesota iron fields in the Mesaba Range northward into Ontario and gained a large follow-

ing in the northern woods, especially among Finnish lumber workers. After the orders-in-council outlawing the IWW in 1918, organizers went underground. In 1919 the Ontario lumber workers joined the One Big Union, but Wobbly delegates continued to bootleg union supplies to the minority who wanted to keep current their IWW membership books as well, as did dual OBU-IWW delegates in B.C. On April 2, 1919, the ban on the IWW was lifted. Two branches were formed in Toronto and in Kitchener, Ontario.

ORGANIZING IN THE 20's

An exchange of union cards was arranged between the IWW and the OBU locals still functioning in the lumber fields, seaports and Great Lakes. This "exchange" was a system in which separate unions recognized as valid the union cards of workers transferring into their own jurisdiction from that of the other union and required no new initiation fee. An OBU and an IWW delegate traveled together to the 1921 Red International of Labour Unions conference in Moscow. The OBU delegate, Gordon Cascaden, was denied a vote because he represented the "anarchist wing" of the OBU. The IWW delegate, who originally supported ties with the RILU, argued against affiliation on his return to the U.S., after coming to see the RILU as a Moscow front which intended, among others, that the IWW should disband as an independent union and its members join and covertly "bore-from-within" the AFL in a takeover bid. Among one of the ultimatums the RILU attempted to impose—replete with slanderous invective in a number of of memorandums—was that the IWW affiliate the virtually defunct Lumber Workers Industrial Union (OBU) in Western Canada, already permeated by Communists.

Following the collapse that year of the LWIU, the IWW, general OBU and the Communists all made bids for the former members. Some sections joined the Communist Red International (a way-station to the AFL Carpenters), others made an abortive attempt to revive the LWIU (which still had support in the east). The remainder joined the IWW, largest section being the Vancouver LWIU branch, which revolted when the LWIU in B.C. joined the Communists. By 1923 the IWW had three branches with job control in Canada: Lumberworkers I.U. 120 and Marine Transport Workers I.U. 510 branches in Vancouver and an LWIU branch in Cranbrook B.C., for a total of 5,600 members.

Organizing in the 20's was extremely difficult. The defeat of the Winnipeg General Strike and the depression of the early part of the decade weakened unions everywhere. During 1921 and 1922 the usual cause of strikes was resistance to wage reductions. Most such disputes were won by the employers. A large number of strikes were smashed by scabs drawn from a vast pool of new workers migrating from the farms to the cities.

Nonetheless, 1924 marked a peak year for the IWW in Canada. This was in direct contradistinction to the IWW in the U.S., which underwent a disastrous split over the questions of decentralization and amnesty for IWW prisoners in federal prisons (the decentralists demanded total autonomy of all industrial unions, with no central clearing house or headquarters dues. The anti-amnesty faction called for a boycott on any federal amnesty,



Above is a picture which shows an incident in the great British Columbia strike in the woods. A group of strikers is bringing in the fuel for a fire. This strike has now been returned to the job, with every possibility of successful termination.

instead relying on class struggle to win the release of imprisoned Wobblies). The split in the U.S. IWW puzzled the Canadian membership, who decided to support the Constitutional IWW in Chicago instead of the decentralist Emergency Program IWW in the West (the latter lasted ten years; the resulting raids and counter-raids destroyed IWW power in the western lumberfields and caused a membership drop-off nation-wide).

In northern Ontario, the Canadian Lumber Workers (the OBU remnant of the LWIU) voted in 1924 to bolt the geographically-based OBU and join the industrial IWW. The same referendum elected a Finnish lumberworker, Nick Vita, as secretary of the union. Vita had joined the IWW in 1917 and secretly carried an IWW red card through the War Measures Act and his years in the OBU. In 1919 he had attended the IWW Work People's College and then Ferris Institute, a business college in Michigan, after a mere three months of school before reaching manhood.

Vita's first chore as secretary was to issue 8,000 IWW union cards. Branches were set up in Sudbury (Ontario head office) and Port Arthur. Vita began organizing railroad workers and miners in Timmins and Sudbury districts, but a brief success of 3,000 recruits soon faded. That same year an Agricultural Workers Organization I.U. 110 was formed in Calgary. Four IWW organizers were arrested on charges of vagrancy. IWW headquarters in Chicago provided legal fees and in three of the cases the charges were quashed.

On January 1, 1924, after the firing of an IWW member of the Cranbrook, B.C. branch of the IWW, the Lumber Workers I.U. 120 struck the lumber owners, calling for: (1) an 8 hour day with blankets supplied; (2) a minimum wage of \$4 per

day; (3) the release of all "class war" prisoners; (4) no discrimination against IWW members; and (5) no censoring of IWW literature. After three weeks the camp operators tried to bring in scabs from Alberta and Saskatchewan. Pickets severely curtailed the scabbing and on February 26, the operators served an injunction on the officers and members of the IWW to restrain the strikers from picketing. The seven companies involved asked for \$105,340.41 damages. At a mass meeting March 2, the strikers voted to "take the strike back on the job." As the injunction came up for review on June 24, the Mountain Lumberman's Association, with which the companies affiliated, paid to the IWW \$2,450 to settle out of court.

In 1925 the LWIU branch disappeared from Cranbrook—a not unfamiliar event in the IWW, which still refused to sign binding contracts with employers and often dwindled away as an organization after specific worker demands had been won. A new Agricultural Workers branch was formed in Winnipeg, bringing the IWW a total of 6 branches in Canada, for a membership of 10,000, the same as in 1910. Included was a coal miners' branch in Wayne, Alberta which fought that year the IWW's first large strike in coal—a bitter and losing affair. Fighting a mandatory dues check-off payment to the United Mine Workers, which did not represent them, the miners originally joined the OBU, but along with the Ontario lumberworkers switched to the IWW in 1924. The mine company offered a 10% wage increase if they agreed to accept the UMWA. Considering it a bribe, the miners refused and struck, unsuccessfully.

The Winnipeg AWO folded in 1926, as did the Alberta Coal Miners I.U. branch, but a new General Recruiting Union branch was formed in Port Arthur, in addition to the lumberworkers, for a total of 4,600 members in Canada. Seven branches carried 4,400 members through 1927-28 (the IWW General Convention in Chicago urged a joint OBU/IWW convention, which did not materialize): in 1929, the Calgary GRU disappeared, bringing membership down to 3,975.

The IWW Lumber Workers Industrial Union 120 came under competition in 1928 from the refurbished Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada, organized by the Communists following the failure of their AFL take-over bid and in tune with Stalin's new 1928-34 'left-turn' period which demanded independent Communist unions. Communist organizers who had left for B.C. in the early 20's to bring carpenters and lumberworkers there into the AFL now returned home to build dual unions under the aegis of the Workers' Unity League. A number of meagre contracts were obtained from small operators in the north Ontario woods, for whom the largely Finnish lumberjacks worked. IWW branches asked that union policy be changed to allow them to sign contracts as well, but the 1932 IWW General Convention again voted against binding contracts, and the majority of On-

tario lumberworkers ended in communist-controlled unions. (Ironically, it was only a few years later that the IWW in the U.S.—that old arch-foe of contracts and arbitration—was signing contracts and running in federal-supervised NLRB union elections.)

CHANGES IN THE 30's

The early Thirties were a watershed era in the history of North American labour. Initially stunned by the vicious poverty and unemployment caused by the Capitalist break-down in 1929-31, the working class by 1933-34 had gained the offensive in a massive wild-cat strike wave that swept the continent. The period saw an upsurge of IWW activity in Canada, a phenomenon applicable also to the OBU, which even expanded organizing into the New England textile mills and opened a hall in San Francisco, and the Canadian Communist Workers' Unity League, which was especially strong among textile workers, needle trades, mine and mill workers, and seamen's unions. Radical influence was also strong in the U.S. mass-strike period, represented by the IWW (longshore, maritime, lumber, construction, mining, metal trades, early auto organizing, and unemployed), the Socialist Party (needle trades, unemployed, later auto), the Communist Trade Union Unity League (mine and steel, textile, furriers, longshore and seamen, teachers, unemployed, veterans, Blacks), Trotskyists (Minneapolis teamsters), and the Musteite CPLA/American Workers' Party (Toledo Auto-Lite strike, unemployed).

In 1930, the Sudbury Ontario IWW LWIU branch folded, but a new Lumber Workers branch was formed in Sault Ste. Marie, giving the union 3,741 members in Canada. Canadian delegates met in Port Arthur on September 20, 1931, and voted to form a Canadian Administration, primarily to overcome customs problems over supplies sent from Chicago and to coordinate specifically Canadian industrial activity. The move was submitted for consideration at the international IWW convention in Chicago November 8-19, 1931, where it was referred to a general membership referendum in which it was ratified: the Canadian Administration was to be autonomous but ultimately responsible to the General Administration and paying a monthly ½ cent per capita tax to the Chicago office for international organizing costs.

IWW unemployment agitation generated a number of arrests, especially one big crack-down by the Mounted Police at Sioux Lookout, Ontario. Ritchies Dairy in Toronto was unionized IWW for a time and a fishermen's branch formed in McDiarmid, Ontario. Organizing was undertaken in the Maritimes but did not sustain itself. In 1935 the IWW had 12 branches in Canada with 4,200 members: 2 branches in Vancouver (Lumber Workers & General Recruiting Union), 1 General Membership Branch in Sointula B.C., 1 GMB in Calgary Alberta, 1 LWIU in Fort Francis Ontario, 1

LWIU in Nipigon Ontario, 2 branches in Port Arthur (LWIU & GRU), 1 LWIU in Sault Ste. Marie Ontario, 1 GMB in Sudbury Ontario, 1 Metal Mine Workers Branch in Timmins Ontario, and a General Membership Branch in Toronto.

The working class rebellion of the mid-thirties culminated in a string of sit-down strikes (using the tactics developed a few years earlier in the auto plants by the IWW, including the little cards passed hand-to-hand, reading: "Sit down and watch your pay go up"), which established the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The CIO was a reformist semi-industrial union movement launched by the United Mine Workers which succeeded where the revolutionary industrial unions had failed. Its success was due primarily to its willingness to collectively bargain with employers for modest wage and conditions changes and then to *enforce* submission to the contract on any subsequent rank-and-file rebellion. Both the Roosevelt Administration and a sector of "far-seeing" Capitalists saw in this a magnificent opportunity to corral the rampant strike wave into the bounds of a lightly reformed capitalist system. (Slower to move, the Canadian ruling class followed suit only toward the end of the Second World War). Hundreds of unauthorized work stoppages were suppressed by the CIO chieftains. At one point CIO head and leader of the United Mine Workers, John L. Lewis, threatened to dispatch "flying squads of strong-arm men" to bring auto wildcatters into line.

The CIO drive coincided with a far-reaching right-turn by Stalin (and by iron-fisted extension of that, the then monolithic world communist movement, sans Trotskyites, of course). The Workers' Unity League was jetisoned by the Canadian Communists; its independent unions were brought into the AFL or CIO or were sabotaged. Communist militants flocked into the CIO organizing committees and assiduously worked themselves into key positions, ranging from stewards to actual union presidents. The CIO ventures were highly successful, initially in the U.S., and after WWII in Canada. The Communists captured the leadership of ten industrial unions, including the United Electrical Workers, the Mine, Mill & Smelters Unions, the Fur and Leather Workers, and of the Canadian Seamen's Union and the United Fishermen, and the B.C. Shipbuilders Union. They also became strong in the International Woodworkers, especially in B.C., the AFL-affiliated International Longshoremens, and others.

In the broader Canadian union movement, a number of things were happening. In 1921, the TLC expelled the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees in favour of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks from the U.S. In 1927, the CBRE, the OBU remnant, and the old C.F.L. joined together to form the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. The C.F.L. had been the still-born result of the merger of the Knights of Labor and some national unions in 1903, after their ex-

pulsion from the AFL-dominated Trades & Labour Council. First called the National Trades and Labour Council, in 1908 it became the Canadian Federation of Labour, a big name for so little, and now in 1927 it dissolved into the ACC of L. The All-Canadian Congress grew, in its own reactionary way; in the early 30s the OBU supported the red-baiting bureaucracy, only to find itself later ousted. In 1937 the ACCL chiefs aided the anti-union Ontario Premier Hepburn in his attack on the AFL, CIO, and Communists—all seen as "American." In 1938, however, the TLC, under AFL pressure, expelled the CIO unions in Canada and, in a complete flip-flop, the CIO units joined the ACCL in 1940 to form the Canadian Congress of Labour. Considering that many of the CIO organizers were Communists, and all the CIO unions internationals from the U.S., it was quite a marriage of convenience. In 1943 the CCL came out in support of the social-democratic Cooperative Commonwealth, now the New Democratic Party—although the Communists were supporting the Liberal Party. After WWII the CCL grew closer to the TLC, especially as both were expelling Communists en masse. Finally in 1956 the CCL and TLC merged to form the Canadian Labour Congress. Another independent union body organizing during this period was the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour in Quebec, established in 1921, and now the syndicalist CNTU.

The success of a moderate semi-industrial unionism, temporarily tinged with a 'radical' hue, greatly hampered the revolutionary industrial unionism of the IWW. Another factor was the extremely conservatizing influence of the Second World War—ostensibly an anti-fascist crusade, which it was not (note the survival of fascism in Spain and Portugal, its reinstatement in Greece, etc.)—with its no-strike pledges (for which the Communists were the strongest backers—in the interests of the Soviet Fatherland—even to the point of denouncing all strikers, such as the United Mine Workers, as "fascist agents"). Even so, the IWW in the U.S. was able to stabilize a number of solid job units, particularly metal shops in the Cleveland area, and by fighting the no-strike pledge expanded general membership on the docks and construction camps. In 1946 the IWW numbered 20,000 members.

IWW agitation continued strong in Canada until 1939, especially in northern Ontario, but Canada's entry as a British "ally" into the war and the resulting mass conscription and War Measures Act, caught the union without a job-control base. Moreover, in-fighting with the Communists had become particularly vicious. Sudbury was being organized by the Communist-controlled Mine, Mill & Smelters to the point that J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI later called it the 'red base of North America.' Wobbly units in Sudbury and Port Arthur were mixed membership branches of scattered lumbermen, miners and labourers. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the IWW in Ontario actively

recruited for the anarcho-syndicalist CNT union militias in Spain, in direct challenge to the Communist sponsored Mac-Pap International Brigade. A number of Canadian Wobs were killed in Spain—some possibly shot by Stalinist NKVD agents. Not only weapons and ammunition but even medical supplies were denied the CNT by the Communist-controlled government in Madrid. Violent altercations erupted at northern Ontario rallies for the communist doctor Norman Bethune (soon to quit Spain for Mao's partisans in China), when Wobblies openly denounced Communist perfidy.

In Toronto, where the IWW Canadian Admini-

WORLD WAR II

stration headquarters were temporarily moved, Wobblies gave physical support to the soap-boxing efforts of anarchists from the Italian, Jewish and Russian communities. Pitched street battles often occurred at Spanish CNT support rallies, and IWW secretaries McPhee and Godin, both former lumberjacks, were noted for their quick dispatch of Young Communist goon squads.

But the War halted IWW organizing; a number of younger Wobs were immediately inducted into the Armed Forces. At war's end regrowth was too slow. In 1949 membership in Canada stood at 2,100 grouped in six branches: two in Port Arthur, and one each in Vancouver, Calgary, Sault Ste. Marie, and Toronto. Meanwhile, the government in the U.S. was attempting to destroy the IWW once and for all. After refusing to sign the Taft-Hartley anti-red clause, the IWW was denied the certification services of the National Labor Relations Board. In 1949 the IWW was placed on the Attorney General's list, which came replete with mailing curtailments, refusal to members of government jobs, loans or housing, and FBI harassment of individual members, especially at their place of employment. To cap it off, the IWW was slapped with a "corporate income tax," the only union in North America to be so taxed. As a culminating consequence the IWW lost its last shops, including all the I.U. 440 metal shops in Cleveland.

During the same period, the AFL and CIO began a mass-purge of Communists in its ranks, an easy task, so riddled was the Communist Party with opportunism and cowardice. Completed quite quickly in the U.S., the expulsions were slower and less thorough in Canada, lasting beyond 1955. Those unions the reactionaries could not purge they expelled and then raided. The Communists in Canada managed to hold only the United Electrical Workers, the remnant of Mine & Mill, and the United Fishermen in British Columbia.

The Canadian IWW retained branches in only Vancouver, Calgary and Port Arthur by 1950-51. The following year the Canadian Administration in Port Arthur folded and membership reverted to the services of the Chicago office. By comparison, the One Big Union—by now a mild trade grouping in Winnipeg—continued until 1955-56

with 34 locals and 12,280 members, at which time it merged with the Canadian Labour Congress (AFL-CIO).

THE DARK FIFTIES

The Cold War snuffed out the Canadian, British and Australian Administrations of the IWW. It remained for the General and Scandinavian Administrations to hold together scattered Wobs in Canada, U.S., Britain, Sweden, and Australia. Through the 1950's the IWW still exerted some power on the docks and ships with I.U. 510 branches in San Francisco, Houston, and Stockholm. But with the early sixties, the IWW neared extinction.

Yet the IWW survived. One, in the courage of the old timers who kept the structure going. Two, with the slow but steady influx of young workers of a casual labour hue. In the mid-60's the IWW organized a restaurant job branch in San Francisco, only to be raided by the Waiters & Waitresses Union. In 1964 the IWW lead a blueberry harvest strike in Minnesota. With the Vietnam War the IWW began taking in young workers with ties to the campus. In 1968, it was decided to sign-up students alongside teachers and campus workers into Educational Workers Industrial Union 620. There followed a wild and erratic campus upsurge, two notables being Waterloo U in Ontario and New Westminster, B.C. The results were nil in themselves, but it got the IWW over the hump and left a fine residue of militants who left campus to find jobs in a dog-eat-dog market.

The next five years spawned some 20-odd industrial drives, including one among construction workers in Vancouver, another among shipbuilders in Malmö Sweden, and two tough factory strikes in the U.S. For the much greater part unsuccessful, a number had highly interesting features, and all reflect upon the general labour picture, especially of unskilled and semi-skilled employment.

In a Vancouver drive, a construction crew in Gastown was signed IWW—but certification before the Socred-appointed B.C. Labour Board was denied, the IWW declared not a "trade union under the meaning of the Act." A subsequent strike fizzled.

Yet, never-say-die, the industrial organizing continues.

Additionally, the IWW has picked up a number of Movement newspapers, print shops and print co-ops over the years—a few highly viable and long-lived.

And, unfortunate to say, the "new" IWW has its own list of labour martyrs: the San Diego Wobs shot, bombed and arrested during the 1969-71 Free Speech Fight and Criminal Syndicalism frame-up trial; Robert Ed Stover, knifed to death in San Quentin Prison, where he was framed on an arms cache charge; and Frank Terraguti, shot to death by the Chilean fascists in Santiago during the 1973 coup.

In 1975 the IWW is organizing in Canada, USA, Sweden, Britain, Guam, New Zealand and Australia.

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9. Photocopy, "The Industrial Workers of the World": articles pages 230-231, "The Canadian Northern Strike" and "Organizing Lumber and Construction Workers"; articles pages 440-441, "Edmonton, Canada" and "The IWW and the Unemployed 1913-1915." Source unknown.
10. Photocopy "History of Labour Movement." Outline for seminar, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers.
11. "Independence & Socialism in Canada: A Marxist-Leninist View," *Progressive Worker*, Vol. 6, No. 1.
12. "Labour History," *The Black Fly*, March, 1974, Thunder Bay, Ontario.
13. "Drawing the Lines of the Class Struggle. Some of the Events of the Month as Seen by the IWW Press," *One Big Union Monthly*, May, 1924.
14. "Breaking Down Myths of Peace and Harmony in Canadian Labour History." Lorne Brown. *Canadian Dimension*, Winnipeg.
15. "The Seldom-Told History of the United Steelworkers of America in Canada." "People's History." *New Canada*, New Canada, ers of America in Canada." "People's History," *New Canada*, Sept., 1973. Canadian Liberation Movement (Pro-Peking Nationalists).
16. Testimony of a Sudbury Ontario Wobbly 1931-39 Re fight with Communists, CNT recruiting, dead in Spain, start WWII.
17. Tape of Arturo Bortolotti, Italo-Canadian Anarchist organizer 1920-1940s Re IWW in Toronto & CNT support rallies.
18. "The IWW Reply to the Red Trade Union International (Moscow)." General Executive Board, IWW, Chicago, 1922.
19. "Chicago Replies to Moscow," IWW, Chicago, 1945 (Pat Read).
20. "A Soldier Returns." *OBU Monthly*, Sept., 1937, pp. 22-23. IWW, Chicago. Bill Wood, Canadian IWW, on Stalinist purges in Spain, possible murder Canadian Wobs. Member CNT, Durrutti International Shock Battalion.
21. *OBU Monthly*, Mar., 1938, pp. 5-6. IWW, Chicago. Raymond Galstad, IWW in International Brigade, on "Moscow Wrecking Crew" and "Stalinist Cops in Spain."
22. **History of the Labor Movement in the United States**, Vol. 4 (International, 1965). Philip Foner.
23. **Years of Hard Labor.** Morden Lazarus. Ontario Federation of Labour, 1974, Don Mills, Ontario.
24. **Radicalism in America.** Sydney Lens. Crowell Co., N.Y., 1966-69.
25. **The American Communist Party.** Irving Howe & Lewis Coser. Praeger, N.Y. 1957/62.
26. **Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution.** G.P. Maximoff. Syndicalist Workers Federation, London. Re IWW in Don Basin.
27. **The Russian Anarchists.** Paul Avrich. Princeton University, 1967, p. 125 re IWW in Donets Basin; pp. 137-39 re Shatov, Volin, Maksimov; p. 247 re Maksimov.
28. "A Radical Is Made." *OBU Monthly*, Feb., 1938. Re IWW in Canada 1930s, esp. AWO and IWWs in Spain.
29. "Attack and Counter-Attack" by Eli Hill, *OBU Monthly*, April, 1938. Re Canadian Northern R.R. strike in 1912.
30. "The Canadian Labor Situation" by Wm. MacPhee, Secretary, Canadian Administration of the IWW. *OBU Monthly*, Jan. 1936. IWW, Chicago.

Source Note: IWW in Canada

Canadian Communists began organizing towards a Party in 1921. The founding convention of the Workers Party of Canada—later the Labour Progressive Party and finally, after it became legal in the mid-40s, the Canadian Communist Party—was held in Guelph, Ontario in 1922. The program adopted by the majority of delegates read as follows:

"Not only the policy pursued by some groups in the past of seeking to revolutionize the labour movement by splitting away to form new ideal unions be completely abandoned; not only must dual unionism be vigorously combatted; but positively all tendencies to consolidate the trade unions by amalgamating the related crafts on the basis of one union for each industry must be fostered within the existing trades." (Quoted from A. Logan, *History of Trade Union Organization in Canada*, p. 409).

PWM comments: "This directive constituted an order for the dissolution of the OBU, abandonment of the industrial unions and a return to the crafts in the hope that they could some day be converted into industrial unions with a radical outlook. On this point the delegates split and when the pro-OBU forces refused to accept the decision, the majority declared virtual war on the industrial organization. Their policy became known as "boring from within" and the Party's ideologues were fond of quoting Lenin's 'Left Wing' Communism in support of their position." PWM then goes on to argue that the Communists should have supported national Canadian unions: OBU, ACCL, CCCL; instead of seeking to work within foreign American internationals of the AFL. —*Progressive Worker*: "For An Independent and Socialist Canada: A Marxist-Leninist View." Vol. 6, No. 1. Progressive Workers Movement, B.C. (ca. 1970).

From "The IWW Reply to the Red Trade Union International (Moscow)" by the GEB, IWW, Chicago, 1922:

Budding Dictatorship

If there is no truth in Williams' report, and if the RILU, as it professes, has no intention to dominate the I.W.W., why command that (5) "it [the I.W.W.] must agree upon uniting with the Lumber Workers' Union of Canada"? . . . Would it be regarded as impertinent to inquire whether the repudiation of Cascaden by the

Canadian O.B.U. Lumber Workers; the affiliation of what remains of that body with the R.I.L.U. and its known inclination toward the Fosterian policy had any influence in the issuance of this ultimatum to the I.W.W.?

Still further along you admonish the I.W.W. with an imperative "*must*" that (6) "you [the I.W.W.] *must* come in contact with other independent unions, and the various revolutionary minorities in the American Federation of Labor."



Longshoremen's Smoker, Christmas Night, 1911, IWW Hall, Prince Rupert, British Columbia.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE IWW
IN CANADA AND ELSEWHERE CONTACT:

Industrial Workers of the World
General Administration
752 West Webster Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60614, USA

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THE HISTORY OF THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT



published by the Industrial Workers of the World – price \$1.00



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Republished from the
N. Y. *Call*, Sunday issues beginning March 15, 1914

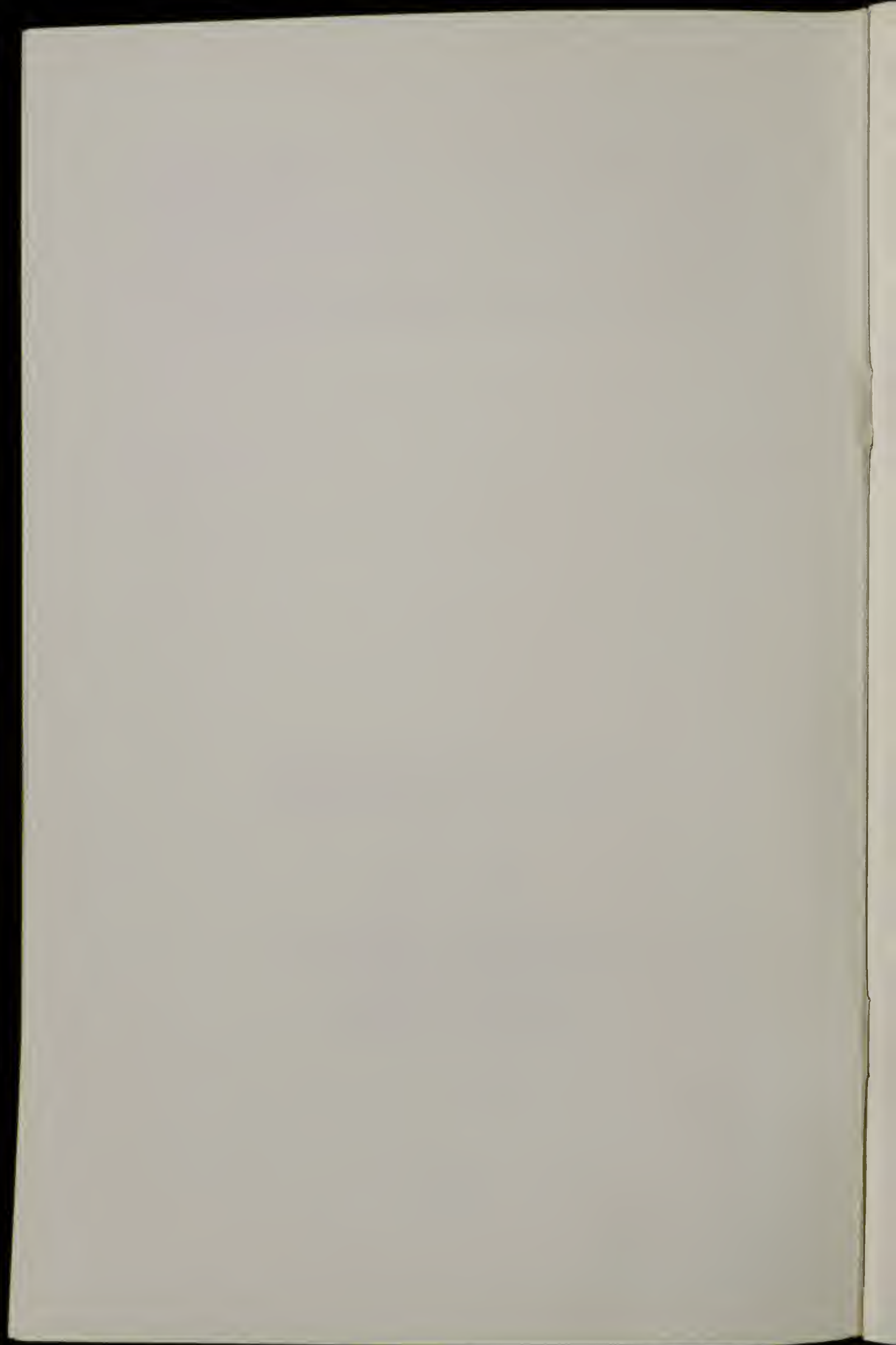
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THE HISTORY OF THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

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Since the early history of the town there had been street meetings in San Diego for purposes of agitation, reform and revival. On December 8, 1911, a petition was filed with the Common Council of that city asking for the prohibition of street speaking within a district seven blocks square in the heart of the city. This included the point where E Street crosses Fifth, which four corners, where there is no vehicular traffic in the evening, had for twenty years been dedicated to open air meetings of all sorts. This petition was signed by 85 persons, mostly merchants. They signed this as "citizens and property owners," and the only reason given for their petition was: "This street speaking being considered by us as a nuisance and detriment to the public welfare of this, our city." If it had been a nuisance in fact and law, it could have been stopped without such an ordinance. The sentiment of the community, as will appear, was such as to make very easy the enforcement of the law against "nuisances," had there really been any such in the legal sense. We must conclude, therefore, that the words "nuisance and detriment to the public welfare" are used, not in their legal significance, but as epithets of reproach, indicating only an emotional aversion arising from an esthetic or other offense by the things said, or the manner of saying them and the ill-clad people thus congregated. Indeed, the San Diego vigi-

THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

lantes, whose conduct is to be hereinafter described, have a friend familiar with the situation there, who, in my presence, defended this ordinance on the sole ground that it was unpleasant for "ladies" to pass crowds of ill-clad and grimy-looking workingmen, such as formerly gathered at these meetings. On December 13, 1911, a counter petition, signed by 250 persons, protesting against the passage of the merchants' ordinance, was presented to the Common Council.

On the evening of January 6, 1912, a squad of police and a local real estate dealer of San Diego precipitated a street row while a number of Socialists and Single Taxers were trying to hold meetings in the streets. On January 8, 1912, with the addition of an emergency clause, giving immediate effect, the ordinance was passed prohibiting street speaking within forty-nine blocks. Thereupon the Socialists held a business meeting and decided to fight for what they believed their constitutional rights. When called to give his opinion concerning a compromise, to be effected by erecting rostrums in certain less congested city districts, Mr. F. C. Spalding, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said: "If you give them [these men who wanted to exercise the right of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution] anything at all, it would only encourage them!" This sentiment prevailed with the city authorities, and shows quite conclusively that the objection to street speaking was not founded upon considerations of public health or welfare in the use of streets, nor upon their congestion, but in opposition to the particular opinions which were being expressed, and which were equally obnoxious, no matter where expressed. The Chief of Police announced through the press that the new ordinance would go into effect January eighth. That evening about seven o'clock a crowd collected at Fifth and E Streets, to listen to speakers, Socialists and Industrial

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

Workers of the World, and to test the ordinance. The police contented themselves with merely keeping the sidewalks clear and a way open for traffic. At that time it was thought by some that free speech had won an easy victory.

FREE SPEECH LEAGUE FORMED

Such hope was however premature. Too many good citizens were opposed to freedom of speech for a cause they disapproved. Those who realized this organized the California Free Speech League the week following the passage of the ordinance. Wood Hubbard of the Industrial Workers of the World was elected secretary, Casper Bauer of the Socialist Party treasurer, and E. E. Kirk attorney. The executive committee consisted of three Socialists, three I.W.W. men, three from each of the labor unions and three from religious organizations. The league printed a leaflet protesting against the passage of the proposed ordinance. The idea that "citizens and property owners" had more rights in the streets than those who were not property owners was ridiculed and there were contemptuous references to the property owners' use of the words "this our city" as showing the latter's ignorant disregard for the constitutional rights of the propertyless persons desiring to be heard in support of their alleged grievances.

On February eighth, 100 policemen were called out to check a demonstration of persons opposed to the anti-free speech ordinance, which, notwithstanding the emergency clause, was construed as not in effect until that day. Forty-one men were arrested, including two lawyers one of whom was the attorney for the Free Speech League just organized. The ordinance, as passed, did not claim to be a regulation for street traffic, but recited that: "This is an ordinance for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety and one of emer-

gency, and shall take effect from and after its approval and passage." Was this statement believed? If, in fact, prior to this time there had been any unusual disturbance, or agitation of the public mind, or epidemic of contagious diseases, such as could justify this official recital, then all public meetings would have been suppressed, those within halls and churches as well as those in the open, because contagion is less probable in the open air than within inclosures. Since only street speaking within a limited area was prohibited, I conclude that the claim about the imminent danger to public health and peace was a deliberate untruth. In England, long ago, it was said that "Plowden, in pp. 398-400, has reported a variety of cases wherein acts of Parliament were esteemed void in law through the want of truth in their recitals." *

One wonders if it is really expecting too much to ask our American courts to follow this old precedent when invoked by the propertyless citizens of San Diego. The failure of the authorities to enforce the ordinance for a period of thirty days after its passage suggests that it was suspected that the false recitals annulled at least the emergency clause. But if that, why not all?

The ordinance prohibits singing upon the streets even though there is no public assemblage. It prohibits "any person to address any assemblage, meeting or gathering of persons." How many persons does it take to constitute a prohibited "meeting"? Clearly two persons meeting upon the designated streets holding an ordinary conversation in the public highway are as much within the letter of the ordinance as though 200 listened to the same discourse.

VAGUENESS SHOULD MAKE ORDINANCE VOID

If the council intended to penalize all conversa-

* Cartwright's "English Constitution Produced and Illustrated," p. 132.

tion upon the streets it clearly exceeded its authority, and the whole ordinance must be void, because the court cannot by judicial legislation make the separation.†

If the ordinance did not penalize all discussion and conversation in the designated public streets, extending even to two or three persons participating in a meeting, then it must be that criminality of a speech or discussion in the restricted public places depends upon *the number of persons gathering, hearing, or otherwise participating in any meeting*. Then the question arises how many persons must meet in a public place for discussion before they are either an "assemblage, meeting or gathering of persons" within the meaning of the ordinance? Manifestly the ordinance does not furnish us any information as to the criteria of crime in this respect. The criteria of guilt necessarily involve a determination of the number of persons necessary to constitute an "assemblage, meeting or gathering" of this prohibited kind and this essential element of the criteria of guilt cannot be created *ex post facto* for several constitutional reasons, as I have elsewhere shown.

Many will still wonder if this ordinance may not be warranted as a traffic regulation for the growing village of San Diego. This has been urged, but, it seems to me, chiefly as a cloak to conceal the true motive. Perhaps we can best straighten out our perspective in this matter by inquiring how such matters are managed in New York City. Here the only function of the police is to quell actual disturbances and keep open the streets for traffic. The whole matter is covered by a circular of instruction to the police, which reads as follows:

† This, I understand, is the logic of such cases as *Howard vs. Ill. Cent. R.R.*, 28 Sup. Ct. R. 141.

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THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

POLICE DEPARTMENT

City of New York

New York, July 1, 1912.

Circular No. 22.

No permit is required to speak in the public streets. The law is that the paramount right in the street is with those who pass over it. The right to make a speech in the street is secondary to that right, and no one, by speaking or otherwise, can obstruct the street so that it is impassable.

R. WALDO, Police Commissioner.

WHOLESALE ARREST OF IDLE POOR

On February 13, 1912, in order to more thoroughly intrench the official lawlessness, the City Council of San Diego passed the following ordinance: "Any officer designated by the Chief of Police to perform such duty shall control the movement and order and stoppage of persons, street cars, vehicles and animals in or upon any public street, and disperse any unusual and unnecessary assemblage of persons or vehicles that are obstructing or impeding, or to such officer *shall seem likely to obstruct or impede*, the free passage of persons or vehicles along said streets." Further to help along this work of suppression, the Superintendent of Police John C. Schon issued to Chief of Police Wilson the following: "Order a general roundup of all male vagrants and hoboes. Notify all officers to bring into the police station for investigation all suspected 'crooks' and 'macques.'" Chief Wilson added to this statement: "We are going to rid the city of beggars and crooks and the idle who don't want to work. The many petty crimes and too frequent hold-ups in San Diego [conveniently remembered by the chief at this time] have got to end, if we have to arrest every vagrant in the city and drive them beyond the city's gates." When referring to "the

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

idle who won't work," of course, he did not mean to include rich idlers who won't work.

On February thirteenth, between 7 and 8 p.m., eleven men, in a crowd of 1,000, arose consecutively to make speeches, and were immediately pounced on and hustled off to jail, amid cheers from sympathizers. And such work continued daily, with subsequent crowding of the prisoners like cattle while they were awaiting trial without bail, concerning the excessive amount of which Judge Sloan refused to hear testimony from the defendants.

UNSPEAKABLE INDIGNITIES TO PRISONERS

Jail treatment may be judged of from a letter written by one of the prisoners, in which he states that thirty-six men were put into a room 16x16 feet, with an open toilet in it and two small windows, half open, for ventilation. When one man fainted and the police were finally persuaded to take him out, the door was immediately closed on the others. Prisoners were kicked on being put into the cell, and when water was requested one jailer suggested the toilet. On the route from the city to the county jail, one prisoner who murmured to another about constitutional rights was heard by a detective, who informed him that he would "smash his head if he spoke again." In the county jail thirty-three men were put into a cage where four hammocks provided poor accommodation for twenty men, thirteen sleeping on the steel floor. From Thursday night until Saturday morning they got no water to wash with, and even then no towels. Meals consisted of four ounces of bread and mush in the morning, and a small portion of stew or beans—sometimes rotten and sour—at 3:30 p.m.

FREE SPEECH PAPER

"Insist that the Constitution is the fundamental law of the land," wrote Casper Bauer in *Free*

Speech, the organ of the California Free Speech League, in its issue of February sixteenth, "and go to prison; there you are fed out of a trough like swine, and sleep on a bare cement floor without a rag to cover you!" A vigorous campaign of protest was undertaken.

BRUTAL ACTION OF OFFICIALS

To help along the work of the oppressors there was tremendous delay in coming to trial. As early as February nineteenth, two of the men arrested told the court that they wanted immediate trials. The judicial temper was displayed in this rejoinder: "It would take about five days to each case," said the judge, "and there are 100 ahead of you. Looks like you get a trial the latter part of next year, doesn't it?" The men admitted it did. And meantime the arrested were being held under excessive bail. Conditions constantly grew worse.

In a letter written by a prisoner, Alexander McKay, on February twentieth, he stated that there were *seventy-eight* advocates of free speech confined in a room intended only for *twenty* inmates. The beds were merely iron frames with canvas stretched across. The supply of blankets being exhausted, it was alleged, all the later comers had to sleep on the bare concrete. As a result fifty men applied in the morning for medical aid, 90 per cent of whom were ordinarily healthy young men under 30 years of age. One petty cruelty consisted in taking away the glasses of men who were nearsighted. Nevertheless the prisoners kept up a stanch spirit.

District Attorney Utley made a statement that "any man who has no work ought to be put in jail, especially if he wants to talk about it." Local 13, of the I.W.W., began now to issue invitations to all those who believed in the right of free speech and who were not employed elsewhere to come in any way they could and join the San Diego free speech contingent.

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

Interest in the fight was not confined to the I.W.W. On February twenty-fourth the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles sent a copy of a resolution of sympathy and support to the Federated Trades Council of San Diego.

PRISONERS SERENADED

On February twenty-sixth, 2,500 men and women joined in a large, orderly parade through the city to demonstrate their interest in the cause. Attempts were made by the police authorities to stir up trouble and break up the parade, but in vain. The marchers kept on their quiet way, and before the city and county jails furnished music to encourage the prisoners.

LAWLESS SPIRIT OF CAPITALISTIC PRESS

Meantime the problem of caring for so many prisoners became of growing importance. *The San Diego Tribune* editorially advocated taking the men out of the jails and shooting or hanging them. Had such matter been published in the interest of laboring men, no doubt arrests would have resulted for a violation of our postal laws, but in San Diego, as elsewhere, the rich can do no wrong. The conspiracy charge on which some free speakers had been arrested was changed to a charge of vagrancy. And finally Chief Wilson decided to offer the men jobs so as to keep them from attempting to speak in the city, and was surprised and annoyed when he found that they refused. As one of them said: "That's what we're for, to keep your jails full until you fellows realize the fact that we are going to have our rights." Finally the attempt was made to discourage the coming of volunteers by the vile treatment of prisoners, as evidenced by a continuous flow of letters by them from the prisons. In one of these it was stated that Chief Wilson came to the door every morning and informed them if there was any

one there sick he would be turned loose, provided he pleaded guilty. This trick of misleading humanitarian appearances also failed.

INVESTIGATION DEMANDED

A formal notice was sent to Governor Hiram Johnson, requesting that he make an investigation of the conditions in the city jail and of the treatment of prisoners, both male and female, before and after the arrest and confinement. Attorney M. S. Quinn went before the Grand Jury and made the same request. Complaints were met with the statement that the Common Council and the Police Department were doing their own work. No one was permitted to go into the city jail; no medical attention was given the prisoners, and friends who furnished eatables and requested the police to give them to the prisoners had their requests denied. District Attorney Utley kept putting off a preliminary hearing, although some of the men had been locked up thirty days. It was also alleged that he requested Sheriff Jennings, of the county jail, to starve the prisoners to force recantation of their principles. This the Sheriff refused.

By March fourth nearly 200 men were in jail and were being shipped to jails in surrounding counties. It was also said that 500 extra policemen had been added to the force and that a march of the unemployed would start for San Diego that week. The San Diego Council passed, in addition to the anti-free speech ordinance, an anti-picketing ordinance. Besides, the Board of County Supervisors decided, on recommendation of the Grand Jury, to employ an armed, mounted guard to patrol the San Diego County line and turn back all the I.W.W. men who attempted to get into San Diego, arresting and imprisoning all who should resist them.

POLICE START LAWLESS PERSECUTION

Finally, the police force started to enforce a new

method of keeping the jails from being overcrowded, and made the *San Diego government* a synonym for shame. Dave Brooks, a member of organized labor, in good standing, a peaceable, law-abiding citizen and a bona fide resident of San Diego was the first victim. At midnight, March eleventh, he was arrested for selling the *Labor Leader*, a newspaper that was presenting the worker's side about the tactics of the fight. The following is from his own letter refused publication in the *San Diego Sun*, a "capitalist" paper:

"While selling *Labor Leaders* on E Street Monday night I was picked up by Chief Wilson, thrown into an auto, and then taken to the police station. They brutally jerked and shoved me into a room, and Chief Wilson, Joe Meyers and two other thugs heaped every vile abuse that their vile tongues could call into use. I had about twenty copies of the *Labor Leader*. They dragged them out of my hand and tore them into shreds. Wilson would ask me a question, and if I did not answer it as he thought I should, he would shake his fist and threaten to knock my G—d d—d head off my shoulders. He dragged me by my clothes, threw me into an auto and took me out to Sorrento, where I was kicked and slugged and told to hit the railroad, and if I ever came back to San Diego I would be killed and thrown into the bay."

The Council of the Federated Trades decided to take action against the police officers who abused Brooks, and declared that the best lawyer in the State would be hired to prosecute the case.

HOSE TURNED ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Another novelty of the police tactics was instituted the day previous, when a peaceful crowd of about 3,000 persons was assembled to hold religious services under the direction of Rev. Lulu Wightman. The police with the aid of the Fire Depart-

ment, turned the hose full force upon this crowd, causing, of course, great damage and much injury, knocking down old men, women and children with drastic equanimity. This outrage was perpetrated without warning. After the Fire Department had been called up, the hose was brutally turned on the audience, and directly upon the speaker's face. A crowd surrounded the speaker's stand until they were driven from the platform in a long and vigorous battle with the hose. Hundreds surrounded Mrs. Emerson, a speaker, and withstood the terrible onslaught for over an hour. The hose was then pulled up to within a few feet of the drenched men and women and its terrific force turned full in their faces, until they were swept from their feet, and the speaker, nearly drowned, was forced from the stand. For three hours the crowd, dispersed at one point, would congregate at another, while the hose followed it. One young lady, singled out because she was selling *Leaders* at the meeting, received five minutes of personal water cure. Another person grabbed the American flag and wrapped it about his person. He was swept down, grabbed and roughly handled, jailed and fined \$30 for desecrating the flag. All this, of course, was done in the name of law and order. If some new social order shall follow the San Diego precedent and methods, will the capitalist minority of that time acquiesce in silent glee?

PEACEFUL CITIZENS CLUBBED

That evening a street meeting was charged by the police with drawn clubs. One woman was knocked unconscious and left on the pavement, while all who tried to rescue her were beaten. Also at an indoor mass meeting an attempt was made to stampede it by needlessly calling out the Fire Department to the building.

Meantime, the first trial had ended in the conviction of Joseph Mickolash, who was sentenced to

thirty days in jail. But this did not dismay the advocates of free speech, who claimed that it was a jury composed only of anti-labor men.

Everything that the anti-free speech men could think of was used in the campaign. It was claimed that all those were arrested who were found selling copies of the *Herald*, the *Labor Leader* and the San Francisco *Bulletin* (almost the only papers which showed up the police methods), while venders of the *Tribune* and *Sun*, which took the side against free speech, were left unmolested. Such tactics had begun to alienate even some business men in San Diego, though few dared openly to express their sentiments in favor of free speech. However, one Sol. Stone, of the New York Shop, a Russian by birth, openly said for publication: "I lived for years under the despotism of the Czar and witnessed the methods by which the officials of Russia suppressed any effort of the peasants to better their conditions. I have read accounts of such atrocities in your American newspapers, and so have you, but in all the years I lived in Russia I never witnessed such inhuman treatment by the Russian police as that meted out to the members of the Free Speech League in this 'Land of the Free.'"

Of course the treatment of the prisoners had in one or two cases the desired effect, and such men agreed to drop the fight for the right to use the public streets. It was reported that the federal immigration officers would visit the Riverside and Santa Anna jails to make a vigorous investigation of the prisoners sent there. In view of the condition of the San Diego jail, it was declared that the government would deport any prisoners who were foreign anarchists and had not been three years in the country. The secretary of the Free Speech League was arrested, accused of having sent inflammatory literature abroad for publication in radical papers. Of course, *nobody was arrested for*

inflammatory literature published in the interest of official lawlessness. Four policemen resigned from the force, stating that they had too much manhood to remain, and that tactics such as had been adopted were ordered by their superiors in office. The Central Labor Council and Building Trades Council of Los Angeles had passed resolutions on March twenty-second pledging to their brothers and sisters of San Diego moral and financial support, and calling upon organized labor throughout the city to enter this protest and to assist the suffering in San Diego.

PRISONERS SHOT AND DEPORTED

By this time, March twenty-eighth, details were published of the outrageous treatment of prisoners by the self-constituted vigilantes, men who undertook to help the police in diminishing the population of the jails by lawless methods, but, of course, under the same old pretense of law and order. The *Herald*, a fearless paper, whose editor was to suffer later for its fearlessness, published affidavits of some of the victims. One of them wrote to San Diego Local 13, of the I.W.W., as follows:

"We write to let you know what happened to us yesterday. Twenty-one men arrested; ten were put through the third degree. We were held in the station till about 10 p.m., then, in bunches of fives, were kidnapped by vigilantes. Some were loaded into autos and ditched twenty-eight miles off, without a bite to eat.

"Then, in bunches of five, we were unmercifully assaulted with clubs and guns, and in the darkness were cornered and driven through a barb-wire fence. Several shots were fired, and some of the men are badly scratched and bruised. Two men were very nearly killed and may not survive. Out of the twenty-one arrested, eleven are at this place (Encinitas), and the two dangerously wounded are on the way to the hospital; five are still missing. Our

hats are still in the ring, and we will be there with bells. Yours to win, Victim No. 13."

INQUISITION IN AMERICA

Perhaps nothing better tells the story of the outrages committed than the sworn statements of several of the victims here appended:

State of California, County of San Diego, ss:

I, J. C. Lattell, being first duly sworn, according to law, do depose and say as follows:

That I am an American citizen of the age of 21 years, and was born in the town of Phoenixville, Pa.; that on the 22d day of March, 1912, I was selling the San Diego *Herald* and *Solidarity* on the corner of 5th and E streets, in the City of San Diego. At about the hour of 10 o'clock a.m. I was arrested by Hervey Shepard, of the detective force of the City of San Diego, and taken to the office of the Police Department in the police station, where I was subjected to a series of questions for a number of hours. I was held at the police station until 12 o'clock midnight, and during the time of my detention I was given no food of any description.

At about 12, midnight, I was taken out of the second story of the police station, and at the head of the stairs I passed a man inside a door, whom I have since identified as one Bierman, a reporter of the San Diego *Union*. Previous to my removal from the police station the officer took from me 50 cents in money, a jackknife and ten San Diego *Heralds*, none of which property has ever been returned to me.

I was roughly bundled into a closed automobile, and, shortly after one, Elie Boholt was also thrown in, after which three men in civilian clothes, and the driver, got into the machine. There were apparently no lights on the machine.

After running a few blocks, one of the men hav-

ing us in charge left the car, saying: "Here's where I get off." A short distance further on I noticed a large public building, and in attempting to turn my head to get a better view one of the parties having us in charge struck me on the jaw with his closed fist and remarked: "You will try to take landmarks, will you? Keep your face straight ahead."

That was the beginning of a continual pounding received at his hands, for every once in a while he would give me a knock on the jaw and say: "You will come to San Diego and show us how to run our town, will you?" We were about twenty miles out, apparently, when the machine stopped, and the man riding with the driver got out, motioned to me to get out, saying: "Get out here, Billy."

BLACKJACKS AND REVOLVERS USED ON HELPLESS
PRISONERS

Then I left the car, and the moment my feet touched the ground this man grabbed me by the arm, saying: "Do you notice this fellow, Billy?" And as I turned to see what he meant, received a crack in the head with a blackjack; he then struck me several blows on the face with his fists, his companion giving me a kick, saying: "Get out."

After staggering up the road about 100 feet to a large tree I hid behind it and watched proceedings.

I saw them take out John Stone from the second car and proceed to beat him. They then took from the second car Joe Marko, dragged him in front of the lights of the second car and proceeded to beat him up. He was felled to the ground several times and gave several screams, after which he was rushed up the road. They then fired a revolver shot, and I heard a bullet whistle past.

Then all four of us ran up the road a short distance where we hid, and shortly afterward the two

automobiles went on by us. We then went back to where we had been assaulted, and camped for the night under the large tree mentioned before.

I further state that I received no food of any description from the time of my arrest, at 10 o'clock Friday morning, until Saturday evening at 8 o'clock.

J. C. LATTELL, Affiant.

FURTHER OUTRAGES THAT WOULD SHAME RUSSIA
State of California, County of San Diego, ss:

I, John Stone, being first duly sworn, according to law, do depose and say as follows:

That I am an American citizen of the age of 37 years, and was born at St. Louis, Mo.

That on the 22d day of March, 1912, at the hour of 2:30 p.m., I was taken in custody by officers of the detective force of the City of San Diego, and was taken to the second floor of the police station of said city, where I was detained until 12 o'clock midnight, at which time I was taken downstairs and placed in an automobile with Joseph Marko, another man who had been arrested at the same time as myself.

There were four parties in civilian clothes in charge of this automobile, one of the said parties I have since identified as — Bierman, a reporter of the *San Diego Union*. We were taken out of the city, about twenty miles, where the machine stopped and this man, Bierman, said to me: "Come on, big fellow, you next." And turning to Joseph Marko, said: "You stay in there, kid."

Then one of the escorts said to me: "Look at me, who are you?" At the same time a man in the rear struck me with a blackjack several times on the head and shoulder; the other man then struck me in the mouth with his fist. The man in the rear then sprung around and kicked me in the stomach. I then started to run away, and heard a bullet go

past me. I stopped at about 100 feet distance and turned around. I saw them take out of the second car Joseph Marko, whom they proceeded to beat up, during which time he stood in the light coming from the second machine. I saw him knocked to the ground several times, and he gave several loud screams.

He shortly after came up to where we were, and we all four hid in a little gully close by until the machine went by us. After which we returned and camped for the night under a large tree close to where we had been assaulted.

In the morning I examined Joe Marko's condition, and found that *the back of his head had been split open* and a large amount of blood had flowed, to such an extent as to cover his coat, vest and shirt with blood.

JOHN STONE.

POLICE THREATEN MURDER

State of California, County of San Diego, ss:

John Cassidy, being first duly sworn, says: I am a cement worker, born in New York City. I was arrested on Wednesday, March 13, 1912, about 3 p.m., on the corner of 5th and E streets, by uniformed police officers. Was taken to the police station and there questioned for fifteen or twenty minutes, and then taken to a room in the headquarters, not in the jail, and locked up for about seven hours. About 10 p.m. I was placed in an automobile by four officers and taken to Pacific Beach. On the way out there one of the officers asked me what choice of death I preferred, whether being thrown from the cliff or fed to the coyotes. Said I was husky enough to dig my own grave. On arrival they ordered me out of the auto, and one officer pulled out a club and a loaf of bread, and struck me twice with the club, and gave me the loaf of bread and said: "It's 100 miles to Los

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

Angeles; if you come back to San Diego inside of a year, we'll kill you." He then left me, keeping the auto searchlight on the railroad track. I slept in the open all night, and walked back to San Diego this morning, arriving about 9:30 a.m.

(Seal)

JOHN CASSIDY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of March, 1912.

ESTELLE W. KIRK,

Notary Public in and for the County of San Diego,
State of California.

Particularly cruel was the treatment of one Hughes, who had dared to admit his sympathies were with the free speech propaganda. The friends of Mr. Hughes—and he has many—are bitterly resentful against the Police Department. As the affidavit of Hughes follows there is no need to tell here every particular of the cowardliness of Chief of Police Wilson in this matter. It is enough to say that Mr. Hughes is a cripple—63 years of age—that he had worked for twelve months doing what he could, in the Helping Hand Home, for a mere subsistence, and that, when taken before Chief of Police Keno Wilson, who, unable to make a charge of vagrancy stick against this old, crippled man, said: "You may not be a vagrant now, but I'll make you one, and then I'll get you!"

TRY INTIMIDATION OF AGED MAN

State of California, City of San Diego, ss:

J. S. Hughes, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That about April, 1911, I was compelled, by failure in health and business, to seek light employment for my subsistence. I was recommended to the manager of the Helping Hand Home as being qualified to render assistance to said institution, and on personal application my services were engaged, serving as office help, and the compensation for this was my meals and a permit to use my own bed

and bedding in the chapel room. Next I was given a nursing position at \$10 per week and paid for my room and board. When this work was no longer required, I was given a position as clerk in the rummage sale room of that institution, and waited on table during same time, and my wages were \$1 per week. Next I was made solicitor of aid, getting ten per cent of collections and at the same time aiding in a general way.

My interest in the welfare of the institution was found so great that without my request or knowledge efforts were being made to place me in management. The superintendent, Mrs. A. E. Dodson, and coworkers asked me if I would accept the present position when the manager resigned, which was to be in the near future. Later on it may be necessary for giving reasons why I didn't become manager, however. I will state now that it became public that I was a Socialist and member of the Free Speech League.

On January 6, 1912, I was a spectator during the police raid at 5th and E streets at the time of Charles Grant's arrest. Policeman Boucharee subpoenaed me for the prosecution, and shortly I was called to the police office and questioned by Policemen Wisler and Carse, and which proved to them that I would be a damaging witness. Therefore I was released.

At about 2 o'clock p.m., March 10, 1912, I was standing on the sidewalk in front of the Socialist headquarters, when I was arrested under charge of vagrancy by Frank Boucharee, city detective, and taken to the private office of Chief Wilson at the police station. Soon after Chief Wilson and Boucharee entered the room, Boucharee charged me of being on city charity and being an I.W.W., also that I was creating great disturbance at 2d and F streets by hollering and vilifying the police. First, I denied the charges. Second, I stated that

I was employed at the Helping Hand Home and had been there about a year. Third, that I am not an I.W.W. I am a Socialist and member of the Free Speech League. Fourth, I did not disturb the peace, and offered the proof. Part of my papers was taken from my clothes when these were returned to me.

They used very abusive language to me and acted very mad toward me and during the time they were talking to me, Chief Wilson said at three different times that he would report me and see that I was discharged from the place I was then working, and then get me as a vagrant; then he would see that I got out of town. Soon after I was told that I was released.

On about March 14, 1912, Mrs. A. E. Dodson, wife of Councilman Dodson, made a special trip to the home and delivered a message to me that she had a message from Mr. Dodson for me; that he was one of the directors of the institution, and you know that he could not and would not tolerate any one staying at this place who was against the ordinance against free speech; then we had some more talk and she went away.

Now, on March 15, 1912, she came back again and asked me if I still persisted in being a Socialist and member of the Free Speech League and reading their literature and taking part in the free speech fight. Yes, I do persist in being a Socialist and believe in free speech. Then, she said, my services were no longer wanted, and she said I could vacate at once.

This affiant now states that he has made his home here for the last four years and is a registered voter of San Diego County, Cal.

J. S. HUGHES.

The vibrant spirit of outraged humanity and intense revolt produced in some persons by these atrocities may be seen in the following impassioned

letter from J. Edward Morgan, and the invincible fight for the cause of free speech is to be noted in the postscript.

(After the cessation of hostilities The Free Speech League of New York sent to every person in the telephone directory of San Diego a leaflet by Hutchins Hapgood entitled "Fire and Revolution." This effort at increasing intellectual hospitality had little effect. It was not until June, 1915, that Emma Goldman was again allowed to make a public speech in San Diego. Then she made three addresses to large and appreciative audiences. The friends of law and order having lost their interest in such matters, no riots resulted.)

PASSIONATE SUMMING UP OF POLICE INJUSTICE

Editor *Herald*:

Congratulations on the splendid work you are doing in defense of human liberty. The last issue of the *Herald* is a tornado. I don't wonder Chief Wilson got busy arresting the newsboys for selling it. If the 40,000 in San Diego could read last week's *Herald*, it seems to me they would organize vigilantes to escort Wilson, Schon, Myers, Sheppard *et al.* out of town, give each a loaf of bread with the admonition to "keep going south."

The *Labor Leader*, also Kelly, is sure dealing them some broadsides that will be echoing in San Diego when the Gorgons at the police station have decamped for more congenial climes. And it's a crime to sell the *Herald* and the *Leader* and the San Francisco *Bulletin* in San Diego, is it? And it's a crime to sing songs on 5th street? It's a crime to lend sympathy to those who defend constitutional rights with their lives. But it is not a crime to bludgeon women till they lie bleeding, unconscious on the pavement—to drench women and children with fire hose and to drown babies.

It is not a crime for Chief Wilson to order his

police thugs, twenty strong, armed with guns and clubs, to handcuff unarmed, inoffensive non-resisting men and boys, weak from want of sleep and food, and beat them till they fell bleeding and dying from the blows.

How many have been thus beaten in San Diego? Who has done the murderous deed? What part did Chief Wilson play in this hellish act? And Myers, and Sheppard? And how many more are they going to maim and kill before San Diego cries "enough" and puts these inhuman monsters dripping with the blood of noble men and women and babies in the penitentiary or swings them from the gallows? How many more must be sacrificed to the maw of these Gorgons before all California awakens and puts these mad beasts in irons? How many more? Answer me, all ye humans in San Diego.

Tell this through the *Herald* to Chief Wilson: "The Federated Trades of Los Angeles have condemned the San Diego butcheries, and throttling of free speech, and they have called on organized labor everywhere to send financial aid to the liberty loving men and women of San Diego, valiantly battling with wild animals for their lives.

LOS ANGELES SENDS MONEY AND SYMPATHY

Tell Wilson that Labor Temple was packed pit and dome Sunday night to hear the ghastly story of the bloody butcheries that are crying the shame of San Diego to the world. Tell him that when Morgan—whom he so loves—told the story of the fire hose, the police clubs, the beating of women, the unlawful arrests, the man-handling in the jails, the vile language and murderous actions of the monsters called officers in San Diego, of the murderous deeds of the twenty thugs in autos, who left their bludgeon-beaten victims to die on the highway, that when I told the hellish story and called

for money to prosecute these assassins and send them to the penitentiary, that a business man held up a \$100 bill and cried for every man who is a man to prove himself and come at once to the help of the noble little band fighting to the death for great and eternal principles. Tell Wilson that another arose and gave \$50, that hundreds of dollars rained down upon the platform, that all San Diego and all California and all America might know that a handful of conscienceless human hyenas cannot murder men for exercising constitutional rights and escape the penalty for every one of their dastardly deeds.

Tell him, through the *Herald*, that when I told the story of the assault with fire hose on Mrs. Wightman, the evangelist, that the great audience called her to the platform and for a half hour she told the awful story of the depravity of the "Law and Order vultures" of San Diego, as Mrs. Wightman can tell such stories with her matchless eloquence. She told the story and the great audience listened appalled, aghast, breathless with astonishment, and they wondered what age and what country is this.

Tell Chief Wilson and the curs he sent to do this cowardly midnight deeds that Morgan's tongue cuts deeper, keener, with tenfold power to waken the sleeping to action since he saw and talked for hours to the men and boys who have come bleeding and mangled to Los Angeles.

The fine-faced, big, brown-eyed Greek, loved by all who know him, whose classic face and soft, expressive eyes remind us of the old heroic days of ancient Athens, is here. God, how they must have clubbed him! A deep cut in his cheek, face swollen and lacerated, an eye nearly closed, body black with bruises. God almighty, men and women of San Diego, if I was on the box there now I would tell the story. Wouldn't I tell the story? And wouldn't

the lying, sycophantic *Union**—union with hell—howl and belch and lie next day? Wouldn't it?

Listen! Day after day the Greek tells the story how Chief Wilson directed all, how they handcuffed him to another man and then held his other hand out horizontal, "like Jesus on the cross," he explains as he extends both arms while he tells it—then they beat him in the face, on his body, clubbed and cursed and threatened to kill him—and others the same.

Hundreds in Los Angeles hear his awful story every day, they see his mangled face, they look at his bruised and swollen arms, his deep-gashed cheek, and then they cry: "My God, my God; and they do that in San Diego!" And then people ask in wonderment, "What did you do that they would beat you like that?"

"I started to sing a song about Casey Jones, the scab," softly answers the Greek.

Yes, they will kill men and bludgeon women and drown babies for singing songs on the streets in San Diego. But how long will they do it? Good God! Let us awake! Let us act! Come on, men and women of California, awake, brave souls of America! This brutality must stop. Two hundred and fifty men and women are starving in filthy jails. They must be given their freedom! Liberty is too great a boon to be murdered in the streets by conscienceless, ignorant brutes called men because of their enormous weight. Lend a hand in liberty's sacred cause—lend a hand!

Yours in the fight for liberty until death,

J. EDWARD MORGAN.

P.S.—Tell them, Myers and all, I am coming back to San Diego to help celebrate the victory of man over Gorgon.

The spirit of those opposed to free speech was shown by the statement of Major William D. Hall,

* The *Union* is one of San Diego's "capitalist" papers.

THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

a veteran of the Civil War, who said: "I have an army of 200 volunteers at my command already and I am going to make it 500. The volunteers are law-abiding citizens of San Diego. We are going to repel all invaders, and will march every lawbreaker to the edge of the city, strip him of all clothing, give him a coat of tar and feathers, and let him start his march to the north to get along as best he can." Of course, he meant labor lawbreakers, and in the name of law he meant to determine their guilt without accusation, testimony or trial.

OLD MAN BEATEN BY POLICE DIES

Things finally reached a desperate state with the death of one of the prisoners, Michael Hoey, a man of 65, who was arrested on the night of February twelfth, on 5th and E streets, for attempting to speak. He was roughly handled when arrested, and at the city jail, after being kicked and otherwise brutally beaten, was left to sleep on the concrete floor without any bedclothes.

He was confined in the jail for thirty-eight days. During this time it was claimed that when a cathartic was needed by him he was given instead a powerful emetic. After repeated efforts Dr. Leon De Ville was finally admitted to the jail on March twenty-first, examined Hoey, reported to Chief Wilson that the old man was in a bad condition, and requested permission to have him removed to a private hospital. This Chief Wilson refused to do. Dr. C. A. Magee, the jail physician, was called in, and claimed that Hoey was well, but was "shamming." But when Dr. De Ville insisted that Hoey was beaten up badly and needed immediate medical attention, permission was finally granted to have the old man removed to the Agnew Sanitarium, while Dr. De Ville was forced to pay out of his own pocket a fee of \$14 for the removal. On March twenty-eighth Hoey died at the sanitarium,

death being caused, according to Dr. De Ville, through rupture, brought about by kicks in the stomach and groin. Dr. De Ville filed charges. Of course, the police claimed that Hoey had received his injuries before his arrest.

OUTSIDERS PROTEST TO CHIEF WILSON

Meantime persons connected with the national Free Speech League with headquarters in New York, as well as members of the American Federation of Labor, sent to Chief Wilson a letter protesting against the outrages and calling upon him to have them cease. The letter also requested him, if he had any answer to make to these charges, to make them before a committee chosen by him and by the attorneys, or before the City Council. Also, in Los Angeles, Edward J. Morgan and the Rev. Lulu Wightman and Casper Bauer kept on making eloquent speeches, and rousing considerable financial support for the San Diego martyrs.

The issue of the San Francisco *Bulletin* which printed a full page article headed "Gag Law vs. Free Speech in San Diego," containing a summary of the whole course of the free speech fight up to the date of publication, March thirtieth, and giving the affidavits of the maltreated and kidnapped, was suppressed in San Diego. Fifteen men selling copies of this paper were arrested and their copies confiscated, of course in the name of law and order, although not even an unconstitutional ordinance or statute authorized this procedure.

The next step of the authorities was a movement to run the I.W.W.—who, by the way, were only part of the fighters for free speech—out of the city. "Every anarchist in San Diego will be arrested; no one shall be allowed to escape," said Chief Wilson, while engaged in distributing rifles. "I assume that there are 500 of these fellows here now. All of them will be taken in just as soon as we can

THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

get them. Some will be charged with vagrancy and sent to the penitentiary, the others will be sent from the city. A force of 250 is now headed this way from Los Angeles. They should know now that under no conditions will they be allowed to come here."

Michael Hoey was buried on March twenty-ninth, surrounded by sorrowing fellows. As was to be expected the inquest held by the colleagues of the officials who had beaten and otherwise brutally treated the old man declared that he did not die from maltreatment. But in a sworn statement by Robert Baxter, a friend of his, it was claimed that Hoey and he, on February seventh, walked 140 miles in five days, and that he was evidently at the time hale and hearty. It also was claimed that Hoey had told him that he had been violently kicked in the stomach, and that two or three days later he saw a lump on Michael Hoey's left groin which looked like a rupture, and that it was after this that Michael Hoey grew sick.

FREE SPEECH FIGHT STATE-WIDE

The free speech fight began to spread to other cities. Chief Wilson telegraphed to Los Angeles a warrant for the arrest of H. Rosen in that city. And, on the other hand, the Machinists' Union of San Francisco had bidden the Labor Council to protest to Governor Johnson against the brutalities of the San Diego authorities, which continued regularly during all this time. In Los Angeles, on March thirty-first, a mass meeting of the citizens publicly protested against the San Diego methods.

Even Messrs. Moore and Robbins, the two attorneys who represented the California Free Speech League after the arrest of Attorney Kirk, and who had valiantly continued fighting for their clients and for the right of free speech, were threatened that they would be "run out of town" by Chief

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

Wilson. And ninety I.W.W. men were prevented from crossing the county line by the deputy constables. Some of the men, according to the public statement by County Supervisor Fischer, were severely clubbed. The Federated Trades drew up a list of charges against the local officials and presented it to Superintendent of Police John Schon.

LAWLESS OFFICERS OF THE LAW

A variation on older methods was introduced on April fifth, when 100 I.W.W. men, on their way to San Diego, were met at the Orange County line, near San Onofre, and there, by the deputy constables, under threat of physical punishment and shooting, were forced to kneel down and kiss the American flag because of the pretended accusation of being "anarchists." They then were warned to stay out of San Diego and were started on a march in squads of five, in command of the deputies, to the tune of "The Star Spangled Banner."

The California Free Speech League prepared then to help the Committee of Protest, and invited Chief Wilson, Superintendent Schon and the rest of the council to be present and defend their work if they could. Protest also came from the county convention of the Socialist party of San Mateo, demanding that Governor Johnson take action to abolish the condition of affairs in San Diego.

EDITOR KIDNAPPED AND THREATENED WITH DEATH

A most brazen deed of the vigilantes occurred on April fifth, at half past ten in the evening, when Abram R. Sauer, editor of the San Diego *Herald*, which had been fearless in its publication of the truth in the struggle, was, under cover of darkness, actually kidnapped at his own home by six vigilantes. Mr. Sauer yelled murder four times and this drew a crowd, so that some of the vigilantes were recognized. However, Sauer was forced into

an automobile and the party was soon out of the city. The affair was reported to the police, but it took them several hours to make a move. It was suggested that they knew what was going to happen, and, consequently, had become very "busy" at that time. The automobile headed for the country. On the way out the editor was threatened with all kinds of deaths and finally, according to the assertion of the *Labor Leader*, a halt was made near Escondido and he was released. The next day he went to Los Angeles, where it was said he would engage the legal services of ex-Governor Gage in order to prosecute the vigilantes.

It was also asserted that two or three men had been murdered by the constables at the county line, where, after their expulsion, several I.W.W.'s had started to camp.

Shortly after this, on April 11, 1912, the San Diego Chamber of Commerce went on record as publicly approving the action of the City Council, the Police Department and the Citizens' Committee (the vigilantes). The Chamber of Commerce, of course, cannot be accused of being "anarchists," and their approval of such conduct shows what "law and order" means among the "refined," "educated" and wealthy citizens of San Diego, many of whom no doubt believe in excluding from our shores "vicious and ignorant foreigners," and such anarchists as Count Tolstoy.

EDITOR CANNOT BE BRIBED TO STOP PAPER

At this point of the proceedings a comparative lull ensued. While Editor Sauer of the *Herald* was staying in Los Angeles he received, it was reported, a letter from one of his abductors, stating that they would furnish him with the amount that he had invested in San Diego, so that he might be able to get into business any place that he might wish, other than southern California. Mr. Sauer

answered that he had no desire to live anywhere but in San Diego, and there to publish his paper as he had in the past. In the letter also (it was claimed), Mr. Sauer was informed that there would be no more editions of the *Herald*. Nevertheless, the *Herald* continued to appear.

The citizen also declared that Dave Brooks, the first to receive such brutal physical treatment as since then had become commonplace, and on whose case were based the charges filed against Messrs. Wilson and Meyers, had been threatened with death, in the evident hope that he would be frightened out of town and his charges against the police officials quashed.

One Albert B. Prashner, a native of England, and one Thomas Bowling, a native of Canada, were ordered deported on the ground that the emigration authorities considered neither fit to remain in the United States. Both these men had taken prominent parts in the attempt to prevent the passage of the anti-street speaking ordinance. The request for their deportation was another method of the antis, started according to plans outlined previously.

Several members of the I.W.W. were escorted to the county line by the vigilantes, and there asked to choose between transportation northward and a coat of tar. (See *Los Angeles Graphic*.)

Perhaps the surest and most open declaration of these principles occurred, however, in a letter that was published in the San Diego *Union* and *Sun*. It was addressed to the editor of the *Union* and read as follows: "Please print this in your paper. The Constitution of the State of California guarantees the right of free speech and public assembly to all law-abiding citizens who respect the laws of the State and nation, and those whose duty it is to execute them. But it denies that right to all those who have no respect for law or order or for

the officers who are charged with the execution of the laws. [I fail to find such exceptions in the California Constitution.—T. S.]

WHOLESALE KIDNAPPING

"Now, then, as these lawless ones who have denounced the city officers of San Diego, the police and the press of the city in all their meetings, we, the law-abiding [?] citizens of this Commonwealth, think that these law-breakers have gone far enough, and we propose to keep up the deportation of the undesirable citizens as fast as we can catch them, and hereafter they will not only be carried to the county line and dumped there, but we intend to leave our mark on them, and this is what these agitators (all of them) may expect from now on, that the outside world may know they have been in San Diego. The Vigilantes."

This letter so succinctly summarizes the attitude of those to whom freedom of speech means freedom to speak only what they desire others to hear, that it is worth reading again to get all its points. If the Constitution of the State of California denies the right of free speech to all those who would criticize present laws, the lawmakers and the law's execution (which is what the letter means when it speaks of those "who have no respect for law or order"), by what logic can it be inferred that that constitution "guarantees the right of free speech?"

If freedom to speak means freedom to speak within restrictions, then freedom and restriction are synonymous, and we might as well abolish the first of the synonym—which, in fact, is what the vigilantes were attempting to do, and what our courts have sometimes done. And note, too, that they, "the law-abiding citizens," were to do this, not by process of law, but by process of leaving their mark upon the "lawless ones."

Fearing, however, that this publication of the let-

ter might not be sufficient in itself, the San Diego *Sun* proceeded "to make assurance doubly sure" by the following letter to the Sacramento *Star* and other papers:

"Editor *Star*:

"The San Diego *Sun* appeals to you and to all your readers to help San Diego in her present free speech difficulty now apparently nearing a settlement. There has been a great deal of lawbreaking and violence here, and as a result much bitter feeling has been aroused. At present the city is quiet, and a movement for an honorable and peaceful settlement of the question will stand a good chance of success if there is no further disturbance.

"Meanwhile, according to reports, bands of men are on their way to San Diego thinking to support the free speech fight. If they come to the county line, there is certain to be violence. It is very likely that many of the newcomers would be hurt, as a citizens' committee is determined to keep newcomers from joining the dispute. And the trouble at the county line will meanwhile bring more trouble in San Diego. The city, if let alone, will solve the question right—perhaps not to-morrow or the next day, but certainly in the end, for San Diego's people are all right.

"Please print this in a prominent place, and by doing so help San Diego and California to keep order. Let any who may be intending to enter the fight see that they can do no good and will certainly do harm by stirring up trouble."

VIGILANTES' TERRIBLE BRUTALITY TO NEWCOMERS

The sort of trouble that would be stirred up was graphically described by one Ted Fraser, who was one of those that started from Los Angeles on April twenty-second to join the San Diego fight. Stories of jail brutalities, and even those of automobile outrages, paled before those of the victims

of those vigilantes who made it their business to keep people from entering San Diego. When the train on which these outsiders were riding arrived at San Onofre, a number of the vigilantes, all armed, ran up to the flat-car and commanded the intruders to get off. This they at first refused, but were finally forced to do so by the attack of more vigilantes from unexpected quarters who started to club them off the train. As soon as they were off, they were ordered to put up their hands and, while in this position, each man was carefully searched and rid of his change. Remember, this was all for law and order. If any one attempted to lower his hands, a vigilante at his back would keep them at the desired height by cracking the knuckles with clubs. Whenever one of the volunteers was recognized as one who had been in San Diego before, he was called out, covered with a rifle, and kicked, thumped, clubbed and cursed by several others. Fraser claimed that one Joe Marko was pulled out of the line, knocked and beaten until he fell helpless, whereupon he was kicked in the ribs and clubbed all over the body, until, at the end, the vigilantes proceeded to throw what Fraser thought was Marko's corpse carelessly into a pit. Those who watched this brutal treatment instinctively moved forward, but were immediately covered with guns and threatened with shooting. At the end of this treatment, the volunteers who remained were marched into a cattle corral, their hands still in the air, and then marched round the corral in twos. One of the volunteers, Goale, was dragged from the crowd to the tent, where Marko's body lay, and then stripped and beaten. The others, after being kept in the corral for an hour and a half longer with their hands raised, were allowed to put them down and to lie where they were. After a night of extreme misery spent in the open air without a bite to eat or anything to cover them, they had their

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

pictures taken, and were lectured by one of the vigilantes and warned not to attempt again to reach San Diego. Finally they were taken in small groups to the railway track, ordered to take off their coats, and then forced to run the gantlet of 106 men, 53 on each side of the track, variously armed with pistols, wheel spokes, bull whips and rifles. Even those men who had suffered in the jail and were being brought to this point in the approved automobile fashion were forced to go through the ordeal, of course in the name of law and order, as conceived by the respectable people of San Diego and their sympathizers elsewhere.

SPIRITS UNBROKEN BY INDIGNITIES

Yet in spite of this, Ted Fraser, who described it all in his letter, claimed that they were willing to go again if they could win the fight by so doing. No wonder members of the G.A.R. and Spanish War veterans in San Diego passed resolutions recommending that Congress establish a penal colony on some insular possession of the United States for "anarchists," who so persistently fought and sacrificed themselves for the fundamental democratic right of free speech. No crime is so heinous in the eyes of the "middle class plutocrats" of America as that mere laboring men should insist upon a constitutional right to express their grievances.

Interest and co-operation in the San Diego fight kept growing in various surrounding cities. In addition to the resolutions of moral and financial support passed in Los Angeles and elsewhere, as recorded above, the Building Trades Council of San Francisco instructed its secretary to draft a letter of protest to Governor Johnson against the alleged brutalities of the authorities of San Diego and to call upon him to take immediate steps to insure the right of free speech to every citizen of California.

THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

And the Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo., went on record, April fourteenth, as protesting against the judicial action against freedom of speech in San Diego. Also, there was some rumor that certain San Diegans had attempted to draw up a free speech ordinance that would be acceptable to all concerned.

The cases of twenty-six free speech fighters were set for May sixteenth.

Editor Sauer returned to San Diego on April fifteenth and addressed a meeting of about 2,000 people in the afternoon. He said that it was doubtful whether he would prosecute at present, although he might do so later.

WIDE PROTEST MAKES GOVERNOR ACT

An entirely new turn was given to events when Governor Johnson finally decided to take notice of the numerous protests he had received. Resolutions expressing sympathy for the free speakers emanated from Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Fresno, Sacramento, San Jose, Kansas City and numerous other cities.

Finally, Governor Johnson appointed Harris Weinstock as a special commissioner to investigate what had been going on at San Diego.

"The Governor is desirous of seeing that innocent ones are protected and that wrongdoers are brought to justice, whoever they may be or whatever they may be," Mr. Weinstock declared. He said he intended to conduct an impartial investigation with entirely public hearings. The end of the investigation was to be merely a report to the Governor.

Commissioner Weinstock undertook the work promptly upon his arrival, giving hearings at his rooms, and going to the prisons to investigate conditions. That he intended to proceed fairly was evidenced when Walter P. Moore, the Assistant

City Superintendent of Streets (who instantly was accused of, and did not deny, being one of the vigilantes), said that he could get 1,000 citizens who could testify against the I.W.W., but who did not care to appear at a public hearing. Mr. Weinstock answered that there would be no star chamber.

Mr. Weinstock seemed to be received favorably by both sides, with the exception of District Attorney Utley, who regarded his investigation as an interference in San Diego County affairs that could be adjudicated at home. The District Attorney's office ignored the hearing and refused to aid Mr. Weinstock.

POLICE TRY TO BLOCK INVESTIGATION

It was claimed, moreover, by the San Francisco *Bulletin* that the police were attempting to block Weinstock's investigation. It was said that trains bearing incoming witnesses sent for by the commissioner were met by dozens of police, and that the witnesses were arrested and hauled to the police station in automobiles, where preparations were being made to turn them over to vigilantes, when Weinstock and Judge Sloane were prevailed upon to demand them in the name of the State.

Editor Sauer claimed in his paper that several attempts had been made upon his life since his return to San Diego, and that a second attempt to abduct him was frustrated only by aid of an armed labor committee who refused to allow him to go to and fro alone. It was distinctly stated that he would prosecute his assailants and those of other victims when he considered the time fit for it.

At this time, too, rumor had got abroad that a real anarchist, Emma Goldman, was coming to San Diego to join the fight.

FAIR INVESTIGATION BY GOVERNOR'S COMMISSIONER

On April twenty-first, Commissioner Weinstock brought to a close what seemed to be an investiga-

tion carried on in a thoroughly fairminded manner. Questions were allowed to be asked by any one at the hearing, and in spite of the fact that many considered this an imprudent course and that, doubtless, it sometimes added temporarily to the confusion, the commissioner seemed to be able to manage the hearing well and to get fair results. The San Diego *Herald*, commenting on the investigation, said: "What will be claimed quite probably as the most notable open denunciation of police and public methods in this or any other supposed civilized community, and their satellites, or understudies—the vigilantes'—within a generation, was made to Governor Johnson's representative, Harris Weinstock, during the latter three days of last week. Tales of suffering, police brutality—of slugging, kicking, beating, and 'mugging'—followed one another in regular and horrible sequence, until women wept, men shuddered, and the Governor's representative said that he had never listened to the equal of the relations in all the course of a long and varied career. Men told of illegal methods used in their arrests, detention, deportations and brutal treatment; stories that made the auditors' blood boil and the commissioner himself writhe in his chair. Men, whose sole crime lay in selling the San Francisco *Bulletin* or the San Diego *Herald*, publications that dared to assert the truth, were arrested, their papers taken from them, torn to shreds and they themselves held on 'detention.' "

On April twenty-third Sheriff Jennings started to serve subpoenas for the Grand Jury investigation.

After Commissioner Weinstock left town, the Common Council adopted, on April twenty-fourth, a 5,000-word memorial to Governor Johnson in reference to the recent trouble, putting most stress on the fact that their actions were necessary in opposition to the I.W.W.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE STATED

But the answer to this was exultantly summed up in an address made by Cloudlesly Johns, in San Francisco, on the evening of April twenty-first. The *Labor Index* of San Mateo reported it as follows: "‘If the boys who are fighting for free speech in San Diego lose that fight, it will mean the suppression of free speech along the entire Pacific Coast,’ said Cloudlesly Johns, editorial writer of the San Francisco *Evening Post*, in Odd Fellows’ Hall last Sunday evening.

“Mr. Johns laid special stress on the fact that efforts have been made to convince people that the trouble in San Diego is a matter that concerns the I.W.W. alone and that anybody who does not subscribe to the I.W.W. belief is not interested in the outcome of the fight. ‘This idea,’ said the speaker, ‘is entirely false. If the powers that be can prevent the I.W.W. from disseminating their ideas on the public streets, they can silence any other radical organization whose views they do not like.

“‘It makes no difference whether a man is an I.W.W., a political Socialist, a religious dissenter, or a single taxpayer, or any form of radical thinker,’ said Mr. Johns. ‘If he values the right to express his opinions in public the fight that the boys are now making in San Diego is his fight. If the police and vigilantes of San Diego succeed in driving the radicals off the streets of that city, the authorities will try to drive them off the streets of other cities, and San Francisco will be the next battle ground. And if they drive them off the streets the next move will be to drive them out of the halls, and if that happens we shall have to fight for free speech as people are now fighting in Mexico.’

“The speaker said that the statements that the street speakers in San Diego were blocking traffic and that they used vulgar language were mere subterfuges which the capitalist class used.

THE SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FIGHT

“ ‘The right of free speech means the right of any man to publicly condemn anything he may choose to condemn,’ said Mr. Johns. ‘Any abridgment of that right is an abridgment of the right of free speech!’ ”

FREE SPEECH A WORKING CLASS QUESTION

Agreeing with this idea was also the report of the San Diego situation handed in by O. A. Tveitmoe, secretary and treasurer of the State Building Trades Council, and Paul Scharrenberg, secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor, who were sent to San Diego by the San Francisco Labor Council to investigate at about the same time that Commissioner Weinstock was doing so. Incidentally, these reporters highly complimented Commissioner Weinstock for the fair and impartial manner in which he conducted his investigation. The report of Tveitmoe and Scharrenberg laid stress on the fact that the fight in San Diego was not alone the fight of the I.W.W., but a class struggle in which the people who believed in liberty and freedom were with the I.W.W. The report, which condemned the actions of the San Diego authorities, was indorsed by the Council and it was decided to have 10,000 copies of it printed for circulation. A victory for the free speech fighters came when G. Hawkins, one of the ten members of the I.W.W. held on the charge of breaking jail property, was acquitted. He had been defended by Attorney Moore. And another occurred when Sheriff Wilson of Riverside, acting upon orders received from the authorities at San Diego, on May fourth, released eighteen I.W.W. men out of twenty-seven, who had been kept in jail since March sixth. Casper Bauer, secretary of the Free Speech League in San Diego, had meantime been eloquently stirring up interest in the fight by speaking in various California towns, where he was received with enthusiasm.

Perhaps the noblest example of undaunted determination that appeared in any of the fighters was that of Joe Marko whose brutal treatment at the hands of the vigilantes was reported in the letter by Ted Fraser quoted above. Fraser was mistaken in thinking that Marko had been killed. However, cruelly mangled as he was, he managed, with great suffering, finally to reach Los Angeles. When he got well again, he started once more for San Diego. At San Onofre he was again captured and brutally treated, which treatment included the breaking of his nose with brass knuckles. On the second day of this treatment, a rope was tied around his neck, the other end of it placed in the hands of a man on horseback, and he was dragged for a mile up the country road until he reached the county line, again more dead than alive. In spite of all this, Marko returned to San Diego twice again; once to testify before Commissioner Weinstock, and once to testify in the charge of dynamite stealing, which was brought against the I.W.W. and proved to be a trumped up charge. The last two times he managed to dodge his enemies and return safely to San Francisco. Marko's own story of his abductors was effectively told in the *San Francisco Bulletin* of May 4, 1912.

Following the acquittal of Hawkins on the charge of wrecking the interior of the jail came the compromise verdict, May fourth, against Peter McAvoy, tried for the same offense, and convicted of an attempt to break jail. The remaining eight men held on the same charge of breaking jail were then released.

WANT FEDERAL INVESTIGATION OF I.W.W.

On May fourth, the city authorities of San Diego are reported to have called on the National Government for aid, asking the Department of Justice to send agents and to instruct the United States District Attorney in California to investigate the

situation created in San Diego by the I.W.W. It did not occur to them that the situation might have been created, not by the I.W.W. but by the fact that certain classes were attempting to restrict the speech of other classes. It seems also to have escaped the attention of all concerned that an inquiry should be made as to the violation by San Diego authorities and their sympathizers in lawlessness of several provisions of the Federal Constitution and statutes. While lawless lawmakers are not even questioned there are those who will think that constitutions and governments are not organized to protect poor people while they complain of injustice and that government by the rich can do no wrong.

POLICE START NEW OUTRAGE

A new and violent outbreak arose on May seventh in San Diego. The facts of the case were that two policemen were wounded and one Joe Mickolash, an I.W.W., was killed. One of the policemen was reported to have been hit by Mickolash with an ax and the action was used to intensify excitement against the I.W.W. Citizens were handed rifles and a sort of general martial law prevailed. It was then decided to run all members of the I.W.W. out of town; and the anti-free speech press had it that this was merely the start of an I.W.W. plot at civil war and that many stores of ammunition were found at the I.W.W. headquarters. On the other hand, the San Diego *Herald* published on May ninth the complete ante-mortem statement of Mickolash, an educated Bohemian and a contributor to European magazines and papers. It was to the effect that he was standing in front of the I.W.W. headquarters when the two officers approached him and asked him what he was doing there, adding a vile epithet to the question. One of them fired at him, wounding him in the leg, whereupon Mickolash reached for an ax which lay inside the door-

way as the only weapon with which to defend himself and struck at the man who had fired the shot. After that, according to the dying man, he had no distinct recollection, as he had received four more bullets in his body and shooting became general.

Whatever the real truth of this event—which probably will never be known—it is apparent that more excitement was created over the wounding of the two policemen than prevailed over the wounding of a large number of prisoners, and savage maltreatment of hundreds not under arrest nor guilty.

ANTIS THINK FIGHT ENDED

That last event undoubtedly served to aid the authorities in driving the I.W.W. from the city and thus suppressing the right to free speech. At the same time a band of eighty who were intending to come to San Diego were arrested at Old Town. Whether they received the same treatment as had been accorded their comrades previously, or they were treated humanely as was claimed by the police, is a matter of dispute. But with these arrests and the general round-up that was undertaken in San Diego following the wounding of the policemen—when it was decided to arrest everybody suspected of being an I.W.W. man—the anti-free speech press claimed that the trouble was over; but the San Diego *Herald* questioned whether free speech had gone, and answered enthusiastically in the negative. For the next few days the I.W.W. men were being escorted out of town, and many people thought that the city was finally rid of its trouble—which would really have meant that free speech had been dealt a deathblow in San Diego.

The results of this shooting disturbance were two. On the anti-free speech side, Spreckels, the proprietor of the *Union*, offered to start a relief fund for the officers wounded in their "duty" (of protecting the lawless tyrants) by contributing from

\$200 to \$500. And a great deal of talk ensued in regard to the "death list" alleged to have been framed by the I.W.W.'s. Two members of that organization were arrested near Escondido for being inmates of the house before which the shooting occurred, and, therefore, being accomplices in it. Besides, the habeas corpus proceedings, which Attorney Moore attempted to introduce to deliver the eighty-four men who had been sent northward from the county line at the time of the round-up, met with an obstacle from Assistant District Attorney McKee, who claimed that his office had not been properly served with the petition.

SAN DIEGO FUNERAL IN LOS ANGELES

On the other hand, the I.W.W.'s prepared to have a funeral demonstration for Mickolash; but, being thwarted in that in San Diego, the body was sent on to Los Angeles, where a large funeral parade was held for him by sympathizers, and where Emma Goldman delivered the funeral oration. One Feyer, who was to act as marshal, was arrested on his arrival in Los Angeles on the charge of having stolen a horse in San Diego. But the funeral demonstration was carried out, nevertheless. It was rumored that the free-speakers who attended this funeral were to proceed to San Diego, there to renew the struggle for liberty of utterance.

An amusing incident of these strenuous times occurred in San Diego, when the authorities became much excited over the report handed in by a physician of having seen an I.W.W. camp in Balboa Park. A round-up was prepared for, but it was later discovered that this typical hobo camp was that of a number of boy scouts.

Los Angeles organized a Free Speech League, to work in conjunction with the national Free Speech League. At the meeting, A. R. Holston disputed the idea that free speech existed now or ever had existed.

EMMA GOLDMAN DRIVEN FROM SAN DIEGO

Now again came another frightful outbreak of brutal suppression. On May fourteenth, Emma Goldman, accompanied by her manager, Dr. Ben Reitman, arrived at San Diego to deliver a speech there. She was met at the station by a large, hostile mob, which surrounded her as she rode on the bus to the Grant Hotel. The vigilantes also visited the hotel and demanded that Miss Goldman and her companion be driven out. Affairs became so turbulent that Miss Goldman decided not to deliver her lecture on the "Drama," as she had intended. The Socialist Hall, which was to have been furnished for her use, was refused to her, probably because the manager had been terrorized by the vigilantes, as Miss Goldman suggested. Then the hall of the Musical Institute was offered to her. But Miss Goldman said that the time was inopportune. She left San Diego late that night.

REITMAN'S TORTURE UNPRINTABLE

But her manager, Reitman, was kidnapped by the vigilantes and subjected to most inhuman treatment. The tale of his sufferings reads, as many papers commented, like the tales of Apache deeds. As he narrated his tale, he was taken by fourteen vigilantes, who looked to him like business men. When, at first, he refused to go with them, they clapped revolvers to his body and placed their hands over his mouth and dragged him to an automobile, while the police—although they denied having anything to do with the affair—cleared the way for his abductors. On their way to the desert, about thirty miles from San Diego, his captors thrust pencils into his nostrils and ears, stuffed filth into his mouth and struck him with their fists and clubs. When they reached the desert there was another party waiting. In the light of the fire they stripped him, and then committed on him acts of such vile, fiendish, gross and barbaric indecency and torture that

he claimed the details of them were unfit for publication. Should the story be published in its very detail, it might even be suppressed in this "free" country because violative of our laws against "obscene" and filthy literature. Screaming from pain, he begged them to kill him and end it. But they refused, stating that they wanted him to go away and tell how they received advocates of free speech in San Diego. Then he was ordered to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner," and at every false note he was struck in the face, being knocked down several times during the ordeal. "I stood naked in a yelling circle of white men who advanced in pairs, their eyes glittering in the light, to inflict pain," Reitman said. "I have read of Indians; even they could not have devised more ingenious means of brutal treatment than these fourteen Americans. They vied to see who could conceive the most diabolical torture. Being of strong physique, I was able to withstand what they did."

Following this he was asked several questions, to which his truthful replies were met by blows in the face. After a half hour or so of this treatment, he was made to run the gantlet, being beaten with "billies" as he ran. Then, while six men held him to the ground, another slowly traced the I.W.W. letters with a lighted cigar on his back. Following this a small American flag was stuck down his throat until he was almost strangled, and desert thorns were stuck into his ears. Then they discussed putting out his eyes, but finally gave that project up. At the end they smeared him with filth and then applied the tar, covering it with cactus and desert grass, and finally drove him into the desert.

When Reitman told his story in Los Angeles, a resolution of protest was got up to be sent to every State Federation of Labor in the country, as well as the locals. And in San Francisco a committee of five, appointed by the Trades Council, recom-

mended that Governor Johnson be urged to bring about a prosecution of the vigilantes, that Congressmen Kent and Berger be asked to secure the federal investigation of the San Diego situation; that the labor press of the country be asked to give all possible publicity in exposing the actions of the San Diego police and vigilantes; that labor organizations arrange a series of mass meetings to raise funds for prosecution; that members of the California Legislature be asked to oppose all State appropriations to the San Diego Exposition, "until the citizens of that city recognize the right of free speech."

As Colonel C. E. S. Wood, of Portland, Ore., said, in the *Journal*, of that city: "*Unless a man can freely speak his thoughts on any subject whatever, there is no free speech.* Our Constitution says a man shall be allowed to freely speak his thoughts, being held responsible for his words, as, for example, if they be libelous or inciting to riot."

STAR-CHAMBER INVESTIGATION

This was the period of the height of ascendancy of the crushers of free speech. The federal Grand Jury started to investigate the I.W.W. organization behind closed doors. Even federal grand juries, of course, would not make inquiry if its respectable people had violated several provisions of the United States Constitution—such as the guarantee of due process of law. The county Grand Jury indicted thirty members of the I.W.W. who were inmates of the house before which the shooting of the policemen occurred, charging them all with assault with a deadly weapon with intent to commit murder. After spending 100 days in jail awaiting trial, Lewis Shoup was convicted of violating the street-speaking ordinance, and sentenced to thirty days. Of course, this Grand Jury found no indictment against vigilantes. Their crimes were law and order. And the Citizens' Committee, or

vigilantes, became very active in "advising" the bondsmen for free speech prisoners to leave town; thus intimidating them and forcing many men back to jail. *The climax of suppressing of speech was reached when the order to Editor Sauer to cease publishing the Herald, which had been valiantly stating the truth about the conflict in its columns, was rendered effective by a band of vigilantes who pied the forms of this newspaper.* The *Herald* ceasing publication then, and the *Labor Leader* being also frightened, reports of the Reitman outrage, as far as the San Diego papers went, were confined to expurgated tales in the "anti" press, which treated the affair rather as a good joke.

When Chief Wilson was brought into court on a writ demanding that he produce in court the eighty-four prisoners taken at Old Town, or tell to whom he transferred them, he brought eight into court and reported that four had been transferred to the Emigration Commissioner for deportation to foreign countries, and that the remainder had been released.

REPORT TO GOVERNOR TELLS OF TYRANNY

At about this time Commissioner Weinstock's report to Governor Johnson was made public. Practically a complete copy of it was printed in the San Francisco *Bulletin* of May eighteenth. While it condemned in general the I.W.W. tactics, and recommended that legislation be instituted to cope with them, in vigorous terms it denounced the brutal lawlessness and tyranny of the San Diego authorities and business men. On the whole, it was a scathing denunciation of the outrages committed, although it was apparent that Mr. Weinstock did not believe in the unabridged free speech of our Constitution, and recommended legislation against the doctrines of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"Your commissioner feels," it said, "that the right of free speech should be inviolable and that it should

not be left to the police, in their discretion, to prevent men from exercising this constitutional right on the grounds of anticipating an improper use thereof, no more than the police are warranted in imprisoning a man indefinitely, in anticipation of possible wrongdoing because he had committed some other crime. . . . There is much testimony, however, not only from members of the I.W.W., but from citizens in no way affiliated with the Free Speech League, that would go to show that there had been needless brutality on the part of police officers on the public streets at various times, while meetings in the forbidden districts were being dispersed and speakers were being arrested. . . .

"Mr. Frederick H. Moore, the attorney for the Free Speech League, testified before the commissioner that the attitude of the District Attorney had been at all stages such that it would be practically impossible to obtain his co-operation, in his official capacity, to prosecute persons who, under the guise of a vigilantes committee, had, in the name of law and order, beaten and shamefully abused members of the I.W.W. and others, and deported them beyond the county line. In reference to the District Attorney, H. S. Utley, your commissioner desires to state that he was the only city or county official called upon to co-operate in the conduct of this public inquiry who failed to respond. . . . A great mass of evidence was submitted to your commissioner, including forty-three sworn affidavits, to the effect that *members of the I.W.W., their sympathizers and others, had, within the last thirty days, been arrested by the city police, either on the streets or in the headquarters of the I.W.W., and, without being charged with a violation of the law, had been taken out of the city, either by autos, auto trucks or railroad trains, for a distance of twenty-two miles, and there subjected to an inhuman, brutal beating by a body of men, a part of whom were*

police officers, part constables and part private citizens."

At this point Commissioner Weinstock included in his report special tales of some of the worst cases, winding up with this comment: "*Your commissioner has visited Russia, and while there has heard many horrible tales of high-handed proceedings and outrageous treatment of innocent people at the hands of despotic, tyrannic Russian authorities.*

RUSSIA OR AMERICA? ASKS COMMISSIONER IN REPORT

"Your commissioner is frank to confess that when he became satisfied of the truth of the stories, as related by these unfortunate men, it was hard for him to believe that he still was not sojourning in Russia, conducting his investigations there, instead of in this alleged 'Home of the brave and land of the free.' Surely these American men, who, as the overwhelming evidence shows, in large numbers assaulted with weapons in a most cowardly and brutal manner their helpless and defenseless fellows, were certainly far from 'brave' and their victims far from 'free.' . . . In view of the strained conditions existing at this time in the County of San Diego, and in view of the utter lack of confidence on the part of the victims of the so-called vigilantes' committee in their being able to obtain justice and redress at the hands of District Attorney H. S. Utley of San Diego County—because of his pronounced hostility to them and to their causes of complaint—your commission would suggest that you give due consideration to the advisability of instructing the Attorney General of the State of California to consider such evidence as may be submitted to him by the attorneys of the victims of these outrages, with a view of taking an active part in, or charge, of such criminal proceedings in San Diego County.

UTLEY BITTERLY ASSAILS COMMISSIONER

Naturally, the report of Commissioner Wein-

stock was received with bitter opposition by the San Diego "citizens," and specially District Attorney Utley. Speaking of the commissioner's remark concerning him, made in the report, he said: "The statement that the District Attorney for San Diego County did not do his duty is absolutely and unequivocally false, and I shall hold him personally responsible for his statement. I know my duty, and he evidently doesn't know his. The statement that the right of free speech has been trampled upon is false, and Weinstock could have found that out, if he had taken the trouble to investigate. That statement renders his report useless, because it is barren of fact.

"So far as I am concerned, neither Weinstock nor any other official can say that of me which is untrue and unfounded. He manifested from the first that he was unfamiliar with his duties. I considered his appointment and his mission to this city an insult to the city and county officials, who had attempted to enforce the law under intolerable conditions, which have been rendered worse by threats of assassination, and I disregarded his official status, if he had any. . . .

"To my mind the whole movement was an attempt to create political capital in favor of the Governor of the State. . . . I do not criticize him. . . . But the attempt to secure political influence by means of an alleged investigation, for which there never was any legal or moral justification, is something that should not be sanctioned by the great State of California, and which should be condemned by every citizen of this country."

Thus it was only by broad and virulent denials, based chiefly on mere difference of opinion, that District Attorney Utley was able to reply to Commissioner Weinstock. Just why there was never "any legal or moral justification" for the investigation is a rather interesting question. And whether

"every citizen of this country" would be willing to admit that "the statement that the right of free speech had been trampled upon was false" remains to be seen when the hysteria has subsided, even though generally credited as true at the time.

Commissioner Weinstock, who returned to San Diego the day following this statement, remarked that all he had to say in regard to it was that every word in his report was true, and that he was willing to defend it.

Mr. Weinstock was interested in learning just what had been happening since he left town. Messrs. Moore and Robbins, attorneys for the free speech fighters, and Mr. Rawlins, their secretary, had been warned, they claimed, by the Vigilance Committee to desist in their work and to leave town or to take the consequences. The attorneys petitioned for the citation against John Porter and fifteen other vigilantes for contempt of court in interfering with an officer of the law in discharge of his duties and also for the protection from violence. Saturday being a court half-holiday, Judges Guy and Sloane ruled that no protection could be furnished until the following Monday. The attorneys claimed then that they would take steps to protect themselves. Various rumors were afloat. One was to the effect that Attorney Moore had left town. Another that the attorneys and the secretary had barricaded themselves in their office, awaiting the visitation of the vigilantes. It was even rumored that the vigilantes intended to attend to Commissioner Weinstock.

On May eighteenth the Los Angeles *Social Democrat* printed a story by Hawkins, which made public another variety of the vigilantes' cruelty. It was to the effect that nineteen men were taken out of jail and, surrounded by eight mounted and armed officers, were forced, in their weak condition, to run twenty-two miles, to Sorrento, in four hours, and

that every time any one of them slacked up to catch his breath he was beaten over the head with a quirt by the nearest officer. One boy, indeed was forced to commence his trip without shoes. Of him Hawkins wrote: "His feet are in an awful condition, two bloody, swollen stumps."

VIGILANTES DEFY GOVERNOR

In regard to the citation for contempt of court against John Porter and fifteen other vigilantes, argument was held before Judge Guy on Monday the twentieth. Senator Le Roy A. Wright, arguing for Mr. Porter, urged a delay to the following Saturday, which was vigorously opposed by Attorney Moore. Judge Guy finally set the case for the following Wednesday instead. As regards the other fifteen vigilantes, Judge Guy refused Attorney Moore's request to cite them under John Doe proceedings when Attorney Moore was unable to furnish their names. To show the temper of the vigilantes, Mr. Porter admitted advising the attorneys to desist in their procedure, although he denied threatening them with violence. *He said that the vigilantes would pay no attention to Weinstock or the Governor, and that only armed troops would stop them in their course.*

Meanwhile, in the federal probe of the I.W.W., Joseph Meyers and Detective De La Cour were summoned as witnesses, and claimed that the I.W.W.'s had threatened their lives and had been planning to dynamite the city.

The officials of San Diego agreed on certain statements which were published, amounting to a general denial of Mr. Weinstock's report, and basing their objections to street speaking, in effect, on the grounds that the street speakers proclaimed ideas of which they strongly disapproved.

It was then claimed and published that the vigilantes were planning to come out with their work in the daylight. A demonstration was arranged to

take place Wednesday morning before the Court-house when Mr. Porter's case was to come up, which demonstration was to take the form of a large assemblage of "citizens," each displaying the American flag. But when Senator Wright pleaded for postponement, at least until the following Saturday, the demonstration was changed to meet Attorney General Webb on his arrival in San Diego on the twenty-second. On the twenty-first the national Free Speech League sent the following message to the Governor of California: "We protest against the inhuman and illegal conduct of the authorities, citizens and business men of San Diego [if they are as reported in the press despatches] and the assaults on Dr. Reitman and many Industrial Workers of the World" and promised assistance in protecting the constitutional freedom of the I.W.W. Similar dispatches were sent to the Mayor and Chief of Police of San Diego, and asking them to free themselves of the suspicion of their complicity in the matter.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SENT TO SAN DIEGO

Governor Johnson had by this time taken action and directed Attorney General Webb to proceed to San Diego and there enforce the law. He said: "From all over the State came to me appeals to investigate the San Diego situation and these were, in most instances, from others than I.W.W.'s." Then he proceeded to speak of his opinion of Commissioner Weinstock, and of his report he said: "Since Mr. Weinstock's return various other matters have been submitted to me, and I am convinced that Mr. Weinstock's report is substantially accurate. Of course, I have no sympathy with the propaganda of the I.W.W.'s. Organized society or government will be impossible if the teachings of that organization be carried into effect; but no organized society or government can suffer for one

instant a denial of the protection of the law by any locality to any man. . . .

"If San Diego wishes the aid of the State in any just cause, most cheerfully will that aid, upon request, be accorded. But just as certainly will the aid be given to any man, however humble and feeble, whose rights are trampled upon in San Diego, and with exactly the same alacrity will the State endeavor to provide redress for those whose liberty has been wantonly violated. . . .

"It appears that the constitutional rights of certain innocent people in the City of San Diego have been infringed, and in pursuance of the power that is mine I shall direct the Attorney General of the State to proceed to San Diego, that the law may be enforced; that justice may be done; that a solution of the problem confronting San Diego may be found, and to give us thereafter the benefit of his knowledge and experience so that other localities and other cities may be protected. I wish him, as the chief law officer of the State, so far as he can, to afford redress to any who have suffered wrong, and to mete out equal and exact justice to all."

In the face of this vindication of Weinstock's report, and the evidently strong expression of determination to guarantee to San Diegans the constitutional rights which had been denied them by the authorities of the city, it is little wonder that the vigilantes looked forward with anxious curiosity to the arrival of Attorney General Webb, and decided to confine their efforts for the present to meeting him at the station with a large display of American flags. It is also not surprising that Casper Bauer, of the Free Speech League, expressed himself hopeful of the outcome.

Meantime, on May twenty-second, the case against Porter opened with Judges Guy, Sloane and Lewis sitting together. Detective Sheppard

was called as a witness, and proved to have a very faulty memory.

Meantime, with the anticipated advent of Attorney General Webb, or, because of his illness, the possible substitution of Deputy Attorney General Benjamin, it was claimed in the press that the vigilantes were to cease their extra-legal action by night and were to form into a large daylight committee to assist the police only on the police's invitation.

As a result of the notice that Attorney General Webb or Benjamin were to come to town, several of the San Diego authorities, including the now well known District Attorney Utley, expressed in the press their approbation and their willingness to help him. But those fighting for free speech objected to either Webb or Benjamin, because they claimed that both were in sympathy with the vigilantes and that the friends of free speech would not get a square deal from them. Lawrence Todd, in the *Sacramento Star*, brought out suggestions of Governor Johnson's indebtedness to both Senator Wright, defender of John Porter, and John D. Spreckels, chief of the anti-free speech newspapers; and showed that there was a possibility that the Governor's gratitude to these might somewhat temper his justice to the enemies of free speech—although the writer hoped that Governor Johnson was a big enough man to withstand such temptation.

It was also rumored that several I.W.W.'s were planning to return to San Diego and testify before the Attorney General when he began his inquiry. And, on the other hand, it was insinuated in some quarters that a large, peaceful demonstration of citizens which was to meet the Attorney General at the station decorated with American flags, was really, as the *Philadelphia North American* suggested, a plan of quiet intimidation. It was also claimed that Editor Sauer had agreed in the future to run

his paper according to the censorship of the vigilantes. Casper Bauer told of an ineffectual attempt to reach an understanding between the two sides to the controversy.

BIG INTERESTS HELP ACQUIT PORTER

Meantime, the case of John Porter was attracting very great attention. Attorney Moore's attempt to show in the examination the existence of a vigilante system was objected to by Senator Wright, and the objection sustained by Judge Lewis. Much evidence was, nevertheless, produced to show that Porter had used intimidating language to Moore. But Porter was finally acquitted of the charge of being in contempt of court because it was stated that in his talk to Moore, Robbins and Rawlins, he had not made specific reference to the cases in court in which they were interested as attorneys. Porter had admitted, indeed, that he had gone to the police station to see Moore and talk to him about slowing down on his agitation, but he insisted that he told him that the talk was not intended as a threat. He said that he had been advised before he acted that he should not interfere with the proceedings of the courts. He declared that he had this in mind when he talked to Moore and was careful to make no reference to the case in court. However, it cannot be doubted that he knew and intended that Moore should understand his court activities in these cases were included, and that the suggestion so harmless in the words actually used, in the mind of Moore would be related to the experiences of Reitman and others, and so deter Moore from doing his duty to his clients. But none are so blind as those judges who wish not to see. Did the judges also see spectres of themselves tarred and feathered? Anyway, Judges Guy and Sloane said the remedy was an action for assault, not for contempt. Porter was defended by a committee of eight lawyers, representing the Spreckels interests

and the Santa Fe Railroad, all appointed by the San Diego Bar Association. For somehow bar associations sometimes happen to see law and order and free speech just as other respectable and wealthy men view these constitutional rights when exercised by radicals.

The cases seemed to show very clearly how a well advised man can skirt the lake of the illegal, wash his hands thoroughly in it, and yet avoid falling in. When the case was ended, and the judges were leaving the court-room—according to the *San Diego Sun* itself—Porter approached Moore and said with a laugh: "You are a good fighter, anyway, Mr. Moore. I am glad that I kept that crowd away from you at the Cecil Hotel that night."

While waiting for Webb to arrive, San Diego kept up the interest in its affairs by an incident in a café. The proprietor, Rudolph Schulte, had for two days been presenting silk flags to his customers. He approached an Englishman with one, but this gentleman made the protest that he was not an American citizen. Several men at the bar demanded that the Englishman drink a toast to the Stars and Stripes, and he is alleged to have replied: "To hell with the American Flag." Thereupon a small riot ensued, in the midst of which the Englishman made his escape.

But this was not enough to keep up the excitement. Chief Wilson stated that he had unearthed an I.W.W. plot to assassinate four of the San Diego officials. And this served to create newspaper material. Moreover, Julius Wagenheim, a baker, is reported as coming out with an open statement that every citizen of San Diego was ready to shoulder a musket in the defense of his home; and that the vigilantes' action was all right in every respect except that they proceeded by night; which error a daylight league was to remedy.

Finally, Attorney General Webb, with his chief

assistant, Benjamin, arrived in town and stated the following: "Governor Johnson is desirous to learn the truth of conditions in San Diego with respect to the I.W.W. and nothing more. Whether or not my investigation will take any form other than merely co-operating with the local authorities it is too soon to state. . . . I apprehend nothing but the most cheerful willing co-operation by the local officials. . . . Politically, I am affiliated with every public official here.

"It is a serious matter for the State to step in and take the law into its own hands. Realizing this, of course, I shall do all I can to co-operate with the local officials. It is the duty of the State to see that the laws are enforced, and I shall do my best to see that this is done. If I should find that the laws cannot be enforced through the local officials, then I should act accordingly. . . . I believe that a municipality has a right to create a centrally congested district and to maintain the same. But any wrong on the part of the I.W.W. doesn't justify the taking of the law into their hands by a vigilance committee. It is my duty to enforce the law, and I certainly will try to do my duty."

HERALD AT LAST BECOMES INNOCUOUS

On May twenty-fourth a mild issue of the San Diego *Herald* appeared, in which, however, the editor denied that any provision had been made for the censorship of the paper. Following this, other developments were that Chief Wilson claimed that attempts had been made on his life, while, on the other hand, Attorney Moore said he would attempt to have Chief Wilson arrested because it was claimed that it was he who took Secretary Rawlins out of town in an automobile.

The Englishman who had precipitated the riot in the café and whose name was found to be J. J. Evans, was later arrested by Chief Wilson. The prisoner claimed that he had no intention of insult-

ing the American flag, that he was drunk at the time; and he was released with a \$6 fine.

Meantime, patriotic appeals were persistently made to cloud the issue of free speech. A mass meeting of protest was held in Union Square in New York City, and rumors were circulated beforehand to the effect that the American flag was to be desecrated. But nothing of the sort occurred, as Mr. Alexander Berkman, coworker with Emma Goldman, had prophesied it would not. But more pernicious was the attempt to cultivate intolerance of children in San Diego schools' Memorial Day exercises. Captain S. W. Bell, at one of the schools asked the children: "Do you, as coming American citizens, want persons here who will desecrate our flag?" "'No!' thundered a thousand as with one voice," the San Diego *Union* reported.

Free speech advocates would have suggested to the children that if any one desired to desecrate the flag it was their duty as peace loving citizens to make earnest and honest endeavor to discover why such persons no longer had confidence in the flag as truly symbolizing political righteousness and social justice. Having discovered the cause of distrust or disgust, in so far as injustice was the foundation, the cause of complaint then should be removed, and in other respects the complainant's errors should be exposed.

VIGILANTES THREATEN COMMISSIONER WEINSTOCK

Another very interesting development was Colonel Weinstock's speech about conditions in San Diego, at the San Francisco Commonwealth Club. There he stated that he had received anonymous letters threatening him with the same treatment as that accorded Dr. Reitman, if the opportunity occurred. The letter was signed "One of the Citizens' Committee." Colonel Weinstock further stated that Chief Wilson had admitted to him that he had made up his mind not to grant street speak-

ing permits—necessary to conduct speaking in the streets in San Diego—to the I.W.W. or any of their sympathizers. "This," he said, "was transplanting Russian methods to American soil with a vengeance." Of course, a chief of police whose duty it is to enforce the "law," at least in San Diego, should not be expected even to ask what are the rights of citizens, much less to know that our courts, although never overfriendly to liberty, yet uniformly hold that such lawless discretion or power cannot be vested in any official. Perhaps the chief knew the San Diego brand of court better than he knew the law, and this may have given him his great assurance.

Chief Wilson stated that he believed the anonymous letter to Weinstock had been sent by some of the people who had sent threats through the mail to San Diego officials. Moreover, he created a little more excitement by claiming that he heard bullets whiz by his windows, although the reports of the shots must have been muffled by a Maxim silencer.

Dr. Reitman, it was claimed, would not, because of his anarchistic beliefs, prosecute his tormentors, but stated his intention of returning to San Diego to take up the fight. San Diegans were reported in the press as answering this statement by threats that if he and Emma Goldman attempted to return they would treat them "warmly."

A large protest meeting was planned by the San Francisco Labor Council to take place in Dreamland Rink on June 1, 1912.

Attorney Moore was called before the Grand Jury that was probing the I.W.W.

One Charles Roff, one of those indicted by the San Diego Grand Jury for complicity in the shooting affray in which Mickolash was killed, was taken from Los Angeles to San Diego on June twenty-sixth.

One A. B. Carson attempted, on the twenty-seventh, to make a speech outside the restricted district, and before he was finally arrested, was roughly handled and barely escaped serious violence at the hands of a mob.

Socialist committees and others waited on Attorney General Webb, to welcome him and to present evidence. Casper Bauer said that Mr. Webb was like a sponge, in that he would absorb any evidence given to him and would say nothing in return. It was claimed that Editor Sauer's affair was to be made a test case. Also, Attorneys Moore and Robbins were to attempt to get District Attorney Utley to issue a warrant against Chief Wilson for the abduction of Rawlins, and failing in that, were to present that case, too, before Attorney General Webb.

In the Sacramento *Bee* one statement by Webb was at last given, to the effect that he had told the police authorities of San Diego that if they were unable to handle the I.W.W. situation it would be necessary for the State to take charge and that the only way for the Commonwealth to assume control was through martial law.

An incident in the course of events was the return of the Rev. Lulu Wightman with her daughter to San Diego. Mrs. Wightman had left town after the fire hose outrages; but now, with the presence of the Attorney General, decided to return.

It was also stated that several I.W.W.'s were to return. Sheriff Jennings refused to comply with Chief Wilson's request to keep them out of the city, unless they committed some overt act.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Webb, after two days of social recreation, got down to work. The San Francisco *Bulletin* published an article by George P. West condemning the coming of Webb and stating how useless he would be because of his affiliations with the authorities. Mr. Webb con-

sulted several of the authorities privately and finally made a statement which brought out two points: first, he had delivered an ultimatum to Chief Wilson stating—after the Carson disturbance—that if the police could not control affairs in San Diego, the State militia would have to be called out. “My purpose in this visit was to ascertain the ability of the Police Department to control conditions here without assistance,” said Mr. Webb, “to the effect that further violations of law either by residents or non-residents be prevented. I stated to the officials mentioned that past offenses . . . would be attended to in due time and in the proper place; that it was as much the duty of the police to prevent violations of law by members of a committee as by any other person, and as much their duty to arrest such persons for such violations of law, if unable to prevent them.”

The method of attending to past offenses was foreshadowed by two points of Mr. Webb's statement, which were recommendations to disband the present County Grand Jury and to call another for the investigation of the San Diego conditions—which recommendations were adopted by the court.

Thus far Mr. Webb had conducted himself in a way as to leave the way open for the future manifestations of any predispositions which he might harbor, and doing little to offend any one.

Incidentally, the attempt of Attorneys Moore and Robbins to get a warrant on the abduction charge against Chief Wilson was refused by District Attorney Utley.

On May thirtieth, Attorney Webb left San Diego for San Francisco for a few days. His assistant, Mr. Benjamin, remained behind. The Attorney General's statement that things were reaching a sane basis in San Diego seemed to be justified. Superintendent Sehon had issued an appeal to the citizens stating that if necessary some of them might

be called upon to aid the police in the performance of their duties, but that all citizens should refrain from initiating any procedure and strictly abstain from violence. Although Sheriff Jennings refused to keep back any I.W.W.'s who might attempt to cross the county line, Chief Wilson said he was prepared to prevent invasion of the city, and was upheld by Attorney General Webb in his claim of right to do this. Poor men have no right to travel. Attorneys Moore and Robbins, while denying authority of the police, urged that no invasion be made at this time, and that attempts at street speaking should be given up so as to allow the present prisoners to come to trial.

Although a half dozen or so prisoners had unwillingly been released on their own recognizance on account of illness, the attempt of Attorneys Moore and Robbins to have some others so released, who had been incarcerated since February ninth, was refused by Judge Guy.

Another setback in the plans occurred when the present Grand Jury did not adjourn sine die on May thirty-first, as was expected and requested, but adjourned until June fifth. They took the stand that the Attorney General's request was a slur on their integrity. The *Union* seemed to uphold them, while the *Labor Leader* claimed that Webb's desire to disband this jury was a sign that proceedings were to be fair. Nevertheless, of course, their action prevented the impaneling of a new Grand Jury on June third, as had been expected.

Another possibility that had been generally discussed was the calling of a special session of the State Legislature to make special laws to deal with the I.W.W. situation in San Diego and all over the State. When Webb was asked about this, he replied that it was a matter entirely under the control of the Governor.

The *Labor Leader*, in its issue of May thirty-first,

expressed its belief that matters were likely to come, under Webb, to a satisfactory conclusion. Webb had been giving audiences to Sauer, and the free speech attorneys, preparing evidence to be placed before the new Grand Jury. "It appears as if the free speech side and its supporters may be given an equal chance with the officials and vigilantes," said the *Labor Leader*.

There was a large Memorial Day parade, "the biggest in the history of San Diego," according to the *Los Angeles Times*, in which "the American flag was conspicuous everywhere." It did not, however, arouse any excitement.

Following this came a lull. It was said that some of the prisoners tried to break jail, and also that an attempt to wreck a train, according to Chief Wilson, was the work of the I.W.W.

The Free Speech Committee at Dreamland Rink, in San Francisco, on June second, aroused tremendous enthusiasm, although it collected only \$80 for the cause, according to the *Examiner*.

The City Council of San Diego passed a resolution asking Governor Johnson to call an extra session of the Legislature to deal with the I.W.W. situation and suggested the establishment of a State constabulary for the purpose.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION OF I.W.W.

Attorney General Wickersham authorized a Federal Grand Jury to inquire into the I.W.W. at San Diego.

After a few days of quiet, and cessation of street speaking, a man who said that his name was L. A. Schriffin and that he represented no organization, tried to speak on a street corner and some 200 people and several policemen gathered. He was so heckled and annoyed by men said to be prominent in vigilant activities, and by motor hooting, that he finally gave up, though Detective Sheppard ostentatiously appeared to protect him from any violence.

Assistant Attorney General Benjamin witnessed the incident [the police conduct of which I.W.W. partisans declared was merely a "frame-up" to discredit reports of violence to speakers] and expressed the opinion that the worst of the San Diego trouble was over and the police would be able thereafter to handle the situation. The I.W.W. program had been outlined as "one martyr per day" to test the right of free speech on the streets and Schriffin was intended to be offered as the first of these. He announced his intention of trying to speak the next day at the same time and place, but did not appear. The day after that, Paul Fickett, a member of the musicians' union, a simple sort of youth, was beaten up and arrested for handing out Socialist pamphlets on the streets.

Mass meetings of protest were held in San Francisco and elsewhere, at one of which Senator Wright, representing the vigilantes, and Harris Weinstock hotly discussed the accuracy of the latter's report on the San Diego situation to the Governor; and at another Mrs. Fremont Older, wife of the managing editor of the *Bulletin*, a paper which had persistently defended the I.W.W. side of the controversy, aroused great enthusiasm.

The police again circulated the report of many improvised weapons found in I.W.W. cells, attempts to break jail, and other disturbances, also a hunger strike, but in regard to this matter the prisoners reported on their release that bread was refused them because of epithets they applied to Police Chief Wilson, and that for days they were given nothing but water.

A. B. Carson, a reporter from Los Angeles, who was maltreated sometime before for an attempt to speak on the street, was released after a hearing before Judge Bryan, because it was shown that he resisted the policeman who attacked him and who appeared against him, only before and not after

formal arrest. His counter complaint against the brutality of this policeman was given no attention.

Word was received June fifth from the Governor that there would be no extra session of the Legislature called, as the San Diego City Council had petitioned as being necessary to deal with the I.W.W. situation. The anti-Johnson press had steadily tried to show that San Diego was merely a sacrificial goat to be burned on the altar of the Governor's political ambitions and intrigues.

The Grand Jury, whose discharge Attorney General Webb had tried to bring about, insisted that its unfinished work would require at least three months longer to complete, but that a portion of this could be postponed so that the I.W.W. cases could be taken up June seventeenth.

It was about this time that Albert Prashner, who had been arrested in February, together with sixteen others, who said they were Socialists, Single Taxers and members of the I.W.W., was sent to the port of New York for deportation. The incident throws interesting light on the lengths to which San Diego went in this fight against free speech. The city authorities charged Prashner, who was a camera maker, with illegal entry into this country. The evidence against him was not only insufficient but vague and technical only. The hearings were conducted in a "star chamber" manner. He was turned over to the Department of Commerce and Labor and ordered deported. Although the opponents of free speech had successfully engineered the deportation of one Thomas Bowling, a writ of habeas corpus was obtained for Prashner by Mr. Henry Zachs, an attorney in the office of Mr. Simon Pollock, Attorney for the Political Refugee's Defence League, who had been retained in the case by the I.W.W. When the case came to court Mr. Pollock after persistent effort persuaded Assistant U.S. District Attorney Walton that there

had been no adequate cause for action and upon Mr. Walton's advice his department canceled the order for deportation June sixth, and Prashner was released.

A man called variously Joe Dominsky, Andrew Arnold and "Dutch," against whom the Grand Jury had found an indictment in connection with the shooting of Patrolman H. C. Stevens, some weeks previous, created considerable excitement in an alleged confession as to his knowledge regarding the plans of the "anarchist" element in San Diego, but no developments followed his statements and they were finally regarded as a device to ingratiate himself with the local authorities.

SMALLPOX EMPTIES CITY JAIL

On June seventh, because smallpox had broken out in the jail, fifteen I.W.W. prisoners were released. "We knew that smallpox breeds in just such filth as was in our tanks," one of them, Charles Pierce, said, "so we agreed together to plead guilty, but we shall not leave the city." Pierce was a young man of more than ordinary intelligence, who had been in the jail for 118 days. Until the day before his arrest he had been employed on street work. "After our arrest," he continued, "we were thrown into the drunk tank, a cell 16x16, where forty-six of us were crowded for seven days without bedding. *Those of us who couldn't find room on the bare cement floor to sleep had to sleep standing with our feet under others lying on the floor.* The sanitary conditions were terrible. At intervals some of us would be taken out and beaten or choked or kicked for no reason whatever. We were threatened with the injection of formaldehyde into the tank, and later some strangling sort of gas was injected. We had no opportunity to bathe and our condition became so filthy that smallpox would have certainly been fatal."

Each of the sixteen released was sentenced to

FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

thirty days in jail and a fine of \$100, the sentence then being suspended and the men being placed on parole for four months. This emptied the San Diego city prison, but the county jail was still full of I.W.W.'s.

FIGHT RENEWED

The day after this the free speech campaign was renewed with Mortimer Downing's attempt to speak on a street corner within the once restricted district. He was not disturbed by the police, many of whom were present, but was frequently interrupted by cat calls and motor tooting. Mrs. Laura Payne Emerson started to hold a meeting the next day, assuring a protesting policeman that she was there to read from the Bible which she carried, when Mrs. Geneva Yenrick, of the vigilantes, shook her fist in Mrs. Emerson's face and said, "You are not here to read the Bible; you are here to start a riot," and went on to threaten physical violence. The crowd that gathered was finally dispersed without violence from any source.

The police announced a general round-up of I.W.W.'s, "all vagrants" and those "suspected of conspiring to violate any law." Government secret service men were reported as assisting the local authorities in this. The disposition of the large number of prisoners resulting was, however, found to be a serious problem. Many of them were simply dumped beyond the city limits and warned not to return.

POLICE ARM WITH GUNS

Among the more active of the vigilantes there was talk of starting a movement for separate Statehood for southern California as a result of the continued San Diego troubles. A number of "soap box" meetings were broken up either by the police or by vigilantes, the former declaring to their victims that "the temper of the people will not allow us to permit you to speak" and "overripe" eggs

were plentifully in evidence. Superintendent of Police Schon declared that his men were going to rid the town of "every undesirable character." The purchase of rifles for their "own use" was reported and practically admitted by Chief of Police Wilson, though he denied that the fact was in any way connected with the I.W.W. troubles. A Federal Grand Jury investigation of the whole San Diego situation was reported as imminent, but lacked authoritative confirmation. Many of the vigilantes were reported, however, as getting "cold feet," and handbills were distributed, reading: "Patriotic Vigilante Rally. . . . One of us is to appear before Judge Guy to answer to charge of contempt. . . . Some of us stand in the shadow of the penitentiary. All of us may be prosecuted for conspiracy. So far the officers of the law are with us. We must keep them there. . . . This meeting is not called for the purpose of intimidating the court." This was issued on the occasion of the trial of J. M. Porter, as reported by the *Free Press*, July fifteenth.

At a meeting of the San Diego Longshoremen's Union, the I.W.W. faction in it were reported as trying to swing the meeting into active and financial sympathy for the local situation, but failed.

Attorney General Webb and Assistant Benjamin were before the Grand Jury for the greater part of June nineteenth, the Sauer kidnapping case being under consideration. The utmost secrecy about the whole proceeding was preserved by every one concerned. The fight in the cases of E. E. Kirk, Casper Bauer, Harry McKee and eleven others indicted by the Grand Jury for criminal conspiracy to violate the street speaking ordinance, began June twentieth. A Socialist meeting outside of the restricted district was broken up by the police in enforcing the move-on ordinance and many were beaten up. On the twenty-fourth the Grand Jury adjourned

until August thirteenth without returning any indictments.

On June thirtieth, Charles Edward Russell and Mrs. Fremont Older addressed a big outdoor mass meeting in San Diego, on free speech, were unmolested and loudly cheered. Mrs. Older was introduced as "one of the few women who are willing to stand up and be counted as being associated with the right side of the present-day struggle."

FREE SPEECH LAWYER ACQUITTED

Local interest was keen in the trial of Attorney E. E. Kirk, charged also with perjury, before the Superior Court. He was attorney for the Free Speech League at the beginning of the free speech fight, and took a prominent part in the trouble. He was arrested for having sworn that he was born in the United States, though being a native of Toronto. John Bullen, who said he was a cousin of Kirk's, claimed that he was forced to come to the city to testify for the prosecution, the second time, much against his will, the Canadian police threatening to run him out of Canada if he did not. Another interesting feature of the trial was the forced admission of Wilson and other State witnesses that the District Attorney's office had spent money freely in getting them there to testify. The witnesses from Canada were also paid large sums of money. On July thirtieth, Kirk was acquitted and announced that he would run on the Socialist ticket for superior judge.

Acting Chief of Police Myers in announcing that each street speaking case would hereafter be treated separately, said: "If the man on the beat thinks the law is being violated we will stop the meeting, but not until then." Walter Moore, of the vigilantes, said, however, that every attempt to speak on the streets would be prevented by the citizens until an election on the matter of street speaking could be held in San Diego.

According to the *Labor Leader* in re the seventeen free speech advocates charged with "assault with a deadly weapon," as well as violating the street blocking ordinance, whose trial began in San Diego July nineteenth, many of the defendants were not even in the city at the time of the shooting at 13th and K streets. Six of these, including E. E. Kirk, lately acquitted of perjury charge, were found guilty of felony, Attorney H. N. McKee, whose knee cap had been broken by Vigilante Walter Moore and who said he would bring for this a suit for full damages; Jack Whyte, H. Kiser, F. W. Hubbard, and Robert Gausden. Their sentences ranged from six months in jail and a fine of \$300 for the two first named to suspended sentences on probation for four and the rest were discharged.

EIGHT-MONTHS BRAVE FIGHT LOST

F. H. Moore and Marcus W. Robbins, who had been counsel for the Free Speech League and the I.W.W. during the recent fight, left for Los Angeles August thirteenth, to open an office there. "This means that so far as the courts are concerned, the fight in this city is over," Robbins said. It was reported from Sacramento that in almost every mail the Governor's secretaries are receiving resolutions of protest at the failure of Attorney General Webb to secure the indictment of the San Diego vigilantes. August twentieth Casper Bauer's trial came up in the Police Court. Bauer was his own lawyer, and, after several days of interesting proceedings, finally secured acquittal.

The arrest of six men at El Cajon, on August twenty-second, reported as connected with a dynamite plot to blow up the new "Spreckels" Theater, and other public buildings in San Diego, as well as to do various kinds of damage over the border line in Mexico, caused excitement for a time. An "I.W.W. house" at 15th and G streets was raided,

an alleged confession was secured from one prisoner many theories as to the "capture of Lower California," the "invasion of Mexico" and so on, were rife, but the I.W.W. press regarded the whole thing as a "plant" on the part of the police. Chief of Police Wilson announced, however, that the prisoners were to be turned over to the federal authorities. According to United States District Attorney Robinson, a proclamation issued by Taft on March 14, 1912, enabled him to issue complaints against the "dynamiters," which will bring them under the jurisdiction of Washington, and the United States Government will be asked to proceed against the ringleaders as breeders of sedition against this country. On September tenth the Federal Grand Jury took up this investigation, and on September twenty-first returned indictments against all the prisoners on the charge of carrying arms into a territory friendly to the United States. Bonds to the amount of \$2,000 were talked of.

TRUE ESTIMATE OF "LAW AND ORDER"

The excitement in San Diego was now subsiding and the matter left to the courts. In due time some convictions were had and other persons were discharged. Some of those were convicted under an old California statute against a conspiracy to violate the law, which statute was construed to apply to this subsequent municipal ordinance. Some thus convicted were subsequently pardoned. So far as I am informed the savages who, by violence, sought to inspire the I.W.W., the Socialists, Single Taxers and evangelists with new devotion to law and order have not yet been investigated and I suspect that the legal machinery of the State will never be seriously used to bring the real lawbreakers to justice. Maybe it is best that the value of courts should be thus estimated. Maybe this, after all, furnishes us the truest estimate of law and order. Anyway the whole performance does give us a very clear

idea of the value of our courts as protectors of unpopular persons in time of excitement.

One further question remains. Let us make the rather violent assumption that it was the intention of the violent standpatters in San Diego honestly to promote a love for law and order, we may ask if, by any possibility, such methods as they employed could have succeeded? How did they succeed?

A significant item of evidence upon this question is the speech of Jack Whyte, made in open court, upon his conviction of a conspiracy to violate the unconstitutional ordinance against free speaking. This is, perhaps, the most remarkable speech ever made in an American court, and will no doubt be read with amazement, if not admiration, long after the San Diego lawless friends of law and order are forgotten.

PRISONER MAKES REMARKABLE SPEECH

Jack Whyte addressed the court as follows:

"There are only a few words that I care to say, and this court will not mistake them for a legal argument, for I am not acquainted with the phraseology of the bar, nor the language common to the courtroom.

"There are two points which I want to touch upon—the indictment itself and the misstatement of the prosecuting attorney. The indictment reads: 'The people of the State of California against J. W. Whyte and others.' It's a hideous lie. The people of this courtroom know that it is a lie, and I know that it is a lie. If the people of the State are to blame for this persecution, then the people are to blame for the murder of Michael Hoey and the assassination of Joseph Mickolash. They are to blame and responsible for every bruise, every insult and injury inflicted upon the members of the working class and by the vigilantes of this city. The people deny it, and have so emphatically denied it that Gov-

ernor Johnson sent Harris Weinstock down here to make an investigation and clear the reputation of the people of the State of California from the odor that you would attach to it. You cowards throw the blame upon the people, but I know who is to blame and I name them—it is Spreckels and his partners in business, and this court is the lackey and lickspittle of that class, defending the property of that class against the advancing horde of starving American workers.

“The prosecuting attorney, in his plea to the jury, accused me of saying on a public platform at a public meeting: ‘To hell with the courts; we know what justice is.’ He told a great truth when he lied, for if he had searched the innermost recesses of my mind he could have found that thought, never expressed by me before, but which I express now. ‘To hell with your courts, I know what justice is,’ for I have sat in your courtroom day after day and have seen members of my class pass before this, the so-called bar of justice. I have seen you, Judge Sloane, and others of your kind, send them to prison because they dared to infringe upon the sacred right of property. You have become blind and deaf to the rights of men to pursue life and happiness, and you have crushed those rights so that the sacred rights of property should be preserved. Then you tell me to respect the law. I don’t. I did violate the law, and I will violate every one of your laws and still come before you and say: ‘To hell with the courts,’ because I believe that my right to live is far more sacred than the sacred right of property that you and your kind so ably defend.

“I don’t tell you this with the expectation of getting justice, but to show my contempt for the whole machinery of law and justice as represented by this and every other court. The prosecutor lied, but I will accept it as a truth and say again, so that you, Judge Sloane, may not be mistaken as to my attitude: ‘To hell with your courts; I know what justice is.’ ”





Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

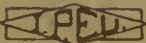
Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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If You're Unorganized Your Pay Is Too Low



391 

To the gandy dancer, the construction worker; to all unorganized workers "whose homes are on their backs" and whose meal table is the pine board of the camps:

You know that you are one of the most useful workers in the country today. Upon your skill, run the railroads, carrying tons of freight made by other workers. Every time you swing a pick you are striking a blow for national defense, for the right of people in

Boston to buy the goods made by the workers in California.

You know that you are the most underpaid body of workers in the United States today. The engineer who drives his train over your rails gets paid a wage you would like to pick up once in a while. The worker—even an unskilled girl—who makes the goods carried in the box cars, gets more wages than you do.

WHY? WHY?

These people have a little common sense. Sense enough to organize and stick together. When wages are low and grub is lousy, they don't run away from the job, they stay and fight for more wages and better working conditions. **And when workers stick together—they can get anything they want.**

The belly robber who feeds you in the camp has made millions selling bum chuck to you. He is not satisfied—he wants more money from you—all he can get. Under the plea that sugar and butter are dear and expensive, he is going to chisel you out of your sugar and butter this coming season. Don't blame HIM—if he can get away with it, YOU should take the blame for allowing him to use the chisel.

The guy who gives nothing to the railroad but his fare can ride in Pullmans and get a good night's rest. He can use toilets and running water. You give your life to the railroad, eight hours of it in work, the rest because you can't go anywhere else. Even if you could go anywhere else, you are generally too damned tired listening to the slave driver during the eight hours to care about going.

YOU MAKE A STAKE!

You work your guts out under terrible conditions, deny yourself a lot of little luxuries during the summer. You come to town—you haven't got cash enough to go to a good dump—you hit the skidroads. There you find

an animal you should despise and abolish—the dirty jack-roller. YOU get robbed and get sore. YOUR BUDDY gets robbed and you laugh. The jack-roller is laughing at you both.—He knows you are not organized.

In some sections of the country living and working conditions are better than in others. Where they are better, IWW organization and agitation has made them so. In few gandy camps are conditions above the hog-pen level—and not much above the level of the hog-pen at that. What little you get in the “better” places you owe to your fellow workers who put up an organized fight for conditions, as on the Milwaukee in 1937.

Live like a hog on the job if you like. Feed on garbage if you like garbage. Go behind the bushes on a rainy night if you like to get your hide wet. Boil up in tin buckets, if you like to spend your money for the clothes you waste washing like this. Pick up nickels for hard work under rotten conditions if you like, nickels instead of dollars. Get clouted over the head by a jack-roller if you'd rather be on the bum than in a nice home during the winter.

IT'S UP TO YOU

You might like to be a MAN not a louse. And MEN carry union cards. A Wobbly card in your pocket will put dollars in the pay envelopes of all migratory workers. It will put a song—and self respect into your own heart. It will cost you very, very little.

The I. W. W. is a union of WORKERS not labor skates—its dues are the kind a worker can afford to pay. Its business is done by the workers on the job, and in their union halls—not by officials in plush lined offices.

Be a slave and live like a hog, work like a mule, feel like a bum; or be a Man, be a union man, be a Wobbly, and live and work like a human being.

IT'S UP TO YOU!



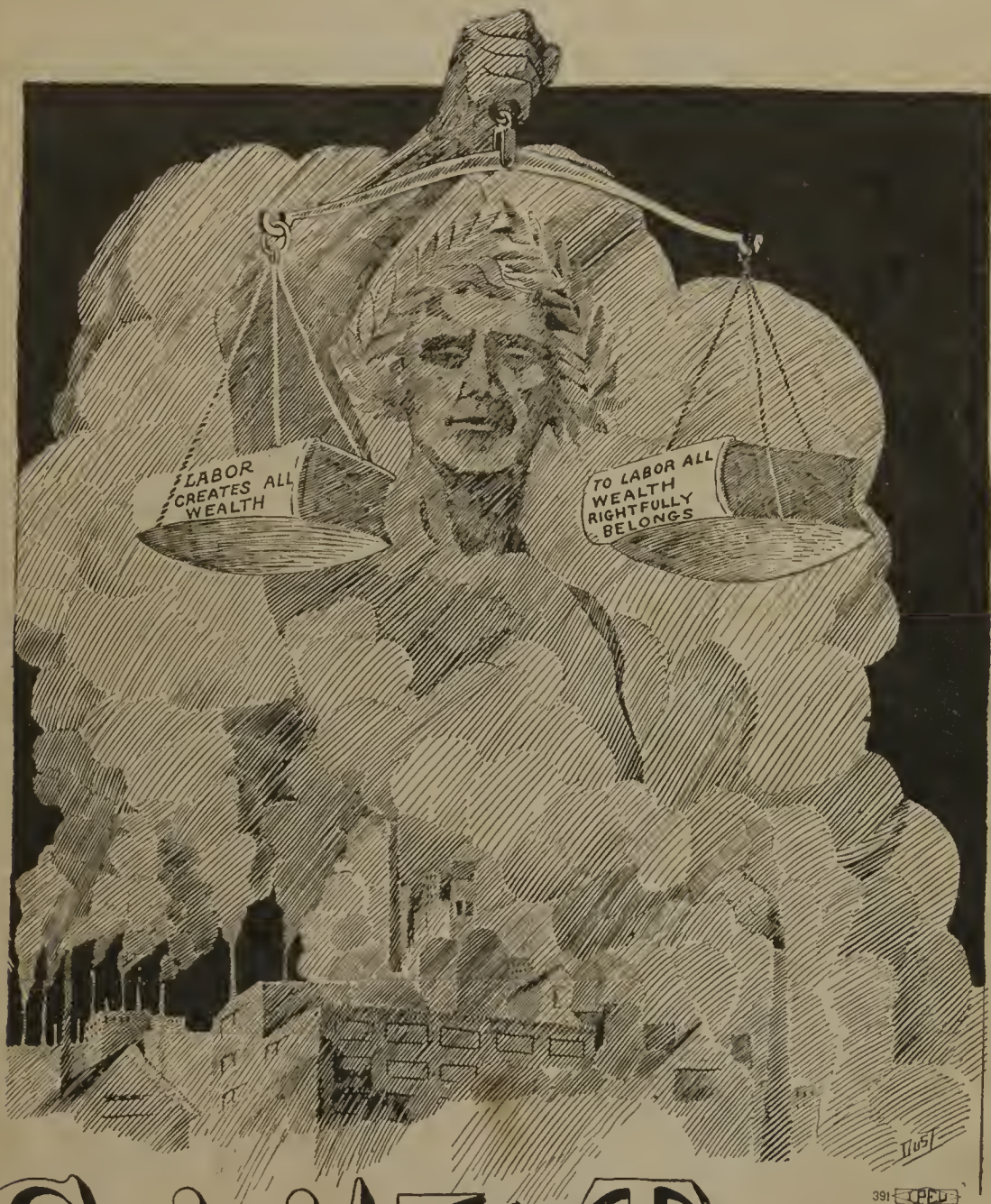
Don't just dream about better days—organize and make them better.

If it's too far to an I. W. W. hall and you don't find a delegate on your job, write to I. W. W. Headquarters, 2422 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill., for information about the only union that has ever helped the migratory worker to help himself.



Defendants Exhibit P.

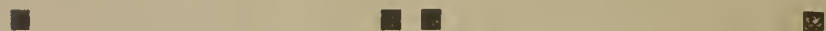
The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W.



The Spirit of the Times

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD



The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

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We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

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Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W.

We wish to begin this brief **statement of the I. W. W. position towards immediate demands** by quoting the last paragraph of the preamble to our constitution:

“It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized **not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists**, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.”

Immediate Demands In First Place.
Ultimate Demands In Second Place.

If we examine this paragraph thoughtfully we will see that the I. W. W. fully recognizes the everyday struggle with the employing class. In fact, the writers of the preamble take it as a matter of course that the first function of a labor union is to make immediate demands in regard to wages, hours and conditions and to fight for them, giving second place to the ultimate function of the I. W. W., i. e., to build industrial unions which are to serve as organs of production and distribution in a new society.

[PAGE THREE]

New Society Several Years Off.

In the years that have passed since the preamble was written, things have changed greatly. Capitalism and its organs of production and distribution are breaking down in one country after another, that is, the capitalist system functions unsatisfactorily or not at all. Notably is this the case in Russia, Germany and Austria, the collapse in the latter country being so complete that the industrial breakdown has been followed by a breakdown of government, due to lack of revenue, thus proving the I. W. W. contention that it is a waste of time for the workers to attack or capture capitalist government.

But even in the U. S. A., the last important stronghold of capitalism, the old organs of production and distribution function with great and ever increasing irregularity. The recent breakdown and suspension of work in such great industries as steel production, coal-mining, meat-packing and railroad transportation are all indications of a progressive collapse even here. The organism of world capitalism is dying by inches, but still it has unquestionably, several years to live in this and many other countries.

Under these conditions the second function of the I. W. W.—forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old—assumes greater importance than the writers of the I. W. W. Preamble ever dared to hope for in such a short time, and overshadows the first function, if we look at the matter from the elevated viewpoint of a social master engineer or highbrow sociologist, at whose door the wolf never calls, and who does not know what it is to be hungry, unclad or shelterless. And it is well that the ultimate aim of the I. W. W. should thus be kept steadily in view. The moment we lose sight of this our final goal the I. W. W. ship is off its right course and getting in dangerous waters.

The Workers' Needs Can't Wait.

But—the realization of this ultimate program, which we should always keep in mind, is at the best several

years off. Such a gigantic establishment as the world's economic mechanism cannot be revolutionized in a day, in a month, or in a year. It cannot be changed by orders from the top. Society is a living organism like man himself and not a dead structure like a house or a pyramid. It cannot be constructed according to arbitrary plans or dogmas. It has to grow, like a plant or an animal, in accordance with nature's laws, rather than according to man's desires. It will be many years yet before the masses have learned to adjust society in accordance with these laws and get the new society in good working order, even if the masses had understood and accepted the interpretation of those laws contained in the I. W. W. program. As it is, we have, as yet, been able to reach only a part of the people with our message of economic salvation. If we were to become so fascinated by the vision of a new society, through the long distance telescope of our imagination, that we dropped everything else, we, the workers, would very soon be brought down to earth by the vigorous protests of an empty stomach.

For that reason it is always well for the workers to keep their feet firmly on the ground of merciless reality, while drawing inspiration and hope from a peep behind the curtain which separates us from the future.

Not for a moment should the workers forget the everyday battle with the employers. On the vigorous carrying on of that battle rests our hope of ultimate success in our undertaking to abolish wage slavery. If we shirk that battle and merely engage in social stargazing, the new I. W. W. society will forever remain a fanciful dream.

Thus the two functions of the I. W. W.—the immediate and ultimate—go hand in hand. They supplement each other and are equally necessary.

Immediate Needs — Immediate Demands.

Even if hours and conditions are relatively satisfactory, it is very seldom that a worker is getting enough to support his family or educate his children as he wishes to do it, or as it should be done.

Ninety and nine percent of the workers labor or live under **conditions** which could and should be improved, and of these there are millions upon millions—men, women and children—who work and live under conditions which are simply damnable and scream to high heaven. They work and live under conditions which ruin their health and their morals, rapidly making them the victims of disease and degeneracy, which is frequently the only inheritance they leave to their children—when home and family life is not simply out of question for them altogether, as is often the case.

“A bird in the hand is worth ten on the bush,” says the proverb. So, to these workers on their road to destruction **immediate relief** is worth ten paradises in the future. For what good is an earthly paradise to the one who is killed by bad conditions before he gets there, or to the one who is too degenerated physically and morally to enjoy even a paradise, or whose offspring is too stunted bodily and intellectually to measure up to the standard of manhood?

To check this mad race down the inclined plane leading to destruction (recent official statistics show, for instance, that 5 men out of 8 are sexually diseased before the age of 28—Dr. Bundesen, Chicago Board of Health) —an **immediate demand for improved working and living conditions** in every place of work and abode should rise, tens of millions strong, from an outraged and desperate proletariat.

“**Up and at them!**” should be the worker’s motto at all times in their relations with the employers. If the workers keep silent and endure conditions as they are, the employers will never move a finger to improve them. The wages must be raised so we can get better food, clothing and shelter and check the dissolution of family life by creating homes of our own. The hours must be lowered, so that we may get a better rest, keep more clean and get more time for study and wholesome recreation. The place of work should be made to conform to the highest sanitary requirements and the burden of work should be so distributed among the masses as to promote health and life rather than destroy them.

I. W. W. Sets A Good Example.

Right here is where the I. W. W. has already set a good example.

Those who are old enough to remember the working and living conditions of, for instance, the migratory workers in the opening years of this century and earlier, before the I. W. W. was born, in the construction or the lumber camps, in the wheatfields or in the hopfields, will still shudder at the thought of them and bend their heads in sorrow at the recollection of all the ghastly misery they and their fellow workers had to pass through. To take a job of that kind in those days was to take a plunge into hell itself, and hope there seemed to be none. To become a migratory worker was like saying goodbye to life forever.

It was then that **the I. W. W. came as a real savior**, a child whose father was gruesome economic necessity and whose mother was the rising tide of working class education. Its message of salvation through industrial organization and solidarity carried the force of divine revelation. The already doomed outcast straightened up his back and could see the blue sky of hope once more.

In a few years the I. W. W. message had penetrated, slowly but surely, to almost every camp in the country. Driven by necessity, the workers organized in the I. W. W., and as soon as they began to feel the thrill of organized power tingling in their blood and in their nerves and became conscious of their manhood, they made demands on the employers for improved working and living conditions more in keeping with their new-gained human status, and they usually got what they asked for.

The condition of these workers is still far from what it ought to be, but it is an undeniable fact that through the immediate demands of these I. W. W. members the worst terrors of migratory life were done away with, and, besides, there they stood with the embryo of an organization in fighting trim, ready to make new immediate demands, including demands for shorter hours and better wages.

There is one general conclusion we can draw from this early I. W. W. experience, and that is, that the easiest and most natural way to begin the attack upon the employers is to demand the abolition of abuses which even the dumbest worker cannot fail to see. Having once gathered the workers for common action on a small scale in this way, it is only a question of "striking while the iron is hot." Before the first little victory is forgotten they come with new immediate demands. Each such job battle strengthens the organization and gives new hope and increased vitality.

Thus, by jointly making immediate demands and backing them up with the pressure that lies in speaking jointly, and in a snappy show of unity and solidarity, many points were gained without an open battle. In other cases it became necessary to resort to strikes and boycotts or "strikes on the job". Through such persistent efforts under the I. W. W. banner, coupled with a strenuous educational campaign, the migratory workers have in most places won a chance to work and live under something like human conditions, where they before were treated worse than a chattel slave ever was.

The Eight Hour Day and the "Living Wage".

It was through these successive immediate demands that the workers in the lumber industry and the construction industry finally got to the point where they could make a stand, here and there, for the eight hour day and "a living wage", whatever that is.

It was through such "pyramiding" of immediate demands that the agricultural workers in the wheatfields, after many years of patient and tireless effort, finally have got to the point where the employers in this line take it for granted that they have to "come through" when the I. W. W. makes an immediate demand, whether it be for bedsprings and clean sheets and towels, meat without worms, abolition of work by lantern light as hurtful to the eyes, or a little additional wages to replenish the wardrobe.

It is by proving to the workers that they can "make good" through their organized power and enforce such immediate demands that the influence of the I. W. W. is deepening and broadening from year to year, in spite of all its enemies, open and disguised,—deepening in industries already partly organized, such as agriculture, lumbering, metal mining, construction and marine transportation, and broadening into new, or partly new fields, such as the oil industry, coal-mining, meat-packing, railroad transportation, etc.

The immediate demands for improved conditions, shorter hours and better pay are the rallying cries by means of which we can wake up the dormant mind of the average worker and get him with us so that we can educate him for efforts of a higher order, such as building the structure of a new society.

I. W. W. Follows the Law of Economic Necessity

Everything in nature follows the line of least resistance, in obedience to the fundamental law which in physics is called "the law of gravitation." Any attempt to work against this fundamental law can meet with only temporary, limited and illusory success.

The law of gravitation transplanted into sociology becomes the **Law of Economic Necessity**.

Economic necessity under given conditions shapes the course of humanity as a whole, as well as of the individual, just as gravity, under given conditions shapes the course of water from snowy mountain peaks to the deep sea.

Human progress consists largely in discovering, interpreting and following the irresistible will of "Nature." It is when human beings fail to adjust their institutions to the demands of economic necessity that social trouble begins, resulting sometimes in such catastrophic situations as the world is in at present.

Economic necessity now demands the abolition of private ownership and control of the means of produc-

tion and distribution and their taking over by the people.

Interpreting the law of economic necessity in that manner, the I. W. W. seeks to gather the workers into unions which will serve as new organs of production and distribution, and we depend upon economic necessity to force the workers into those unions rather than upon dogmas and theories.

Any attempt of the workers to build organizations on anything else than the economic necessity, that is crowding us so terribly, will sooner or later meet with failure, as is the case with the dogma and theory-bound movements of political socialism which would reconstruct society from the top downward in accordance with programs expressing the special economic urge of the would-be leaders of the working class in revolution, instead of the economic urge behind the mass of the workers. Russia, Germany and Austria are terrible examples at the present time of what happens to people who buck the law of economic necessity. It is "monkeying with the buzz-saw" of nature with disastrous results. Other peoples should heed the warning.

The I. W. W. has from the beginning followed the law of economic necessity. **The immediate demands** are the tangible expressions of this law of economic necessity. The terrible resistance the I. W. W. is meeting is not nature-made but man-made. It comes from those who think they can stop economic evolution with jails and bayonets, dogmas and theories. There can be no doubt who will win in the end.

As long as the I. W. W. is thus building its unions and councils under the legitimate pressure of economic necessity, rather than under the compulsion of dogmas and theories, it is building on bedrock and in accordance with the laws of nature. That is why all hell cannot destroy or uproot the I. W. W. while disaster is imminent for the dogmatic movements which try to save their theories by sacrificing the people, and the craft union movement which fails to adjust itself to the demands of economic necessity.

Worker's Brain Reached Through His Stomach

For that reason, **wherever the yoke of wage slavery presses, make an immediate demand for relief**, in obedience to the law of economic necessity. It is sure to gain more attention than shelves of books, or theories.

When you appeal to the worker's immediate material interest you strike right home and he is with you. In the immediate demand you can hear his own voice.

In nine out of ten cases (as educational statistics prove) the worker's mind is too untrained to grasp a plan for a world-wide and revolutionary reconstruction of society. He will gradually wake up to that later on. But the first appeal to his sense of solidarity is apt to be most successful if it is made to the stomach instead of to the intelligence. The workers born as god-like, intelligent idealists who could sacrifice their own immediate economic welfare in the interest of the welfare of all humanity are easily counted. The big mass are "gross materialists" who move only in obedience to economic necessity, like a herd of buffaloes, and can only gradually acquire the power of unselfish social vision. But such workers are still the material of which the new society is to be made, if it is to be made at all.

Road To Emancipation Paved With Immediate Demands

This leaflet is primarily directed to those workers who have already succeeded in reaching a state of mind development which makes it possible for them to make conscious and intelligent effort towards the abolition of wage slavery.

We hope to have convinced you that the law of economic necessity is such a vital factor in our life that no limited group of men or political party can abolish wage slavery by merely conspiring or co-operating to capture the political offices and the government buildings. Such procedure would only give the people a new master, a bureaucratic autocracy.

We hope you can see as plainly as we that the economic structure of society cannot be successfully changed from the top downward, but that it must be done from the bottom upward; in other words, that "the emancipation of the workers must be their own work." We also hope you agree with us that the workers can drive away the shirkers and take real possession and control of the world's resources only by beginning at the bottom, that is, by **organizing on the job**, by making one immediate demand on top of another, and thus gradually **growing into control** of the industries and throwing off the control of the shirkers, much as man conquered the wilderness, drove away the beasts of prey and **grew** into actual and effective control of every foot of ground by labor. This is organic social growth as differentiated from mere violent conquest. It is in the capacity of workers that men have taken the earth away from the lion, the tiger and the bear, and not through politics or war. It is as workers we shall again grow into control of the earth along I. W. W. lines and not as politicians or as soldiers.

As politicians or soldiers we might gain possession and control of a library, by authority or by bayonets, but the knowledge stored in that library would never be ours unless we humbly sat down and studied the books.

As politicians and soldiers we might take forcible possession of the industries, but they would in reality belong to and be controlled by a bureaucracy until we take complete and actual possession of them through our unions and learn how to run them through the union by way of "immediate demands". Those who promise to the workers their emancipation from wage-slavery by any other route are simply deceiving them, in order to get into power themselves.

The road to our emancipation is paved with "immediate demands" successfully fought for and not with "revolutionary" phrases or political dogmas. Real control of the industries is gained, not by means of bayonets held by our hands, but by means of knowledge held by our brains and by intelligently organized and co-ordinated economic action.

Not for a moment should we lose sight of the ultimate aim—building the framework of the new society within the shell of the old—but the immediate demands fought for and won are the cement which gradually binds us together into the unions forming that structure. Besides, the gradual control thus gained is our schooling in world management, which is necessary.

General Demands and Specific Demands

In this brief leaflet we have classified the immediate demands into three groups—wages, hours and conditions. We have spoken in a general way only. When it comes to actual practice of the action here outlined in general terms, the workers of each industry have to work out their own demands. That will be the work of the different industrial unions or their branches.

Workers—get together and let your voice be heard. Make a set of immediate demands on the employers which will check the steady trend toward degradation. Take advantage of the situation thus arising to get your fellow workers into your industrial union, so that they may have power to enforce those demands and come with new ones. At the other end of that line of action lie industrial control through the union, abolition of wage slavery and a new society.

Go after the employers with an endless string of immediate demands.

Up and at them!

For proper co-operation on the widest possible scale get in touch with your industrial union of the I. W. W. or with the main office of the I. W. W., under address,

**GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER,
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD**
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

If you are an Agricultural worker, write to:

A. W. I. U. 110,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

If you are a Lumber worker, write to:

L. W. I. U. 120,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

If you are a General Construction worker, write to:

G. C. W. I. U. 310,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

If you are a Metal Machinery worker, write to:

M. M. W. I. U. 440,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

If you are an Oil worker, write to:

O. W. I. U. 230,
218 Culbertson Building,
Oklahoma City, Okla.

If you are a Marine Transport worker, write to:

M. T. W. I. U. 510,
Box 69, Station D,
New York, N. Y.

If you are a Coal miner or a Metal miner, write to:

M. & C. M. W. I. U. 210-220,
318 No. Wyoming St.,
Butte, Montana.

If you are a Railroader, write to:

R. R. W. I. U. 520,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

All other Unions are under the direct supervision of the General Executive Board and information concerning them will be given gladly by

The General Secretary-Treasurer,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

AGREEMENTS

Any agreement entered into between the members of any union or organization and their employers, as a final settlement of any difficulty or trouble which may occur between them, shall not be considered valid or binding until the same shall have the approval of the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World.

No union of the general organization, Industrial Department or Industrial Union of the I. W. W. shall enter into any contract with an individual or corporation of employers binding the members to any of the following conditions:

(a) Any agreement wherein any specified length of time is mentioned for the continuance of the said agreement.

(b) Any agreement wherein the membership is bound to give notice before making demands affecting hours, wages or shop conditions.

(c) Any agreement wherein it is specified that the members shall work only for employers who belong to an association of the employers.

(d) Any agreement that proposes to regulate the selling price of the product they are employed in making.

(e) No Industrial Union, or any part of the Industrial Workers of the World shall enter into agreement with any labor organization contrary to the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

Has a

Universal Initiation Fee

Universal Monthly Dues

Universal Transfer System

Universal Delegate System

Universal Label



And is a

Universal Industrial Organ-
ization.

*In the Superior Court of the
State of California, in and for
the County of Los Angeles.
The People of the State of California.*

Join It!

No. 18334 vs.

Leonard et al.

DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT

P.

Filed

FEB 14 1923

By *W. M. Donald* Deputy

Deputy

INDUSTRIAL

COMMUNISM

—The
I.W.W.



5AM.

By
Harold Lord Varney

PRICE 5 CENTS

been slowly lifting the structure which has made freedom, at last, possible.

This structure is machinery. And the threshold of freedom—paradoxical as it may seem—is capitalism. When the world reorganized itself upon a capitalist basis, it changed freedom from a Utopia to a practical program. Capitalism is a world ruled by the owners of machinery. Today these world rulers are the handful of plutocrats who have monopolized the ownership of the new machinery. To gain freedom, we need merely expropriate them. Let labor own the machinery! Then labor will at last rule the world, and freedom will come. Such was the new conception of liberty which shaped itself in the early years of the 19th century, and which took the name of communism.

The period of groping passed. Labor began to realize that freedom is not to be gained through religious struggles. Labor began to learn that freedom does not come through the futilities of political democracy. Labor became conscious of the fallacy of individualism, and the hopelessness of single-handed struggle. All the old Utopias suddenly withered. Freedom awoke in the form of class-consciousness. Its program became the class struggle. The diagram of the revolution was at last chiseled out. It disclosed two classes in society—the working class and the employing class. The program of freedom was to overthrow the employing class. Society would then be reintegrated about a working-class commune. This, in brief, is the message of the Communist Manifesto—given by Marx to the working class in 1848. And with the penning of this Communist Manifesto, the dream of freedom at last became a scientific program.

Today, there are two great world movements of the working class, built upon the Marxian program of the Communist Manifesto. One in Europe, and one in America, they divide the revolutionary proletariat of the world between. In Europe it is the Bolsheviki, or Communists, who carry on the tradition of Marx. In the United States it is the I. W. W.

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the Socialist leaders of that period because of its incredible simplicity. It offered to accomplish a world revolution without the striking of a blow. It promised to create a new world without the breaking of a law. And what was perhaps more important, in the minds of the leaders, it entailed no danger. One could be a Socialist and still be respectable. One could be a socialist and be safe from jail. One could even find a career in political Socialism, for there were offices to be filled and Parliaments to be elected to.

But this "safety-first" political program soon reacted upon its believers. Socialism became a profession—and not a revolution. Socialists began to enter politics—not in order to overthrow capitalism, but in order to "play the game." The Socialist parties began to acquire large holdings of property—newspapers, people's houses, clubs, co-operatives, etc.—and the property instinct whetted their respect for the law. And, although the Social Revolution of Marx was to be a proletarian revolution, the Socialist parties began to be swamped with intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie.

The latter soon dominated. The spokesmen of the working class ceased to be workingmen. The elected representatives in the Parliaments were increasingly bourgeoisie. The whole spirit and atmosphere of the Second International became opportunistic and feeble. Even the old-time rebels—the Bebels, the Guesdes, the Keir Hardies—drifted with the current and forgot the revolution. In those final years before the deluge of the world war, the Second International had already become a pale and stricken thing. It still mumbled of Marx but it needed but one shock to turn it into chauvinism.

BOLSHEVISM

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With the beginning of the war three types of Socialists developed. To use Lenin's classification, they were:

- (1) The Social Patriots.
- (2) The Social Pacifists.
- (3) The Communists, or Zimmerwaldians.

In the fall of 1915 an international conference was convened at Zimmerwald, in Switzerland. Those minorities which had constituted the Left Wing in the Second International were invited. This included the Social Pacifists (followers of Kautsky), and the Communists (dominated by Lenin). The object of Zimmerwald was to form a Third International. But the conference split again. The Social Pacifists, like the frankly Social Patriots, were infused with middle class leaders and middle class irresolution. They refused to follow Lenin and Liebknecht in a secession from the old, moribund Second International. They had learned no lesson from the war and they wished to go back to the old status quo.

But the Bolsheviki, after the Zimmerwald fiasco, ruthlessly proceeded to form a new movement. They abandoned the name of Socialist, as one sullied by history. They returned to Marx and revived his old name of Communist.

The program which they united upon has since passed into the law of Russia. And this program was a slavish adaptation of Marx's Communist Manifesto. They would overthrow the political state and establish an industrial democracy. They would mercilessly expropriate the bourgeoisie and organize unions of the workers in every industry to take over and

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nationalized the industries by transferring their ownership to this existing political state. But this would have been mere government ownership—or State Capitalism. And this final condition would have been no better than the first, to the enslaved industrial workers. Communism meant something more than that.

On the other hand, Russia had practically no economic organizations of the industrial workers, as other nations had. Under the Czar labor unions had been illegal, and the organizations which had borne that name were mostly counter-revolutionary. There seemed to be no authoritative voice in Russia which could speak for the proletariat and assume the mastership of industry. It was necessary, then, to create it.

Hence arose the Soviets. The origin of the Soviets is traditional rather than historic. The Soviets were essentially mass movements. There was nothing scientific in their formation. They were great, diaphanous mass groupings which came together now, as they had come together before in the 1905 Revolution. But in times of crisis instinct is sometimes the truest guide. And the instinct which led the Russian people to hit upon the device of Soviets, in this tense moment, was a fateful one. In forming their Soviets they bridged the gap to the industrial democracy.

The slogan of the Bolshevik revolution was, "All power to the Soviets!" The first act of the new regime was to abolish the political state. In Engels' prophetic language, "the political state died off." The Soviets stepped into the vacant place and became the new government of Russia.

The Soviets, in the Communist plan, are only transitory institutions. They are the machinery by which the huge problems of Russia can be administered during the transition period to complete Communism. Bolshevism claims that human progress is the work of the class-conscious, highly organized minorities. That the great stupid mass of the race cannot inaugurate changes; that they only follow behind the

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Side by side with the Soviets are the industrial unions. These unions are not a survival of the old craft bodies. They are new, revolutionary organizations. After the victory of the proletariat the workers in every industry organized. They took over the factories, expropriated, in most cases, the capitalist owners and abolished exploitation. These unions have been integrated together into a Central Trade Federation. The workers are organized scientifically, according to product rather than (in the old craft style) according to tool. Workers pass from union to union, at their will, as in the I. W. W.—unions of metal workers, miners, transport workers, textile workers, construction workers, leather workers, etc.—and constitute a great industrial pattern, in which the mold of Russian communism is slowly being run. And at Moscow sits the Executive Committee of the Federation, with power over all the INTERNAL affairs of the industries. The setting of wages, the apportioning of output, the distribution of rations, the insurance and relief of workers, their technical education and their recreations are decided by this Executive body, which they have chosen from their industrial unions.

Parallel with the Executive of the Trade Federation is the Commissariat of Public Economy, which is chosen by the Soviets. And this Commissariat, as we have before related, is the supreme arbiter in the EXTERNAL relations of the industrial unions. It is thus that the industries are administered.

Such, after eighteen months, is the communism of Russia. It is incomplete, of course. Mistakes and miscalculations have crusted over the plans of the Bolsheviki like barnacles. During all these tragic

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THE I. W. W.

THE I. W. W. springs from a much different train of traditions. It is not, like Bolshevism, a sprout of political Socialism. It does not hark back to the futile Second International for its origin. It did not come brain-blown from the theories of intellectuals or book-writers. It was a growth—a spontaneous product of capitalistic despotism.

Nor is the I. W. W. a mere branch of world labor unionism. Many writers, haunted by the European Syndicalist viewpoint, picture the I. W. W. as essentially a part of the labor union movement—an American Syndicalism. But this viewpoint fails to consider the abysmal difference between the European trade unionism, with its extreme Syndicalist wing, and American industrial unionism. The difference is one of goal. This difference shadows all the aspects of the contrast. For trade unionism, even in its most progressive, Syndicalist stage, is the organized expression of historic Anarchism. But the industrial unionism of the I. W. W. is essentially Marxian and Communistic. The former is autonomous and decentralized. The latter is integral and highly centralized. Syndicalism is anachronistic; it mirrors a past mode of economic production; its highest goal is a sort of revived, mediaeval guild-industry. But the I. W. W. believes that capitalism is one of the stages of the Social Revolution; that capitalism, notwithstanding its evils, has erected a scientific scaffold for our industrial life, and that the new society will grow out of capitalism by patterning itself upon the model of the existing economic structure. And since capitalism has accomplished its wonders by centralizing and trustifying all the riches of the world, revolution must build its machine of opposition in the same centralized form. Which, of course, is the traditional Communist program.

In other words, the I. W. W. occupies a position midway between international Socialism and International trade unionism. It differs from the former because it is non-political and proletarian. It differs

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The working class learn class-consciousness in the primer of class victory. Successful strikes inspire larger and bolder battles. The proletariat feed upon their own successes, and every improvement in life sharpens labor's appetite. The I. W. W. is essentially Marxian in this tactic, for the theory of revolutionary unionism is but the application of economic determinism to our program. A victorious industrial unionism would invent a revolutionary object even if one did not exist. The organized proletariat are driven on inexorably by economic determinism; by the consciousness of their power to take the world. It is through this psychological truth that unionism and revolution merge.

Moreover, there is a distinct revolutionary gain in the fruits of these strikes. For any gain in wages must come from the masters' profits. Any shortening of hours means a reduction in the number of unemployed, and the diminution of unemployment automatically raises wage standards. These successive gains in wages are accompanied by corresponding falls in profits. Surplus value is reduced. The iron law of wages is abrogated. Capitalism itself slowly expropriated by a gradual equilibration of income. And every such assault weakens the sagging wall of capitalism's economic power.

Secondly, the I. W. W. is a revolution. The form of its organization dooms capitalism. Not only is the I. W. W. prepared to wage the every-day struggle against capitalism, within the existing system, it is the machine by which the existing system shall be completely overthrown.

The genius of the I. W. W. lies in the fact that the same mechanism which can be employed so successfully in wage conflicts is the nucleus of the final mechanism which shall abolish the wage system entirely. It is this revolutionary goal which differentiates the I. W. W. from all organizations which exist merely for the present. Unlike the trade unions, the I. W. W. organizes always with a view to the ultimate revolution.

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And the third function of the I. W. W. carries us over beyond the revolution. For when the proletariat shall have overthrown capitalism, the I. W. W. will stand, ready-made, the pre-established government of the new order. It will not be necessary to call constituent conventions. It will not be necessary to create soviets. It will not be necessary to lavish the precious energies of the proletariat in desperate experiments of politics. For the I. W. W. which shall have fought the revolution, will also pass over as the framework of the new communism. The existing parliamentary government will crumble into uselessness. The existing industrial unions will become the supreme national power. Each industrial union will expropriate the capitalists from its industry. The functions of industrial management will be taken over by the union. All kindred unions will be integrated into general departments. Each department will have its representative on the general executive board. And this G. E. B. will be the supreme executive of the nation—taking over the political as well as the industrial functions of society. As Daniel De Leon said in 1905, "Where sits the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.—there sits the government of the future!" And this new administrative machinery will simply be a continuation of the industrial union movement which the I. W. W. has already created.

The I. W. W. thus spans all the needs of the labor struggle. It meets the impetuous demand of present-day grievances with a unionism which is crushingly effective. It meets the ideal of the ultimate social revolution with a mechanism by which that revolution can be waged. And it meets the acute problems of the post-revolutionary period with a scientific framework, which the new society can group itself around. In the I. W. W. program there is need for no other movement but the I. W. W. itself.

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And the third function of the I. W. W. carries us over beyond the revolution. For when the proletariat shall have overthrown capitalism, the I. W. W. will stand, ready-made, the pre-established government of the new order. It will not be necessary to call constituent conventions. It will not be necessary to create soviets. It will not be necessary to lavish the precious energies of the proletariat in desperate experiments of politics. For the I. W. W. which shall have fought the revolution, will also pass over as the framework of the new communism. The existing parliamentary government will crumble into uselessness. The existing industrial unions will become the supreme national power. Each industrial union will expropriate the capitalists from its industry. The functions of industrial management will be taken over by the union. All kindred unions will be integrated into general departments. Each department will have its representative on the general executive board. And this G. E. B. will be the supreme executive of the nation—taking over the political as well as the industrial functions of society. As Daniel De Leon said in 1905, "Where sits the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.—there sits the government of the future!" And this new administrative machinery will simply be a continuation of the industrial union movement which the I. W. W. has already created.

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Let us organize a militant minority of the proletariat, they say. Let us seize upon every mood of the mob, to bend the mob to the control of this minority. Let us conduct unorganized, emotional political strikes. Let us parade and sing and stir the passions of the masses on the street. Let us finally act with quick precision, at some psychological moment of unrest, and seize the physical machinery of the political government, as Lenin has done in Petrograd. Let us set up a dictatorship of blood and iron. This is our meaning of political action.

And it is upon this point that the industrial communist takes issue with the political communist—the I. W. W. with the Bolsheviki. The fact that such a method has been seemingly successful in Russia is no argument for its application elsewhere. And, although the Bolsheviki have attained some measure of Communism through these tactics, the I. W. W. claims that Communism would have been far more successful had Russian conditions permitted a social revolution of the industrial rather than of the political type. The industrial communist believes that Russia has proven the case for industrial unionism, and not for political insurrection. In calling attention to this contrast the I. W. W. does not seek to minimize or criticize in any sense the Bolsheviki. Lenin and his party were placed in a position where they were obliged to act. They had no choice of tactics. They had no opportunity to build scientifically for the future. Russia was a land where industrial unionism had been throttled in its very birth by the Black Hundreds. Russia was also a country whose economic life was not predominantly industrial. It was an agrarian nation with an agrarian-minded proletariat. In the logic of such conditions Lenin used political insurrection and won. The criticism of the I. W. W. is against those who seek to apply these haphazard, accidental Bolshevik tactics to other countries and other economic situations. The I. W. W. does not criticize the use of the Bolshevik program in Russia. It does criticize the importation of the Bolshevik program to America.

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asures the economic success of communism by preparing the proletariat for the the problems of industrial mastery in the schoolhouse of the industrial unions. And so, to the I. W. W., the final act of revolution will not hinge upon the accident or upon the sudden flooding of untutored popular emotion; capitalism will be overthrown automatically, when these industrial unions reach the point where they are ready for industrial management. The social revolution is thus reduced to the laws of science and evolution.

In such an industrial communism there will be no need for dictatorship. There will be no Red Terrors. There will be no futile, economic experiments or silly political adventurings. The new system will move, as capitalism moved, in a sure, scientific step. It will succeed, because, behind it, will be the invincible momentum of natural, economic law.

Such is the first prime distinction between Bolshevism and the I. W. W. The second is related.

Bolshevism is a political program. It seeks to establish communism by capturing the political state. The I. W. W. is non-political. It seeks solely to capture the industries, and it believes that the capture of the political state is unnecessary.

The I. W. W. does not believe in the fiction of the equal power of the political government with the industrial oligarchy. There is no such division, or duality, in the controlling system. The political government is but an organ of the real industrial government. Washington is but an echo of Wall Street. Politics is but the administrative machinery of capitalism, and those who own the industries overshadow the political state like Titans.

The I. W. W. believes, then, that the proletariat should organize themselves around this fundamental or industrial government. The proletariat should concentrate all its energies to capture the industries; the political state will then crumble into their hands. Just as the capitalists today rule the state by owning the industries, the proletariat, once the industries have been taken over, will make the political state

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It is this scientific, industrial viewpoint which is the contribution of the I. W. W. to the revolutionary thought of the world. It is the 20th century expression of Marxianism. It reflects the highest development of capitalist centralization. It liberates the revolutionary movement from the misleading ideology of the master class; from political confusionism and dualistic futility. It lifts the revolution from the chaos of insurrectionism; it plants it on the plane of scientific, reasoned certainty.

THE UNITY OF BOLSHEVISM AND THE I. W. W.

THE contrasts of the I. W. W. and Bolshevism have been noted. But beyond them there is a great field of similarities which link the movements together into natural unity. They may differ on tactics, but they are moving toward the same sure goal. Both are communists.

In the United States, It is the I. W. W. which holds up the Communist banner and battles for the cause of the American Bolsheviki. On politics it may differ with its Russian comrades. But it marches with them in the same international army toward proletarianism.

The fundamental aim of the communists—both industrial and political—is a world ruled by workers.

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It is the historic mission of the working class to become the masters of society. It is the golden vision of the communists to hasten the accomplishing of this mission. In European Bolshevism and in American I. W. W.ism the line-up for the final struggle is being made. Bourgeois reformists and sentimental impossibilists are being repudiated. The Social Revolution is being placed upon a scientific basis of proletarianism. And communism has at last become the organ through which the revolutionary dream of the ages finds its triumphant voice. Socialism which began as a Utopia; Socialism which became a futile dogma in the Second International; Socialism which seemed to perish in shame with the coming of the world-war, has given place at last to the destined proletarian star—Communism. And this Communism, girdling the globe, has produced a successful Bolsheviki revolution in Russia, and a flaming, fateful I. W. W. in revolutionary America.

The future of the United States belongs to industrial communism. Resistlessly the avalanche of economic law hurls the capitalist system toward a communist culmination. And indomitably—with the very urge of destiny—the I. W. W. surges thru the industries and waters the sprouting gardens of industrial communism. The Russian Bolsheviki have given to the I. W. W. the thrill of success. They have given to the I. W. W. a great historic example of tactics. The I. W. W. glories in the Russian victory. But the I. W. W. also learns the lesson of organization from the mistakes which Russia has made and the tragedies which political communism has there endured. As the proletariat of America rally to the I. W. W., they build an organization which shall not only win to Bolshevism. They build an organization which shall rise in its victory beyond Bolshevism to INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM; which shall accomplish not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the democracy of the proletariat; which shall create not a Soviet but an industrial commune of free labor. It is with that vision that they battle on to destiny.

INDUSTRIAL GOVERNMENT

BY

C. E. PAYNE

Price 5 cents

The basis of any form of government is the necessities of life that are produced. Primitive peoples produced and used their necessities individually. There was very little production for exchange, and no production for profit. In such an industrial condition a democracy was logical.

In the complicated methods of producing and distributing the necessities of life at present there is no individual action possible. The population is too great to find room for existence on a primitive basis. Nine-tenths of the people would starve to death before they could adjust themselves to that form of finding a living.

On the present basis of production there must be an interdependent relationship arranged that will approximate a system of equality. This can only be done by a representative form in which each worker has a right to propose industrial policies, and a voice in election of representatives to carry out those policies. We cannot allow the present industrial despotism to continue if we are to have approximate freedom. We must advance to a representative form in industry.

The monarchy desired by those who stood behind the scenes 160 years ago is now a fact, although the particular monarch to whom we are to kneel is yet to be decided. We now kneel to the idea of private property, while private ownership of property has become impossible for nine-tenths of the people. Should we stand erect we would see that our king has been taken from his throne, and the financial monarchs have seized it as a base of power.

Industry as we know it is a despotism. Those who own and dominate industry cannot vision a system that does not recognize their absolute right. They understand and use despotism and industry, and they carry that idea into all phases of our national affairs.

Those who fear the possible rise of fascism have been asleep while it was being built. Fascism, monarchy, autocracy, despotism, tyranny, oligarchy, whatever the form may be called, is here now. It has been built, it is established, it is ready to operate instantly. We do not see it, because the shroud of democracy hides it.

The reason fascism has not been put openly in operation is because the people have not generally tried to assert their "rights." But when the people, or any considerable number of them, try to assert their rights, the shroud of democracy will be torn aside, and across its corpse will stride the new power, eager to exercise ruthless repression.

The people now have nothing but desire for freedom with which to meet the repression that stands over them. The majority do not even know it exists. They look at the past when their eyes are not tightly closed. They refuse to see the present or the future. If the means of building new forms of freedom were now available, the majority of the people would refuse to use them, because they are not accustomed to those forms.

With the passing of democracy went all the old forms of maintaining it. New ones must be built. The shape of those new instruments begins to emerge, though they are not yet clear. But they cannot be the forms of the past. The new forms must fit the new conditions. Modern industry is a vast complicated web of interdependent

units, woven together by the dependence of each upon all the others. Nearly every economic unit is a keystone in the arch of production, and is in turn dependent upon many other economic units.

A pure democracy is not possible in such a system of industry. Entirely new forms must be built. The old forms were built on an individuality that might or might not work in association with others. The new forms must be built on an interdependence that **MUST** work in association with others.

A prime necessity of the new forms of "authority of the people" is that every person shall fully realize his value to others, and his dependence on all others for his existence. Those who do not or will not understand will have no part in forming the industrial government. They will be the willing tools of the oppressors.

Those who operate industry must control it, or be controlled by a system of fascism. Industry must be operated and controlled by those who understand it. This means by those who are in industry—those who are operating the industries.

There are very small traces of a general knowledge of industry among the farmers. They stolidly look at the past and sigh for its fancied glories and independence, and as stolidly refuse to see what the future has in store for them. They want to return to that past for themselves, but keep the improvements that have been made since those halcyon days of their dreams. They refuse to see that the improvements they would keep were impossible in the old forms of industry, or that the old-time form is impossible with the new improvements.

Modern industry must have large numbers of workers in its various units. Those workers must be slave or free. If they are to be slaves of the industry there can be no democracy. If they are free there can be an equality of participation in the control of industry, but not through an authority that is monopolized by either the owners, farmers or wage workers.

There is more understanding of industry among the wage workers than among the farmers. Even here, those who understand, and will act on their knowledge, of what industry has done to our political and social forms is very small. The seeming power and numbers of those who know is in their correct analysis of conditions.

All resistance to political and industrial conditions has so far been against conditions, not against the system that produced the conditions. Before a new form is set up resistance must be against the system. Even more, the work must be FOR the new system. The old form died of its inherent maladjustments; a new form will be set up.

It is not at present possible for farmers and wage workers to act together for a new governmental form that will approximate a democracy. Farmers consider wage workers a menace to their income because of the rate of wages; wage workers think of farmers as a menace to their standard of living because of the tendency of all employers to drive wages down.

For farmers and wage workers to cooperate in a program of advancement will require one of two things: Wage workers must have an ownership psychology which comes of ownership of property, or farmers must lose their ownership psychology by loss of their property. The former now seems impossible; the latter is being accomp-

lished by giant finance through the sheriff's office. But they must combine or both go down to defeat and slavery.

It will be impossible to build a new system and retain our present form of political government. The form we have was not designed to operate in a complicated industrial system. We cannot put aside our industrial system without wrecking civilization. But every possible effort must be made for an orderly adjustment to save civilization from breaking down because of its inherent political rottenness.

An industrial republic is the only feasible form of government for the United States. This might be called "Industrial Administration," but the name matters little. The concept and form are very important. Economic and social security of the people must be its prime consideration. It must represent the authority and interests of the people, and this can be accomplished only by having power in their own hands.

The form of an industrial government would be easily understood. It would be flexible, not cumbersome or roundabout, yet very definite in purpose and action. As industry is the basis of life for people and their nation, governmental forms must be built in and on the industries.

In a national industrial government state lines would be ignored. Representation would be on industrial lines regardless of what states an industry operates in. Industrial representation would require each delegate to be elected from and by the workers in his own industry. Farmers would not vote with textile workers nor miners with sailors. Each industry would be on its own list, and only those in a definite industry would direct that industry and elect its representatives.

Representation would start with the lowest unit in each industry, with the smallest division in its operating functions. With the railways the lowest operating unit is the division. This is generally the distance men and power machinery can operate without periods of rest. This would be the representative unit for the railway industry. Other industries have practicable units of operating organization, and their representation would be arranged accordingly.

Those working on a railway division in any capacity would formulate suggested programs of operation for that division, and elect delegates to their railway council. The railway council would consider matters affecting operation of that railway, and elect delegates from their own number to the council of the entire railway industry.

The railway industry council would coordinate and direct operation of the railway systems, and elect delegates, to the national transportation council. Transportation consists of air, highway, railway and water systems, and each would be represented in the transportation council. That council would elect its delegates to the national industrial congress.

Each industry would follow the same procedure, electing delegates out of their own industrial councils to the national industrial congress. This congress would replace the present political congress, and would be a one-house body representing the interests of the wealth producers of the nation.

Such a council would not be unweildy. It should have 300 to 400 delegates, each industry having representation on a proportional basis. It could not show the ignorance of industry and the disdainful treatment of the people that has been shown by congresses and administrations in the past.

The number of industries represented in the national industrial congress would be seven, to which all divisions of industries properly belong. These are Agriculture, Construction, Distribution or Merchandising, Manufacturing, Mining, Social Service and Transportation.

The question of land ownership must be settled. Life cannot exist without land on which to live and from which to draw sustenance. Logically, therefore, the land must be owned by the collective body of the people, resulting in "non-ownership" as ownership is commonly understood.

Private ownership of land in the United States has reached the logically perfect result. One hundred years ago everyone could obtain land, but it has all been taken or withdrawn from settlement, and more than eighty per cent of the people find it impossible to own land.

The principle of eminent domain can be—and may be—extended by action of the people to acquire ownership of the land by the nation. They will act on the theory that whatever is needed by the people to maintain their lives and civilization cannot be held in private ownership. A constitutional amendment along the following lines must be adopted:

"The ownership of all land and natural resources within the United States shall inhere only in the national commonwealth.

"Use shall be the only title to possession of land, and failure to use for a definite time shall be construed as abandonment, entitling others to possess for use.

"Natural resources may be obtained by individuals only on payment of an equivalent therefor to the national commonwealth.

"Inheritance for use shall be held inviolate."

Such a provision would make those who occupy and use land secure in its possession. Deeds would lose the slippery nature they now have, and possessors would know they had an inalienable right to use the land, so long as they should use it.

No owner was ever granted a deed to land by the maker of the universe. Deeds were first written by the owner himself, and in no other manner. They may have been done by "the government," but the government was composed of those who took the land. The deeds were written as a record of their force and power, are held in the same way, and may as morally be taken in the same way by "Authority of the People."

Possession of a tract of land should not entitle anyone to rob the soil of its fertility, then seize some other tract of land and repeat the process. This has been the course under private ownership, but must not be allowed to continue. The land would have to be protected from erosion, and its fertility maintained.

Gaining the land and other public necessities will require a clear understanding of conditions by the people. Fifty years ago the idea was held that industrialists and financiers would approve collectivization if only they understood it. They do understand it and have understood it all the time. That is what makes them so rabid in opposition to the idea. It is the people generally who need to be informed.

The owning groups have never taken a defeat in their progress toward complete domination of the nation. They do not intend to recede now or at any future time. They would wreck the nation and all it stands for rather than abdicate from their dominating position. It will require the utmost initiative on the part of the people to dislodge them, but it must be done.

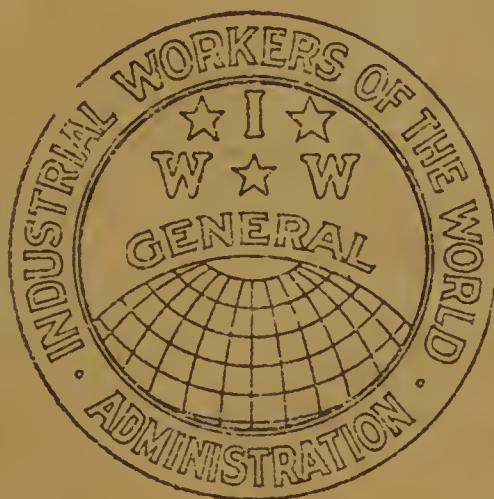
It can be done. It should be done intelligently.



Industrial Unionism

Real and Imitation

An Analysis of the Lewis Program



Issued by the
Industrial Workers of the World
2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago

A PROLETARIAN'S LAMENT

(Reprinted from the Industrial Worker)

By COVAMI

Leaders, Leaders EVERYwhere!
Leaders to the Right of us!
Leaders to the Front of us!
Leaders to the Left of us!
Leaders Behind us!
Leaders, Leaders EVERYwhere!
SPleaders! CPleaders! WPladers! FLPladers!
Union Leaders! Progressive Leaders! Liberal Leaders!
Labor Leaders!
Craft Leaders! Utopian Leaders! Epic Leaders!
Business Leaders! Financial Leaders! Farmer Leaders!
Leaders of Technocrats! Society Leaders!
Church Leaders! Social Worker Leaders!
Student Leaders! Football Leaders! Yell Leaders!
Realm:leaders! Political Leaders! Leaders of Leaders!
Leaders, Leaders EVERYwhere!
Gowdamighty! is it ANY WONDER we Common
Folk have gone COOCOO?
It's a miracle we ain't PLUMB CRAZY!—
Leaders above, below and on top of us!
LEADERS, Leaders EVERYwhere!—
Leaders to BURN! Leaders! Leaders LEADERS!
Lord of Love, have Mercy on US!
Give us FEWER LEADERS and MORE FELLOW-
WORKERS!—
And, Lord we don't mean MAYBE!—
Get BUSY and MOVE QUICK!—
Too many CHEFS SPOIL THE CONSOMME!—
Which, in PLAIN AMERICAN, MEANS—
Too Many Unions and too Many PARTIES led by
too Many LEADERS
Means TOO MUCH HELL for TOO MANY
FOLKS!—
That's all for today, Lord. Amen.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Real and Imitation

For thirty years the I. W. W. has been pioneering in Industrial Unionism. In its unrelenting struggle for the realization of working class solidarity, which is possible only thru Industrial Unionism, its organizer-members have been running the gauntlet of persecution dealt out by its enemies ranging from spies and gunthugs to company-owned "labor leaders". It has carried on in the teeth of scabbery conducted by all sorts of agencies including those parading under the guise of "labor unions". It has been shouting the message of Industrial Unionism from the house tops during its entire life.

Today, more than ever, we want Industrial Unionism. We want it because we know that the one hope of our class is to stick together. It is only by organizing so that we will stick together that we will have the power to do things for ourselves—to do the big things that we can do together that we cannot do alone.

To make our lives worthwhile, we must unite with our fellow workers in an organization:

1. That will enable us to act together for our common good;
2. Over which the members will have complete control;
3. That will bring us an increasing security and flow of the good things of life while we carry on the battle with the employing class for full control of the means of production

Does the Lewis C. I. O. Program offer this? We say no. And we proceed to prove it point by point:

1. Acting Together

As we look at the "progressive" imitation of industrial unionism in the A. F. of L. circles, we see in it a bluff piece of salesmanship trying to meet a modern demand with an obsolete and dried-up product. We see district scab on district in Mr. Lewis' own United Mine Workers. We see the same district structures forced on the lumber workers who were hoodwinked by this talk of industrial unionism. We see plant separatism in the rubber and auto industries, and we wonder how anyone can be bamboozled by these quacks.

You cannot have industrial unionism except in One Big Union of the working class. The complexity of industry makes it so. You need industrial unionism so that workers who need to act together can act together. There are no hard and fast lines between industries. It is essential that all on the job should be united to take action on the job. In the Frisco strike it turned out that railroad men were on the job as much as seamen and longshoremen. Their cooperation was needed. A general strike in the **transportation industry** was here in order instead of sympathy strikes of restaurant workers and others as in Frisco—having little bearing on the struck industry. Again in the steel industry we have a cross-section of metal mining, coal mining, coke making, lime quarrying, railroad and water transportation as well as blast furnaces and rolling mills. Separate industrial unions for each of these lines of work will not yield the organized solidarity that is needed. It takes One Big Union to do the trick.

The A. F. of L. is not built that way. It is

built from top down and so tied by tradition and constitutional impediment to the division and separation of labor, that it cannot conceivably be remodeled.

The I. W. W. is built of job branches, industrial unions, industrial departments, all combined into One Big Union, so that there is the full degree of flexibility to serve every practical need, and the full degree of **stick together** to rally our forces to rout any foe.

2. Rank and File Control

The healthy and growing demand for industrial unionism is not one for structure alone. It is a demand also for a new spirit and a new program in unionism. It is a demand for democracy and rank and file control, not only because these things are good in themselves, but because there is none of the security and the power to do things for ourselves without rank and file control of our unions. The search for this is the basic reason for having unions in the first place. Do we find it in the fledgelings of the "progressive" C.I.O.? Is it to be found in the auto workers union where Green's dictators are removed only to follow blindly the dictates of his super-salesman, Lewis, where their convention resolutions are abruptly changed to please Mr. Lewis, even to the point of deciding what political views their members shall have? Is it in the Marine Federations, where Gulf strikes are settled on orders from New York, and where the heroic west coast struggles wind up in an agreement to use no more of the job action that hitherto has brought home the bacon? Is it in the rubber industry, where the "progressive" president puts his foot down on the sit

down strikes that have been giving the results, and tells the strikers to be patient and wait (his words) "maybe for years"? Or is it in Mr. Lewis' own U.M.W.A. where the anthracite mines are tied to a two year contract, while prices threaten to soar even as they did during the war?

3. Security—Ultimate Objectives

This imitation of industrial unionism has been put before the workers of America as a decoy to check the growth of the real thing—the thing that can make labor the great power in this country instead of capital. It is put before the workers of America by the lieutenants of the would-be Hitlers and Mussolinis who would drag us down with them into the pit of disaster where we all must go if labor does not face forward determined to pass through to the good world we can make for ourselves, where fear and worry and war and the exploitation of man by man will be but memories of a hideous past.

Imitation industrial unionism is not merely an obstacle in the path of labor's progress. It is a trap to catch us in Fascism where our hopes must smolder as they smolder now in Italy and Germany. Hitler's Labor Front and Mussolini's totalitarian state provide for labor organizations industrial in scope, too—and like Mr. Lewis's unions, run from the top down.

So at this time the I.W.W. appeals to every thinking working-man and woman to look sharply at this danger, to quit placing their faith in smooth tongued "labor leaders" and help build what the working class of America needs — One Big Union.—

The Industrial Workers of the World.

Industrial Unions of the I. W. W.

Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 100

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110.
Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120.
Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 130.
Floricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 140.

Department of Mining and Minerals, 200

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210.
Coal Miners' and Coke Oven Workers' Industrial Union No. 220
Oil, Gas and Petroleum Workers' Industrial Union No. 230.

Department of General Construction, 300

General Construction Workers' (Railroad, Road, Canal, Tunnel and Bridge Construction) Industrial Union No. 310.
Ship Builders' Industrial Union No. 320.
Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330.

Department of Manufacture and General Production, 400

Textile and Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 410.
Furniture Workers Industrial Union No. 420.
Chemical Workers' Industrial Union No. 430.
Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440.
Printing and Publishing House Workers' Ind. Union No. 450.
Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460.
Leather Workers' Industrial Union No. 470.
Glass and Pottery Workers' Industrial Union No. 480.
Pulp and Paper Mill Workers' Industrial Union No. 490.

Department of Transportation and Communication, 500

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510.
Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520.
Motor Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 530.
Municipal Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 540.
Aero-Workers' Industrial Union No. 550.
Telephone, Telegraph and Postal Workers' Ind. Union No. 560.

Department of General Service, 600

Health Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 610.
Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 620.
Recreational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630.
Hotel, Restaurant & Building Service Workers' I. U. No. 640.
Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' I. U. No. 650.
General Distribution Workers' Industrial Union No. 660.
Public Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 670.

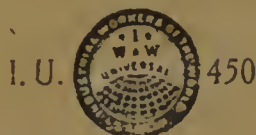
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Name

Address

Industry Occupation

GENERAL OFFICE
2422 N. HALSTED ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.



LOCAL ADDRESS
1038 N. MARKET ST.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

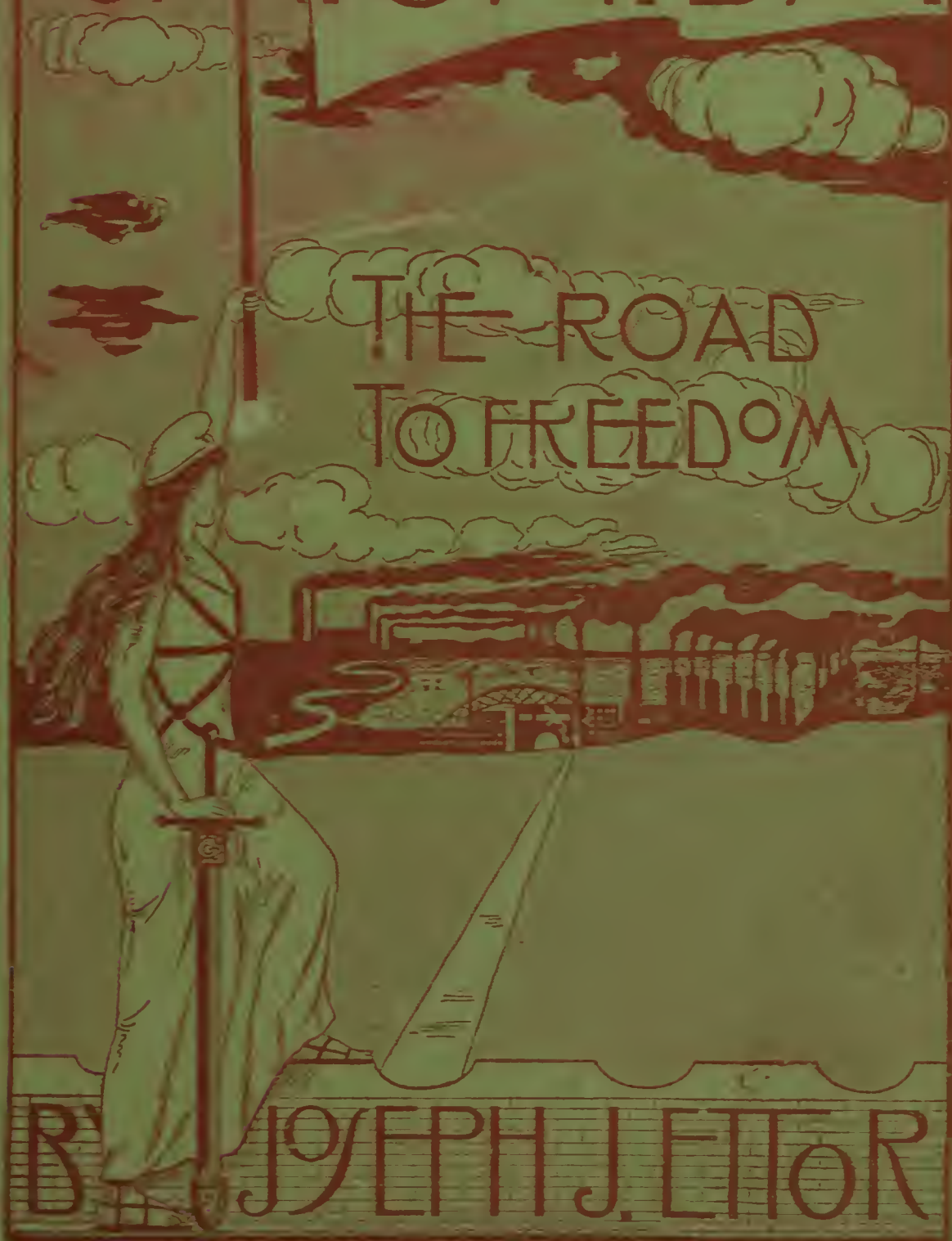
We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work", we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM



BY JOSEPH J. ETTOR

Industrial Unions

vs.

Industrial Trusts

is the line-up henceforth
in the **CLASS WAR**

FOR INFORMATION

Pertaining to Industrial Unionism and the I. W. W.

How to Organize Local Unions

Of the Industrial Workers of the World.

For Constitution, By-Laws, Literature, etc.

Write to

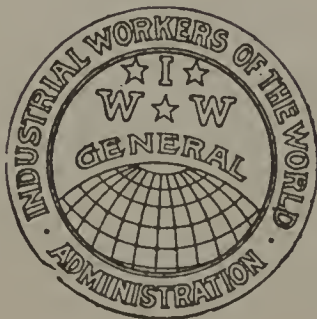
General Secretary, I. W. W.

1001 W. MADISON ST.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Industrial Unionism

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM



“A peasant in Revolt is infinitely wiser than the learned philosopher who tries to forge an apology for his chains.”

Kossuth.



JOS. J. ETTOR

FOREWORD

The struggle of the wage workers for industrial freedom is fast assuming proportions that challenge the attention of all classes in present day society.

The oppressive conditions under which the vast majority of wage workers must live is forcing the members of that class to seek for a means of relief. That search for relief must of necessity be a question for knowledge. It is with the sincere hope of being able to in some measure fill this demand for knowledge on the part of my class that this pamphlet has been written.

With the ending of the revolt of the slaves in the Textile Mills of the New England Textile districts, the struggle breaks out in the Lumber districts of the South. The answer of the masters of the bread in the Southern country is the same as the answer of their kind in the far away New England States. That answer is, the leaden bullet of the hired thug and the soldier; the club of the special policeman; the disease-ridden jail with the shadow of the gallows ever present. Cultured New England is joined by the aristocratic South in a feast of blood.

It is, therefore, fitting that I should dedicate this pamphlet to fellow worker A. L. Emerson and his sixty-four fellow workers who are now awaiting trial in the courts of Louisiana, because they dared to raise the banner of revolt against the reign of the Lumber Kings of the South. Therefore, to them it is dedicated, and I sincerely hope that its sale will help to provide the funds necessary to secure for them their freedom, that they may once more take up the work of the Cause they have served so well in the past.

Joseph J. Ettor

Essex County Jail, Lawrence, Mass., June, 1913.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM THE ROAD TO FREEDOM.

Rising out of conditions that have long become unsupportable, that were never intended should benefit but the few, conditions that are a living outrage on the lives of the working class of the nation; Industrial Unionism, the *One Big Union*, of all the workers of all trades and all industries; striving energetically and with devoted enthusiasm for the once burning ideal and hope of the world's toilers *Solidarity* to the end of accomplishing final and complete industrial emancipation, is no longer a mere plan or scheme to foist upon the wage workers of the land.

Witness France, very recently and most successfully the efforts and triumph in England. Hear the echo and rumbling. The masters at home will soon have to deal with it much as they may dislike to or pretend and prate that the "American wage workers are too level-headed and steady to run off at a tangent like the hordes of Europe." It is now a living force, a movement aiming at certain immediate objects and imbued with definite and lofty principles, applying up-to-date tactics that means ultimate success. Not seeking to live on the tradition, history and glory of a past, but is

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

a determined and enthusiastic effort on the part of conscious workers to live and struggle for better working conditions now and never lose sight of the main object—*Emancipation*.

Hitherto the effort has been ignored, laughed at even by men and women that pretended very noisily to know the aims and hopes of labor. This element has arrogated to itself the right to *program* the workers' activities. But in spite of opposition, open and secret, by self-appointed guardians and enemies, the ideas and the movement is reaching a point that compels attention particularly from the enemy. It has come on the floor for discussion and all amendments offered, side-stepping done, calumny, efforts to postpone and conciliate, will neither adjourn nor abate the discussion.

It is said that our ideas are impractical. That is true. From the standpoint of old institutions, interests and their beneficiaries; the new is always impractical.

We also hear it said that our efforts are dangerous. Yes, gentle reader, our ideas, our principles and object are certainly dangerous and menacing, applied by a united working class would shake society and certainly those who are now on top sumptuously feeding upon the good things they have not produced would feel the shock.

OUR PRINCIPLES—OUR AIMS.

“The working class and the employing have nothing in common.”

That is more and more forcibly and eloquently being brought home to our class. Whatever failure the agitator may make in impressing the toilers of the conflict of interests between employers and employees, is most eloquently and convincingly impressed now as in the past, by the policemen's clubs, the whip and the mace of State troopers, militiamen's bayonets, soldiers' machine guns, jails, bull pens and scaffold, and such other “civilized weapons and methods” that capitalism needs to impress on the slaves the sanctity of property rights and “freedom to labor.”

Certainly there can be no common interest between those who own the tools, the machines, factories, mines, mills and land, with the workers who do all of the producing. One class does all the work, produces

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

all, suffers all the hardships necessary to accomplish the task. The other class owns, but does not know, nor cares to know, how to produce wealth, yet persists by rights that it labels "legal" and otherwise to live upon which it does not produce.

"There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life."

One class works long hours under conditions generally and necessarily established by and suitable to the masters of industry, receives low wages, so that there may be high dividends and profits for the masters. For it must be borne in mind longer hours mean greater wealth produced, low wages mean greater profits for the capitalists. Shorter hours mean less production by each worker or group of workers, therefore the expense to the masters is greater to produce a certain amount of wealth. High wages, shorter hours, better shop conditions that will protect life and limb are objected to by the capitalist for a thousand and one "rea-

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

sons," but really because it all means greater cost—thus less dividends—resulting in less palaces, less automobiles, less silk dresses for their wives and daughters.

To the working class, shorter hours means less exertion of energy, longer lives, more workers employed, less competition for jobs, higher wages, more bread, better houses, happier lives.

Members of the upper class are known to die for eating too much. Members of the laboring class die for want of enough to eat.

Who can be so stupid or knavish as to talk of peace between these two classes?

And yet there are some, quite a few, who do so, particularly after a feast at a Civic Federation meeting.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system."

We can just about hear a chorus of well kept and well fed ones, "All this is wrong," "You will thus overthrow all established usages, laws, customs and institutions."

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

But the conscious worker who knows what springs guide the minds and mouths of the maintained ones shout, "Hosanna! That is right! More power to you!"

"These are ideas subversive to our civilization, they strike at the very roots of things, they endanger the rights of private property upon which our Republic is based," hints the owner of industries, the exploiter and despoiler of labor.

"Against all laws, constitution, precedents and authority, it's a conspiracy; yes, sedition, treason," says the man in legal vesture.

"Free lovers and enemies of institutions long established and respected," thunders the moralist who may be drawing his rents from gay houses.

"They would destroy our union and endanger the amicable relations now existing between employers and employees," croaks the "labor leader" of the craft union.

"For the interest of civilization, that society may be saved and in line with our duties, the place for folks holding such dangerous notions is the jail," cry the police.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

“Lynch them,” shouts the whole motley crew who benefit greatly from the present economic arrangement.

“Amen,” sanctimoniously grumbles the black-robed hypocrite who alleges to be the minister of God and a follower of the Lowly Nazarene.

And thus society is defended, saved and blessed.

This motley crew would be indeed ungrateful if they would not offer their defense and hosannas to a society that is so generous to them as to feed and clothe them with the best and yet require no labor from them.

As long as one class performs no function in production only as parasites and social sponges, is too lazy and impotent to work, but lives and riots in plenty—and our class, the wealth producers—produce all, makes all, digs all the coal; in a word, makes life worth while and brings into being by its labor and travail all that life necessitates, and yet lives in want, is paid wages which at best and highest only represents a part of the entire product; a struggle is inevitable.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Those who are serious and who respect themselves and their education will not dispute that labor with its hands and brains produces all wealth. We industrial unionists hold, and every day experiences tend eloquently to prove and convince all that our contention is correct.

In the ratio as capitalists grow stronger and more secure in their ownership of industry, more and more parasitical in production; they also grow arrogant with the feeling and satiety of power; they become tyrannical in their conduct towards the workers; just in that ratio the laboring class develops, in power by virtue of the great numbers assembled together in various industries, in consciousness by the experiences and lessons it receives in its daily struggle for more bread and greater economic rights. Its vision extends further than mere shorter hours, higher wages and matters of that nature.

It acquires class feelings, class knowledge and conceptions with a realization that, struggle as it may, gain as many victories as possible; the age-long class conflict can only come to an end when "the workers of the

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

world organize as a class," change society from the very basis through the medium and power of their industrial organization and keep on producing wealth, not as hitherto, only for the partial benefit of the producers, but on the principle that "Labor is the producer of all social wealth, therefore, to the producers belongs the full product of their efforts."

Unquestionably from the standpoint of the coupon clippers and their retainers, anything the workers do that either tends to merely obtain more bread or any efforts that tend to unsaddle the masters altogether is considered wrong, ethically, legally, religiously and by every other measurement.

From the standpoint of the masters those who aid, abet and sanctify their right to plunder the workers are considered paragons of virtue and good citizenship.

A scab who works while men and women are struggling for humane conditions is hailed as a true type of "an American hero." Those who willingly work for low wages, satisfied to work long hours under miserable conditions, never even whimper,

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

refuse to band with their fellows in a common effort to better things, are styled "The independent American citizen who refuses to allow the pernicious doctrines of labor agitators to sway them from their patriotic duties," etc. The judges, the procurators of the State, the police and soldiers, who shoot, club and imprison in the interest of capitalistic property and social interests are hailed as the "Saviors of Society." Those who, under the cloak of religion and alleged loyalty of the Nazarene, offer prayers to the rich and command the poor to be satisfied with their lot on earth, who apologize and offer extenuations for child labor in the mines and factories—are set up as the very pillars and columns of Order, Law and Religion.

But, if history teaches right, we know this much—right and wrong are relative terms—and it all resolves into a question of *Power*. Cold, unsentimental Power. From the standpoint of accepted law, morals, religion, etc., the capitalists are considered right and justified in their control and ownership of industries and exploitation of

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

labor because they have the means to hire, and have organized a gang that skulks under the name of "Law, Order and Authority," that is well paid and well kept to interpret and execute laws in favor of the paymasters of course.

Our country has been ravaged and stolen by industrial pirates and yet, learned judges have decreed that it was "legal." Attorneys and politicians have written lengthy briefs and argued long and eloquently, preachers have spoken wise sermons; in short, whatever the king has done, the courtiers have most humbly considered right and the guards and men-at-arms been ready to see that the slaves did not rebel against it all.

Prepared to carry out the capitalists' every will, this kept-crew is well paid, entrenched and armed, and while it hides under the silk skirts of Mesdames "Law and Order," is as desperate and brutal a crew as ever scuttled a ship or quartered a man.

Yet with this alone Capitalism could not live.

It is the false conception and conscious-

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

ness of the vast majority of the workers who hold up the hands of the master class, and in their ignorance look upon the rich as the symbols of all that is virtuous, noble and wise, while if they were conscious of the facts they would look upon private property of socially necessary things as the great social crime and the owners and upholders as so many social criminals, that makes it possible for it to live.

New conceptions of *Right* and *Wrong* must generate and permeate the workers. We must look on conduct and actions that advance the social and economic position of the working class as *Right*, ethically, legally, religiously, socially and by every other measurement. That conduct and those actions which aid, helps to maintain and gives comfort to the capitalist class, we must consider as *Wrong* by every standard.

The wage system implies the existence of two economic classes. Under it the workers suffer, it means no end of strife, therefore from the standpoint of the workers it is *Wrong* and it is *Right* to get together as a class and abolish the wage system, and in its

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

place erect the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Rule of the Proletariat.

“We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class.”

Because they may have some skill and look upon it as so much property, some workers in the past have organized into trade unions; that is, a union for each separate trade. This system of unionism is typified by the American Federation of Labor. It is an organization of one separate union for each trade, although trades may be employed in the same factory or industry.

It is a “unionism” that may have been good enough in its day, when learning a trade was necessary and the vast majority of the workers were required to be craftsmen. The trade unions were useful in their day, same as the ox cart was useful and most essential; yes, of utmost utility in transportation, but it had to make way for something more efficient.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

With the ever greater development of machinery and concentration of industries, trade lines are erased, the workers more and more are reduced to one common level of labor and servitude.

The capitalists—not because of any spirit or feeling of Solidarity, but in the struggle among themselves for the products they steal from labor have been driven to concentrate their economic power into huge industries, and in turn the small citizen alliance has made way for the One Manufacturers' Association or Employers' Association. They have done away with the trade lines. Their associations are not composed of employers exploiting the workers of one trade, but covers the exploitation of workers of every trade in the industry. So that the "trade union" has become obsolete and now only manages to live on the recollections and bonds of age and traditions.

"The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars."

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

With the pernicious system of each trade organizing and looking out for itself, signing contracts and agreements with the employers that bind the workers of a certain craft for a definite and long term of years to work certain hours under certain conditions for certain wages without taking into account and consideration the rest of the workers in the same establishment or industry, workers are divided and defeated.

Experience and history for the past few years abound with instances where workers organized into trade unions in spite of themselves, helped the employers defeat other workers, organized as well as unorganized, skilled as well as unskilled. Cases are too numerous to mention where we have witnessed one set of "union men" scab on another set of workers, also unionists, who were struggling for better conditions. Yes, we call it scabbing, union workers remained at work alongside of strikebreakers, aided, abetted and gave comfort, even to the hauling and furnishing food to scabs in strike-bound places.

We call such conduct by its proper name,

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

hideous as it may sound, the "pure and simple" trade union "leaders" call it "non-interference" or "trade autonomy."

"Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers."

Trade unions invariably are pledged to the program of the "co-operation of the classes" and prate of the community and identity of interests between laborers and capitalists. The leaders are always talking of the "brotherhood of capital and labor."

Out of such dangerous teachings comes the justification and the annual feasts, the Civic Federation dinners at the Waldorf Astoria (New York City), where captains of industry, men like Andrew Carnegie, August Belmont and a host of other labor exploiters, whose opposition to the efforts and hopes of labor is well known and has been marked in historical instances, meet in jolly and sumptuous feast, with Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, John Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers, John Golden of the

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

United Textile Workers, and so on ad infinitum et nauseam.

They gather presumably to "discuss and help to solve the labor problems" but in fact to partake of the flesh pots they have stripped from labor, to pull the wool over the eyes of the wage workers so that the chains of wage labor may be linked ever more secure on the limbs of our class, that our hopes and ideals may be dragged in the mire and capitalists given assurance of a long day more of safe and contented slavery on the part of the wealth producers.

And now when the history and objects of the Civic Federation have become notorious and its evil practices and outrages are evoking from the many times defeated and betrayed workers curses and protests that reach to the heavens, a second edition of the Civic Federation has been organized under the name of the "Militia of Christ." Conceived in the sacristy, born on the floor of the St. Louis, Mo. (1910) convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at baptism by preachers and labor leaders, it is a new conjure to keep the workers in a mental stupor and economic slavery.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

“These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.”

The Industrial Workers of the World is the “organization formed in such a way.” The I. W. W. does not organize by trades, but by industries. All the workers in any plant, factory, mine, mill or any given industry in a given locality organize in one Local Industrial Union. All the local industrial unions of a given general industry are banded together in the National Industrial Union. The National Industrial Unions are banded again stronger in the Industrial Department and then all Departments, six in all, are brought under one head, the General Administration of the I. W. W. *One Big Union* of all workers, welded together in such a manner that, imbued with the war cry “an injury to one is an injury to all,” all

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

its members can act together in fighting the common enemy.

Industrial Unionists disdain to lower the history and ideals of the working class by entering into contracts or agreements with employers whereby the conditions that are generally forced by the stronger economic power are made a basis for any stated period.

The workers in order to uphold what they are able to wrest from employers must be ever alert and ready with weapons that spell *Solidarity* and if they wish to advance further, their union must be an army ready to move on short notice and take quick decisions, otherwise it is lost. To be able to do these things it must be free not only in limbs but mentally. Contracts and agreements tend to foist a false feeling of security on the worker and on the day of need—defeat looms up because of the false security—lack of preparations.

“Instead of the conservative motto, ‘A fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work’ we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, ‘Abolition of the wage system’.”

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

As we have stated before there is no gain-saying that Labor produces all wealth. Capitalism is based on the robbery of the workers. Those who own industries but do not work in them, pay wages to the workers and keep profits to themselves. But both, profit and wages, are only the product of Labor. Wages are part of the total product paid to labor. Profit, generally the biggest part, capitalists appropriate to themselves and call it their "legal share."

Industrial Unionists know nothing of "legal share" nor of "reasonable profits," as all wealth, however little, acquired without labor is robbery. Industrial Unionists know no bargain to life. To talk of a "fair day's work" is to talk of the pack horse with a fair load on his back; to talk of a "fair day's wage" is to talk of a reasonably filled nose bag for the horse that has done the packing.

"Fair day's work and fair day's wages" imply a question of right and wrong. However, this is a class society composed and divided in robbers and robbed and each class has its own notion of right and wrong, fair

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

and unfair. At any rate, if labor produces all wealth—what else is a fair day's work except the one the workers will legislate in their union hall stating how many hours to work and that fair payment will be the entire products to the producers?

Let a sordid and conservative world talk itself out of its senses and be exploited to the marrow by capitalists. Let the paraders keep on their banner the motto of the middle ages guilds "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

We workers of the twentieth century will march steady with heads erect, our hearts beating in unison and resolved with our aim fixed on the new society and on our standard unfurled to the free breeze, we have inscribed the rallying cry and glowing hope of the world's workers, "LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES."

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on produc-

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

tion when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Such are "dangerous" notions to capitalism. The Industrial Workers of the World propagates these very ideas, it has and will continue—of this we feel sure and satisfied—to meet with the opposition of the employing class. It is to be expected. Such a course on their part but proves the correctness of our principles.

The employers well realize that once the workers begin to seriously organize as a class, with class hopes and ideals, and look out for themselves as a class, with interests distinct and opposed to all other classes, that once the spirit of solidarity takes firm hold in the hearts and minds of the workers, their (capitalists) occupation as parasites will be gone. The danger and fear of having to go to work to live is an ever recurring nightmare that occurs to them ever in their hours of great revelry and riot. They would if reduced to extremes, be willing to make any concession always with the feeling that they can successfully juggle matters so as to keep

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

in the saddle. Therefore is accounted their readiness to look with favor to movements that do not aim at changing the economic relations between wage workers and capitalists.

Compromise for pelf and power has been the one great weapon of the capitalists even in their own day of struggle against the then economic and ruling class. It is a weapon and a means whereby they seduce the rebellious spirit of the workers. A time serving policy. They have cause to fear and dread at the rule of labor.

But you, fellow workers in labor, comrades in suffering, what have you to fear from such program?

You, the hundreds of thousands, aye the millions, who have no shops, no mines, no mills, no land, no home!

You, whose constant companion is want and poverty, whose lot is long hours of hard work for meagre pay, who have only your labor power—yourselves—to sell to a master—in the labor market that is ever crowded—as the only means of making a living.

You, a member of the working class, that

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

produces annually an average of \$2,400.00 worth of wealth and receives less than \$450.00 in wages.

You workers whose sisters, wives and mothers have been driven out of the homes into mills and factories to compete with you and bring your wages down.

You, whose children have been driven out of the playground and kidnapped from the schoolhouse and strapped to the machine in the mills and shops, that their young lives, their very laughter and joy denied, may be rolled and coined into so many dollars for the pleasure and satisfaction of a few Industrial Herods.

You, of the wage working class, of whom it was required that in one year over forty thousand workers—men, women and children—should be killed in the industries of this nation, burned to death as in the Triangle fire of New York City, their lives snuffed out in coal mine explosions and in a thousand various ways.

The blood of these workers, it seems, was needed to grease and spur the machines in the mills of our masters. Their lives sacri-

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

ficed all because human beings are cheaper than the application of safety appliances which cost money and would reduce profits; and, since the great god to whom capitalists offer their prayers is PROFIT, human life is destroyed and workshops are turned into so many charnel houses.

So we ask you who, when you are no longer able to live, you ask for more pay and are forced to strike and in reply to your petitions and pleadings for more bread receive bayonet thrusts, rifle shots, etc., “What have you, any of you, to lose by opposing the present economic system, banding yourselves with us in one common bond of Solidarity and devotion as industrial unionists to the end of bettering our everyday conditions in the factories, mines and mills?”

What have any of us to lose if we band together in ONE BIG UNION to the end and by it as a medium transform the present system of industrial despotism and economic inequality into one of Industrial Freedom and Equality?

We would lose our chains, our miseries,

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

but gain the world for all the workers, a world fit for men and women to live their lives in freedom of love and labor.

Our opponents may say that this would be "expropriation," but we will let the poet reply for us:

THE CRY OF TOIL.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
And you hail us till unfed,
Though there's never a dollar of all your wealth
But marks the worker's dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie on a crimson wool.
For if blood be the price of all your wealth,
Good God, we ha' paid it in full.

There's never a mine blown skyward now
But we're buried alive for you.
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go reckon our dead by the forges red
And the factories where we spin.
If blood be the price of your accursed wealth,
Good God, we ha' paid it in full.

We have fed you all for a thousand years,
For that was our doom, you know,
From the days when you chained us in your fields -
To the strike of a week ago,
You ha' eaten our lives and our babes and wives,
And we're told it's your legal share,
But if the blood be the price of your lawful wealth,
Good God, we ha' bought it fair.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Industrial Unionism bids all workers rally to its standard. To all sons and daughters of toil who yearn for a better day we appeal for Solidarity.

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Industrial Workers Of The World



Increasing numbers of working people are asking questions of the Industrial Workers of the World. What is the IWW? What does it stand for? What can it do for its members? How does it propose to better conditions?

Here are the honest answers to many of the questions. The final answer, however, can be written for history only by a rank and file of labor which is willing to fight for a world which will be just and secure for everyone, a world in which there will be no hungry children.

WHAT IS THE IWW?

It is a fighting labor union which believes that the interests of labor can be fully served only when working people are united as a class. It wants to see all on the same job united, all in the same industry in one union, all who work for wages in one big union.

The IWW differs sharply from the position of other unions that the problems of the working class can be solved by begging crumbs from employers or praying to politicians for favors. While it fights for better conditions today, the IWW insists that working people are entitled to everything they produce, instead of a meager share.

There will be insecurity and hunger among those who toil as long as there is an employing class which benefits from low wages and evil working conditions. The IWW holds that there can be no solution to industrial warfare, no end to injustice and want, until the profit system itself is abolished.

In striving to unite labor as a class in one big union the IWW also seeks to build the structure of a new and better social order within the shell of an old system which fails to provide for the needs of all.

DIDN'T THE IWW DIE YEARS AGO?

No, the IWW never died, though it was dormant for many years, held together by a dedicated group of members. By about 1917, the parasitical employing class in the United States had finally realized that the IWW was a deadly danger to their neat little system of privilege, based on the exploitation of labor, and began a desperate campaign to break the back of the organization. In the next dozen years, hundreds were sent to penitentiaries for long terms and thousands more spent shorter jail terms; many more thousands were beaten and a number killed outright in one of the most vicious campaigns of repression this country has seen.

This repression, coupled with some internal dissension in the organization between those who favored a central communications clearinghouse and those who favored total decentralization, cut short the growing power of the organization. Nevertheless, many of the basic ideas developed by the IWW were utilized in one form or another during the 1930's and later, in attempts at industrial unionism.

Over the past few years, more and more working people, particularly the younger generation, have come to the realization that the pat answers their parents accepted about the ills of society were mostly meaningless cliches. Casting back through recent history, many of them quickly discovered that the various answers proposed to these ills have become redundant in terms of our present society, but the IWW's ideas have become even more relevant over the years.

In growing numbers, they have lined up with the IWW, proudly taking out a membership card—the famous “red ducat”—even though well aware that the IWW is still carried on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, the only completely independent group on the left to be so listed.

The result is a revitalized and growing IWW, composed mostly of young people, but with a solid leavening of respected old-timers, many of them former class-war prisoners, who provide an invaluable fund of experience and counsel.

WHO'S ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE IWW?

The IWW accepts the dictionary definition of “worker” as anyone who does “bodily or mental effort to do or make something.” However, the IWW is not a place for those who are looking for a voice to tell them what to do. It's a place for working people who want to take part in making their own decisions.

Employed and unemployed wage earners, working class students and those who work at home—all may join the IWW. All workers are eligible with absolutely no discrimination as to race, religion, nation-

ality or sex. It's easier in fact to define those who are excluded from membership—those who live by the exploitation of others, or serve as hired goons for the exploiters.

CAN MEMBERS OF OTHER UNIONS JOIN THE IWW?

Yes. A number of IWW members are also members of other unions. They are workers who form the fighting heart of such unions; rank and filers who strive to make their unions yield returns for the membership and not completely degenerate into mere employment agencies serving the boss.

Such workers have joined the IWW because they want to build a union stronger, more fearless, more honest, than the unions dominant today. Such a union must, in the end, match the unity of employers with the greater unity of workers, match the power of the employing class with the greater power of the working class. That union is the one big union of the IWW.

DOES THE IWW ADVOCATE DUAL UNIONISM?

The IWW is the only union which organizes workers as a class, instead of herding labor into small groups which war against each other for the sole benefit of the employing class. The IWW does not believe that one big union of all workers is "dual" to groups which divide working people instead of uniting them.

The IWW does not hope to change the labor movement by boring from within to seize control of established unions nor does it seek to elect its members to pie-card jobs. Such maneuvers, even when successful, result in no real gain for labor and only illusory benefits for the victorious group.

Today's inadequate labor movement can be changed, not by a shift of rulers or control, but only by a rank and file that is conscious of its strength and aware of its goal—a world fit for human beings to live in.

WHO BELONGS NOW?

Some of the best and most capable unionists are already members of the IWW. They are veterans of many a bitter struggle for improved wages and conditions; rebels against an unjust social order who freely offer their hearts and brains to make labor's bright dream of a better world come true. They are people one is proud to know—who will fight, whatever the odds, and fight on until the battle is won.

Some of the best are not enough. The IWW needs them all. And, equally, all who are struggling for the better world that we can have will find they need the IWW.

IS THERE A PLACE FOR STUDENTS IN THE IWW?

Certainly. Students and educational workers are welcome in the IWW. Forty years ago most students in higher education were being trained for roles in the higher management and ownership of society, but today most students are trained to be wage workers, to spend the rest of their lives serving the needs of the diminishing number of owners who run society. The major function of today's multiversity is to provide a pool of skilled and docile labor for industry and the government—labor which is most definitely in the class of wage earners.

The IWW seeks to unite the struggle of staff, students and faculty to improve conditions on campus, including not only wages and working conditions on part and full-time campus jobs, but the actual conditions of learning.

Students have led struggles recently in all parts of the world. They are now taking part in the organizing which will end the conditions which force wage earners to be used against each other in peace and war—organizing which will lead to control of all work places by those who work there, for the eventual good of all.

I'M PART OF A WORKING COMMUNE. WHERE DO WE FIT IN?

If you're part of a *real* working commune, an enterprise where the workers share equally the proceeds of their work, then you certainly belong in the IWW. You're already involved in what the Preamble of our constitution calls "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." Many communes are already organized in the IWW. You'll find the solidarity within the IWW a welcome adjunct to commune work and life. And because IWW members do most of their own union work, dues are kept low enough so they won't be a strain on even a limited income.

On the other hand, there are groups which call themselves communes but really aren't, and the IWW is naturally wary of such traps. If you're in doubt—ask. We'll try to give you a straight answer.

WHAT IF I'M UNEMPLOYED?

The IWW welcomes unemployed people, who are wage earners when the "opportunity" offers. Under chattel slavery the owners had to chase runaway slaves, but under wage slavery the slaves chase runaway jobs. This is a clear improvement for the employers. But if employed workers refuse overtime, or strike for shorter hours, and if unemployed workers refuse to cross picket lines and scab, the bosses are forced to hire more workers, thus reducing the numbers of unemployed.

The employing class tries to divide workers, encouraging the employed to fear the loss of their jobs, and encouraging the unemployed to resent those who have jobs for such "privileges" as seniority, hereditary "union" membership, or merely the "privilege" of employment itself. Only solidarity, joint action between employed and unemployed workers to shorten hours, can adjust the hours of work to the number of workers so as to end unemployment for good.

HOW DO ITS MEMBERS BENEFIT?

Experience shows that members benefit materially in direct proportion to their efforts in the organization and on the job. IWW members, familiar with the methods of direct action, do much to enforce and improve conditions on the job. The knowledge and facilities gained through the IWW often prove a major factor in winning grievance cases. Members, working in concert with the IWW and its press, have succeeded many times in demanding and gaining higher wages. IWW members in other unions have rallied decisive support for unions facing defeat in contests with employers.

These things are tangibles which directly benefit the IWW member, as well as all labor. There are equally important intangibles.

The IWW gives its members a sense of solidarity and a sense of direction. It makes unionism effective by teaching workers how to fight intelligently and as a group. It offers them the companionship of the most honest, fearless group in labor.

WHAT'S THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE IWW?

The IWW operates on the principle of participatory democracy. While majority vote rules, there is scrupulous regard for the right of a minority to hold differing views.

All important questions, including the election of officials, are decided by referendum vote of the membership. Officials who fail to carry out the desire of the majority are subject to immediate recall. "Pie cards" (professional labor bureaucrats) are not tolerated in the IWW.

Wages of officials and employees of the union are set to average the pay received by members in industry. Terms in office are rigidly limited. Most of the work in the IWW is done without charge because the organization is composed of workers who believe in their movement and gladly give their utmost to promote its growth.

A cornerstone of the IWW is the belief that the rank and file must control the union and its officers, instead of being controlled by them. No union can be rank and file controlled which limits the free-

dom of its members or muzzles minorities by a host of unnecessary regulations. Therefore the IWW makes no more rules than there is a genuine need for.

HOW IS RANK AND FILE CONTROL SAFEGUARDED?

While the structure and constitution of the IWW jealously protect democracy, no law devised can secure or retain it once the will for democracy is lost. The root of freedom is not law, which humanity can change, but humanity itself. The best guarantee of democracy lies in the membership of the IWW. Its members, who war against tyranny and injustice, will never allow freedom to be abridged in labor's finest organization.

DOES THE IWW BUILD LEADERS?

In one sense, yes. The IWW rejects "leaders" as such, for if individuals lead they can also mislead. Labor has continually been betrayed by leaders whom it trusted and followed. It will cease to be betrayed only when it accepts the leadership of ideas and not the leadership of individuals.

Yet there are those who are quick and capable in presenting ideas and in mapping tactics to fit conditions. The best of them do not wish to lead and they will not blindly follow. Such people are developed by the IWW—partly because it is a rank and file organization, partly from the shared experience of its members, partly because IWW members have no lack of intelligence and initiative.

WHY DO EMPLOYERS HATE THE IWW?

So great is the hatred and fear of employers toward the IWW that they have tried to crush it again and again, only each time to see it rise stronger than before.

The basis of their fear is the power which is inherent in the IWW. When workers are united as a class, when they rely only on themselves, when they use direct action to secure the entire product of the world which their labor has built—when that day comes, no power on earth can stop the forward march of humanity.

The root of the employers' hatred is the unyielding honesty of the IWW. It will not compromise. It will not collaborate. It will not sell out. It will not retreat or surrender.

Employers do not fear unions which collaborate with them. The "unionism" of such organizations is so false and can be so cheaply purchased that they are constantly used as a strikebreaking force to smash the picket lines of fellow unions.

Other unions accept the power of an employing class. The IWW challenges that power.

Other unions beg for crumbs from the loaf of bread labor produces. The IWW demands the whole loaf.

Other unions, servile to employers, attack strikes of fellow unions and parade through picket lines. The IWW, in words and practice, tries to build a working class unity so powerful that labor will be invincible.

That is why employers have begged for sweetheart agreements with other unions in order to prevent the IWW from representing workers. Bosses want unions they can control, not the one big union controlled by workers.

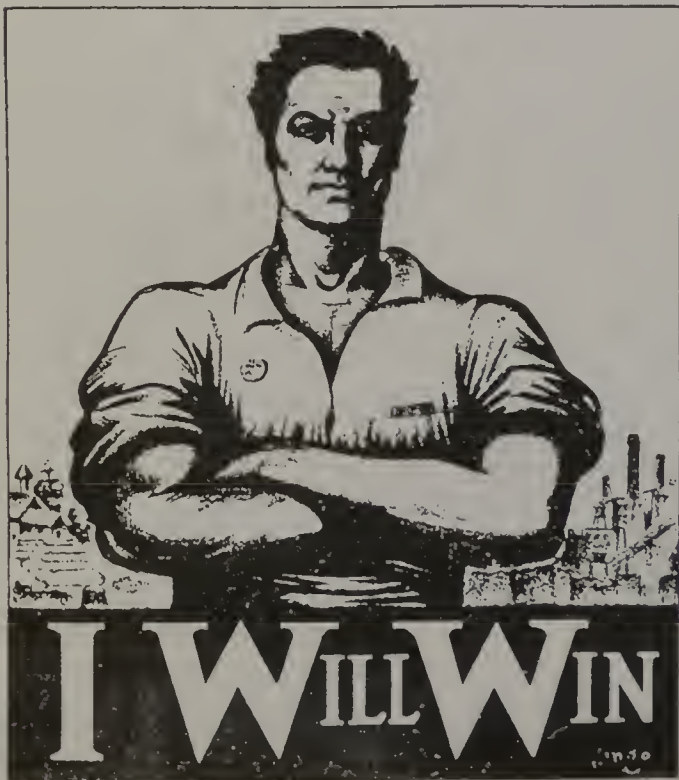
IS THE IWW A RESPONSIBLE UNION?

Entirely—to its members and to the working class. It has not been and never will be “responsible” in the sense used by employers in praising other unions—a tamed, house-broken division of labor which is “responsible” to the boss for restraining its own members from injuring him.

The IWW does not sell out its membership. It does not betray the interests of labor. It is responsible only to the working class. Workers “belong” to other unions in the same way that the feudal serf belonged to the land—but the IWW belongs to its members.

The IWW has been called red but it has never been called yellow.

I HEAR A LOT OF TALK ABOUT VIOLENCE. WHAT'S THE IWW POLICY ON THIS?



Solidarity, August 4, 1917.

While the IWW uses every honorable weapon in conflicts with employers, it has never initiated the use of violence. Its chief weapon is the solidarity of the working class, which builds, and not individual terrorism, which destroys.

Employers have always been ready to resort to force and violence, and the IWW teaches only what the law affirms: that workers have the right to defend themselves against attack. One of the great symbols of the IWW is the worker with

folded arms. Violence is not necessary when, united as a class, all that workers need do is fold their arms to gain the world.

IS THE IWW INTERNATIONAL?

The IWW has never made believe that a solution of economic problems was possible on only a national basis. The AFL-CIO's "International" unions are so only by virtue of their Canadian branches, but the large corporations do not operate under any such artificial limitations. In a world market run by multinational conglomerates, workers may end up scabbing on each other in ignorance of strikes going on half-way around the world, simply by filling the orders the strikers have refused to fill. The working class must organize internationally in order to fight this situation effectively. *The IWW has the only structure suitable for rank and file control on an international scale.*

As a matter of historical fact, the IWW has had large memberships in the past in Chile, Mexico, and Australia, and branches in Argentina, South Africa and Britain, among other countries. It is currently active in Australia, Britain, Guam and Sweden as well as the United States and Canada.

WHY DO LABOR SKATES OPPOSE THE IWW?

"Labor leaders" of other unions have so entrenched themselves in office that they long ago ceased to represent the interests of labor or heed the will of the union membership.

Originally formed in frank recognition of the opposing interests of worker and employer, other unions have become so decadent that today their chief concern is, at best, to beg for crumbs from the loaf they produce. This debasement is reflected even more clearly in the type of leaders who act as trustees for labor, for example, Meany of the AFL-CIO, who boasts he's never been on a picket line in his life.

Basic concern of the labor faker is to perpetuate himself in office and to make that office personally profitable. This is done by crushing democracy, muzzling the rank and file, and punishing revolt or even criticism with summary expulsion.

The interests of such "labor leaders" are identical with those of employers. Both are concerned with riding, as parasites, on the back of labor. Both profit from the suppression of rank and file demands or protests. Both benefit from maintaining a servile job trust, chiefly concerned with the profits of its "leaders" and the employers.

Labor skates oppose the IWW, not because they don't understand it but because they understand it well. A victorious IWW means the

end of their domination and privilege; it will signal the beginning of complete control by the rank and file of labor.

IS THE IWW SECRET?

Although there have been times (as with other unions) when members, to guard themselves from beatings or lynchings, have had to carry their IWW cards inside their shoes, the IWW has never been a secret organization.

Members of the IWW are proud of their red cards, which mark them as self-reliant working men and women—and not as driven sheep. Halls are open to all; union meetings are held regularly and openly; public meetings are advertised and are open to all workers.

HOW ABOUT POLITICS?

The IWW, as an organization, is non-political, and it does not interfere with political beliefs or activities of its members. It requires only that political views do not create division within the union. This rule enables workers of all political beliefs to join together without friction to advance their economic interests.

The IWW concentrates on direct economic action because history shows that whoever holds economic power also holds political power.

The IWW believes that whatever is “given” to workers by politicians can as quickly be taken away, with interest piled on the “debt.” (Need the Wagner Act, followed by Taft-Hartley, be cited?) Only that which labor wins by its own economic strength can be retained.

The hard lesson, fully absorbed by the IWW, is that labor cannot depend on pie-cards, politicians, or prayers. There is no easy way. Labor can rely only on labor; if it wins it must win by its own economic unity and strength.

WHAT IS DIRECT ACTION?

It is the action labor takes when it fights in the most direct, natural way and the way which brings greatest results.

When workers rebel on the job and slow down or cease work until their grievances are redressed—that is direct action. When a plant is closed by picket lines until labor’s demands are met—that is direct action. When workers, united as a class, conduct a general strike to defend their interests—that is direct action.

Workers are continually betrayed when they rely on other means than direct action—electing politicians to office, submitting demands to arbitration, or permitting the courts or government agencies to

settle issues. These are methods designed to benefit the employing class.

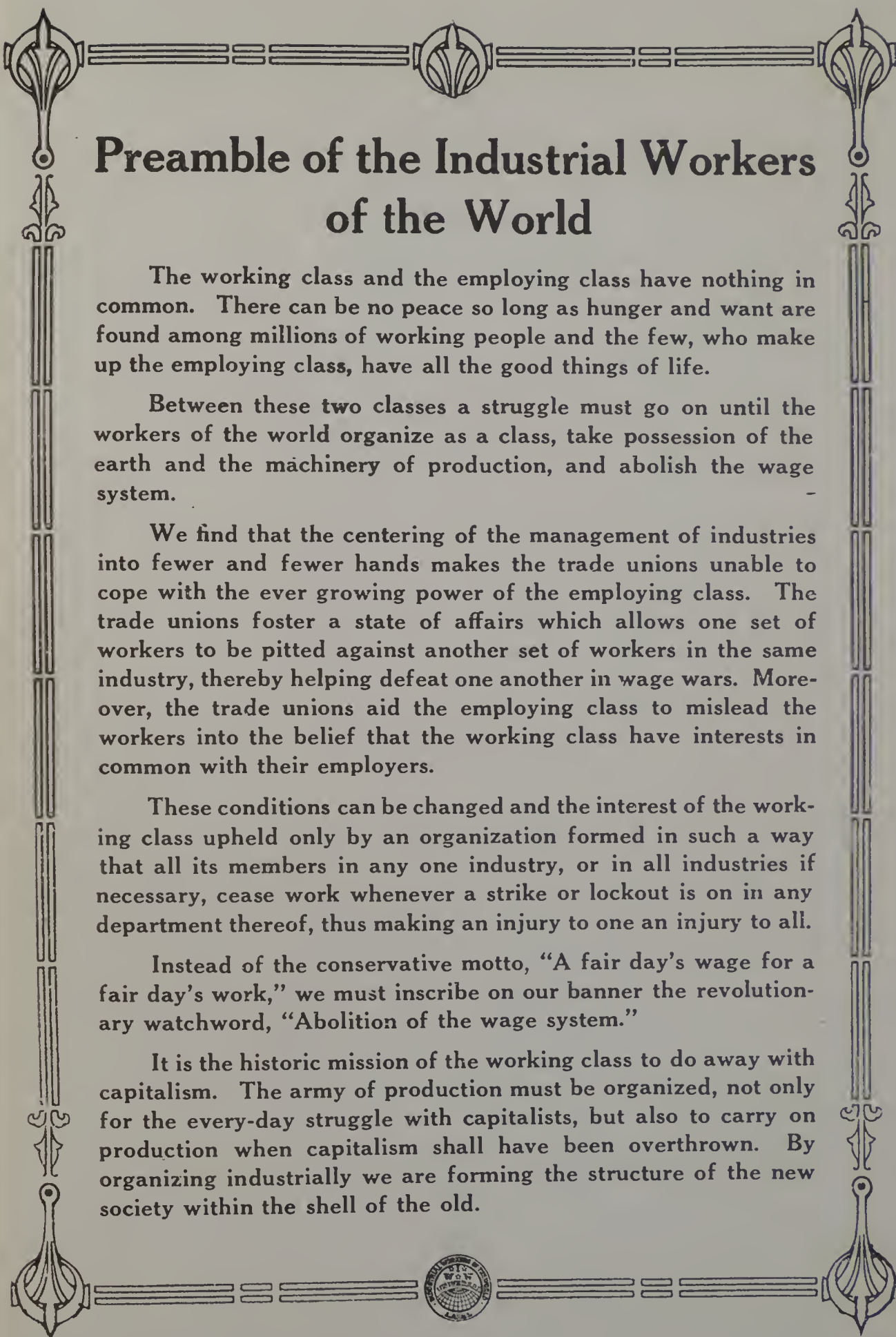
To expect justice from these sources is as naive as to believe that slot machines are made for the enrichment of working people. The only purpose of the infrequent pay-offs is to maintain the faith of the gullible in the "justice" of a rigged machine.

Employers are vitally concerned only when labor uses direct action to win its demands, for it is a method which is not easy or cheap to combat. Workers have invariably gained more by acting directly than could have been won by playing ring around a rosy with employer-controlled agencies.

Direct action tore the chains of open slavery from humanity. Over the centuries it has established individual rights and modified the life-and-death power of the master class. Used fully, wisely and well, direct action can forever end hunger, injustice and the mastery of some human beings by others.

* * *

Got some more questions? We'd be happy to answer them. You can write direct to IWW Headquarters, 2440 Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614; or contact your local delegate:



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.


Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

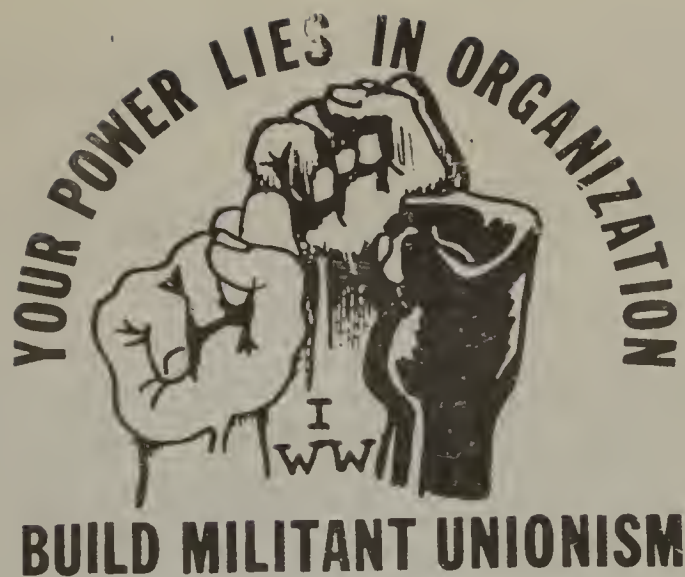
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





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The I. W. W.—A Brief History

In the fall of 1904 six active workers in the revolutionary labor movement held a conference. After exchanging views and discussing the conditions then confronting the workers of the United States, they decided to issue a call for a larger gathering.

These six workers were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, Clarence Smith, general secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union, Thomas J. Hagerty, editor of the "Voice of Labor," official organ of the A. L. U., George Estes, president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, W. L. Hall, general secretary-treasurer U. B. R. E., and Wm. E. Trautmann, editor of the "Brauer Zeitung," the official organ of the United Brewery Workers of America.

Invitations were then sent out to thirty-six additional individuals who were active in radical labor organizations and the socialist political movement of the United States, inviting them to meet in secret conference in Chicago, Illinois, January 2, 1905.

Of the thirty-six who received invitations, but two declined to attend the proposed conference—Max S. Hayes and Victor Berger—both of whom were in editorial charge of the socialist political party and trade union organs.

The conference met at the appointed time with

thirty present, and drew up the Industrial Union Manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, June 27, 1905, for the purpose of launching an organization in accord with the principles set forth in the Manifesto.

The work of circulating the Manifesto was handled by an executive committee of the conference, the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners.

The Manifesto was widely circulated in several languages.

On the date set the convention assembled with 186 delegates present from 34 state, district, national and local organizations representing about 90,000 members.

All who were present as delegates were not there in good faith. Knowledge of this fact caused the signers of the Manifesto to constitute themselves a temporary committee on credentials.

This temporary credentials committee ruled that representation for organizations would be based upon the number of members in their respective organizations only where such delegates were empowered by their organizations to install said organizations as integral parts of the Industrial Union when formed. Where not so empowered delegates would only be allowed one vote.

One of the delegations present was from the Illinois State District of the United Mine Workers of America. The membership of that district at that time was in the neighborhood of 50,000. Under the above rule these delegates were seated with one vote each. This brings the number of members represented down to 40,000.

Several other organizations that had delegates present, existed mainly on paper; so it is safe to say that

40,000 is a good estimate of the number of workers represented in the first convention.

The foregoing figures will show that the precautions adopted by the signers of the Manifesto were all that prevented the opponents of the industrial union from capturing the convention and blocking any effort to start the organization. It is a fact that many of those who were present as delegates on the floor of the first convention and the organizations that they represented have bitterly fought the I. W. W. from the close of the first convention up to the present day.

The organizations that installed as a part of the new organization were: Western Federation of Miners, 27,000 members; Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance*, 1,450 members; Punch Press Operators, 168 members; United Metal Workers*, 3,000 members; Longshoremen's Union, 400 members; the American Labor Union*, 16,500 members; United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, 2,087 members.

The convention lasted twelve days; adopted a constitution with the following preamble, and elected officers:

Original I. W. W. Preamble

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic

*Existed almost wholly on paper.

organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all."

All kinds and shades of theories and programs were represented among the delegates and individuals present at the first convention. The principal ones in evidence, however, were four: Parliamentary socialists—two types—impossibilist and opportunist, Marxian and reformist; anarchist; industrial unionist; and the labor union faker. The task of combining these conflicting elements was attempted by the convention. A knowledge of this task makes it easier to understand the seeming contradictions in the original Preamble.

The first year of the organization was one of internal struggle for control by these different elements. The two camps of socialist politicians looked upon the I. W. W. only as a battle ground upon which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakers strove to fasten themselves upon the organization that they might continue to exist if the new union was

a success. The anarchist element did not interfere to any great extent in the internal affairs. Only one instance is known to the writer: That of New York City where they were in alliance with one set of politicians, for the purpose of controlling the district council.

In spite of these and other obstacles the new organization made some progress; fought a few successful battles with the employing class, and started publishing a monthly organ, "The Industrial Worker." The I. W. W. also issued the first call for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone under the title, "Shall Our Brothers Be Murdered?"; formed the defense league; and it is due to the interest awakened by the I. W. W. that other organizations were enlisted in the fight to save the lives of the officials of the W. F. M. which finally resulted in their liberation. Thus the efforts of the W. F. M. in starting the I. W. W. were repaid.*

Second Convention

The Second convention met in September, 1906, with 93 delegates representing about 60,000 members.

This convention demonstrated that the administration of the I. W. W. was in the hands of men who were not in accord with the revolutionary program of the organization. Of the general officers only two were sincere—the General Secretary, W. E. Trautmann, and one member of the Executive Board, John Riordan.

The struggle for control of the organization formed the Second convention into two camps. The majority vote of the convention was in the revolutionary camp. The reactionary camp having the chairman used obstructive tactics in their effort to gain control of the convention. They hoped thereby to delay the conven-

*Berger in the "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee denied that the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case was a part of the class struggle. It was but a "border feud," said he.

tion until enough delegates would be forced to return home and thus change the control of the convention. The revolutionists cut this knot by abolishing the office of President and electing a chairman from among the revolutionists.

In this struggle the two contending sets of socialist politicians lined up in opposite camps.

The Second convention amended the Preamble by adding the following clause:

"Therefore without endorsing or desiring the endorsement of any political party."

A new executive board was elected. On the adjournment of the convention the old officials seized the general headquarters, and with the aid of detectives and police held the same, compelling the revolutionists to open up new offices. This they were enabled to do in spite of the fact that they were without access to the funds of the organization, and had to depend on getting finances from the locals.

The W. F. M. officials supported the old officials of the I. W. W. for a time financially and with the influence of their official organ. The same is true of the Socialist Party press and administration. The radical element in the W. F. M. were finally able to force the officials to withdraw that support. The old officials of the I. W. W. then gave up all pretence of having an organization.

The organization entered its second year facing a more severe struggle than in its first year. It succeeded, however, in establishing the general headquarters again, and in issuing a weekly publication in place of the monthly, seized by the old officials.

During the second year some hard struggles for better conditions were waged by the members.

The Third convention of the I. W. W. was uneventful. But it was at this convention that it became evident that the socialist politicians who had remained with the organization were trying to bend the I. W. W. to their purpose; and a slight effort was made to relegate the politician to the rear.

The Fourth convention resulted in a rupture between the politicians and industrial unionists because the former were not allowed to control the organization.

The Preamble was amended as follows:

I. W. W. Preamble

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working-class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization

formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The politicians attempted to set up another organization, claiming to be the real industrial movement. It is nothing but a duplicate of their political party and never functions as a labor organization. It is committed to a program of the "civilized plane," i. e., parliamentarism. Its publications are the official organs of a political sect that never misses an opportunity to assail the revolutionary workers while they are engaged in combat with some division of the ruling class. Their favorite method is to charge the revolutionists with all the crimes that a cowardly imagination can conjure into being. "Dynamiters, assassins, thugs, murderers, thieves," etc., are stock phrases.

Following the victory of the Lawrence Textile workers the S. L. P. politicians renewed their efforts to pose as the I. W. W.

By representing that they were the I. W. W. and THE ONLY I. W. W. they were enabled to deceive several thousand textile workers in Patterson, Passaic, Hackensack, Stirling, Summit, Hoboken, Newark, New Jersey; and Astoria, Long Island, and collect from them initiation fees and dues.

In every instance these political fakers betrayed the workers into the hands of the mill owners, and the efforts of the workers to better their conditions resulted in defeat. At Paterson and Passaic the S. L. P. entered into an alliance with the police to prevent the organizers of the I. W. W. from exposing them to the workers.

Their own actions, however, resulted in exposing them to the workers in their true colors and today they are thoroughly discredited with the workers throughout that district.

For a time the other wing of the political movement contented itself with spreading its venom in secret. Since the conclusion of the Lawrence strike the publications of the Socialist Party (with a very few exceptions) have never failed to use their columns to misrepresent and slander the organization and its active membership. Their attacks have extended to members of their own party who happened to be active members or supporters of the I. W. W.

Structure of the I. W. W.

Basing its conclusions upon the experience of the past the I. W. W. holds that it is essential to have the form and structure of the organization conform to the development of the machinery of production and the process of concentration going on in industry in order to facilitate the growth of solidarity on class lines among the workers. Unless the structure of the organization keeps step with the development of industry it will be impossible to secure the solidarity so necessary to success in the struggles with the employing class.

Out of date forms of organization with their corresponding obsolete methods and rules will have to be broken down. To do this in time of a struggle means confusion and chaos that result in defeat.

The I. W. W. holds, that, regardless of the bravery and spirit the workers may show, if they are compelled to fight with old methods and out of date form of organization against the modern organization of the employing class, there can be but one outcome to any struggle waged under these conditions—defeat.

The I. W. W. recognizes the need of working class solidarity. To achieve this it proposes the recognition of the Class Struggle as the basic principle of the organization, and declares its purpose to be the fighting of that struggle until the working class is in control of the administration of industry.

In its basic principle the I. W. W. calls forth that spirit of revolt and resistance that is so necessary a part of the equipment of any organization of the workers in their struggle for economic independence. In a word, its basic principle makes the I. W. W. a fighting organization. It commits the union to an unceasing struggle against the private ownership and control of industry.

There is but one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—**COMPLETE SURRENDER OF ALL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS.**

The experience of the past has proven the mass form of organization, such as that of the Knights of Labor, to be as powerless and unwieldy as a mob.

The craft form of union, with its principle of trade autonomy, and harmony of interest with the boss, has also been proven a failure. It has not furnished an effective weapon to the working class. True, it has been able to get for the skilled mechanics improved conditions; but due to the narrow structure of the craft organization, class interest has long since been lost sight of, and craft interest alone governs the action of its membership. In the last analysis the craft union has

only been able to get advantages for its membership at the expense of the great mass of the working class, by entering into a contract with the employing class to stand aloof from the balance of the working class in its struggles. They have become allies of the employers to keep in subjection the vast majority of the workers. The I. W. W. denies that the craft union movement is a labor movement. We deny that it can or will become a labor movement.

Today in the United States in all of the basic (large) industries, whenever any portion of the workers strive for better conditions, they enter into a conflict with the employing class as a whole. The expense of a strike is borne by the organized employers who have reached the point that, regardless of what competition may still remain, they unite to keep the workers in subjection, because of the common interest all have in securing cheap labor power.

To meet this condition the Industrial Workers of the World proposes:

General Outline

1. The unit of organization is the Industrial Union, "branches" according to the requirements of the particular industry. In some instances the Industrial Union may embrace ALL the workers of a given industry, while in other industries several Industrial Unions with distinct jurisdiction may be necessary to cover the situation; as, for instance, in the "Industry of Marine Transportation"—one union on the Great Lakes, one on the Atlantic and Gulf Seaboard, one on the Pacific Coast, one on the Mississippi River system—each being branched to meet the special requirements of the particular situation.

2. Industrial Unions of closely allied industries are combined into departmental organizations. For exam-

ple, the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Unions referred to above would be united with Railway or Steam Transportation Industrial Unions, Municipal Transportation Industrial Unions, Motor Truck Transporters, and Aviators' Unions, into the "Department of Transportation and Communication."

3. The Industrial Departments are combined into the General Organization, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like International Organization; and through the international organization establish solidarity and co-operation between the workers of all countries.

Component Parts of the Organization

Taking into consideration the technical differences that exist within the different departments of the industries and conditions existing where large numbers of workers are employed, the Industrial Union is "branched" wherever necessary. If the union includes ALL the workers in a given industry or a distinct jurisdiction within an industry, "Industrial Branches" of the Union are established in the centers most convenient for the workers.

These Industrial Branches are further subdivided into—

1. Shop sections, so that the workers of each shop control the conditions that directly affect them.

2. Language sections, so that the workers can conduct the affairs of the organization in the language with which they are the most familiar.

3. In those large industries which are operated by departments, DEPARTMENT subdivisions are formed to systematize and simplify the business of the organization.

4. When an industry covers a large local area, or is the principal industry of a city, DISTRICT subdivisions are formed, to enable the workers to attend union meetings without traveling too great a distance.

5. In order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers in all industries as well as among the workers of each industry, an INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL is formed by delegates elected from all the Industrial Unions and Industrial Branches operating in that district and, through this Council concerted action is maintained throughout the district.

Functions of the Local Sections and Subdivisions

Shop and language sections, and department and district subdivisions deal with the employer ONLY through the Industrial Branch or the Industrial Union. Thus, while the workers in each section determine the conditions that directly affect them, they act in concert with all the workers of the industry through the Industrial Branch and the Union.

As the knowledge of the English language becomes more general, the language branches will disappear.

The development of machine production will also gradually eliminate the branches based on technical knowledge, or skill.

The constant development and concentration of the ownership and control of industry will be met by a like concentration of the number of Industrial Unions and Industrial Departments. It is meant that the organization at all times shall conform to the needs of the hour and eventually furnish the medium through which and by which the organized workers will be able to determine the amount of food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement necessary to satisfy the wants of the workers.

Administration of the Organizations

Industrial Unions have full charge of all their own affairs; elect their own officers; determine their pay; and also the amount of dues collected by the union from the membership. The general organization, however, does not allow any union to charge over 50 cents per month dues or \$2.00 initiation fee.

Each Industrial Branch of an Industrial Union elects a delegate or delegates to the Executive Committee of the Industrial Union. This Executive Committee is the administrative body of the Industrial Union. Officers of the Industrial Branches consist of secretary, treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Officers of the Industrial Union consist of secretary and treasurer, chairman, and executive committee.

Each Industrial Union and Industrial Branch within a given district elects a delegate or delegates to the District Council. The District Council has as officers a secretary-treasurer and trustees. The officers of the district council are elected by the delegates thereof.

All officers in local bodies except those of district council are elected by ballot of all the membership involved.

Proportional representation does not prevail in the delegations of the branches and to district councils. Each branch and local has the same number of delegates. Each delegate casts one vote.

Industrial Unions hold annual conventions. Delegates from each Branch of the Union cast a vote based upon the membership of the Industrial Branch that they represent.

The Industrial Union nominates the candidates for officers at the convention, and the three nominees receiving the highest votes at the convention are sent to

all the membership to be voted upon in selecting the officers.

The officers of the Industrial Unions consist of secretary and treasurer, and executive committee. Each Industrial Union elects delegates to the Department to which it belongs. The same procedure is followed in electing delegates as in electing officers.

Industrial Departments hold conventions and nominate the delegates that are elected to the general convention. Delegates to the general convention nominate candidates for the officers of the general organization. These general officers are elected by the vote of the entire organization.

The General Executive Board is composed of one member from each Industrial Department and is selected by the membership of that department.

General conventions are held annually at present.

The rule in determining the wages of the officers of all parts of the organization is, to pay the officers who are needed approximately the same wages they would receive when employed in the industry in which they work.

I. W. W. Tactics or Methods

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined by the power of the organization to make good in their use.

No terms made with an employer are final. All peace so long as the wage system lasts, is only a truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

As the organization gains control in the industries,

and the knowledge among the workers of their power, when properly applied within the industries, becomes more general, the long drawn out strike will become a relic of the past. A long drawn out strike implies insufficient organization or that the strike has occurred at a time when the employer can best afford to shut down—or both. Under all ordinary circumstances a strike that is not won in four to six weeks cannot be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months than he can six strikes that take place in that period.

No part of the organization is allowed to enter into time contracts with the employers. Where strikes are used, it aims to paralyze all branches of the industry involved, when the employers can least afford a cessation of work—during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and a more favorable time awaited to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

The great progress made in machine production results in an ever increasing army of unemployed. To counteract this the Industrial Workers of the World aims to establish the shorter work day, and to slow up the working pace, thus compelling the employment of more and more workers.

To facilitate the work of organization, large initiation fees and dues are prohibited by the I. W. W.*

*Some of the craft unions charge from \$25 to \$250. One, the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, charges \$1,000.

During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to persuade workers from taking the places of the strikers. All supplies are cut off from strike bound shops. All shipments are refused wherever possible. Strike breakers are also isolated. Illegal interference by the government is resented by open violation of the government's orders, going to jail en masse, causing expense to the taxpayers—which is but another name for the employing class.

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant tactics to the full extent of its power to make good.

Education

At the present time the organization has nineteen publications, nine weekly, three-bi-weekly, four monthly newspapers. Three monthly Magazines in the following languages, Newspapers: 4 English, 2 Jewish, one each, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Swedish, Polish, German, Croatian, Lithuanian, Spanish. Magazines: one English, Russian and Finnish, one Finnish daily paper and one Finnish monthly, advocate the principles set forth in the preamble.

The various Industrial Union's also get out weekly Bulletins devoted mainly to job news and activities of interest to their members.

The general organization issues leaflets and pamphlets from time to time and aims to build up and extend educational literature in all languages as fast as the resources of the organization permit.

The Unions and their Industrial Branches hold educational meetings in halls and on the streets of the industrial centers. Reading rooms and halls are maintained by all the larger Branches. Revolutionary literature is kept on file.

Special shop meetings are held in efforts to organize certain industries.

Struggles of the I. W. W.

In 1906 the eight-hour day was established for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada.

In the same year sheet metal workers lost a strike at Youngstown, Ohio, due to the American Federation of Labor's filling the places of the strikers.

In 1907 textile workers of Skowhegan, Maine, 3,000 strong, struck over the discharge of active workers in the organization. The strike lasted four weeks and resulted in a complete victory for the strikers with improved conditions. John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L., attempted to break this strike by furnishing strike breakers.

In Portland, Oregon, 3,000 saw mill workers were involved in a strike for a nine-hour day and increase of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day. On account of the exceptional demand for labor of all kinds in that section at that time, most of the strikers secured employment elsewhere, and the strike played out at the end of about six weeks. The saw mill companies were seriously crippled for months, and were forced indirectly to raise wages and improve conditions of the employes. This strike gave much impetus to I. W. W. agitation in the western part of the United States.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1,200 tube mill workers were involved. This strike was lost through the scabbing tactics of the A. F. of L.

In the same year 800 silk mill workers engaged in a strike at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This strike was lost on account of a shutdown due to the panic of 1907 that occurred shortly after the strike started.

From March 10, 1907, until April 22, the W. F. M. and the I. W. W. at Goldfield, Nevada, fought for their existence (and the conditions that they had established at that place) against the combined forces of the mine owners, business men and A. F. of L. This open fight was compromised as a result of the treachery of the W. F. M. general officers. The fight was waged intermittently from April 22 till September, 1907, and resulted in regaining all ground lost through the compromise, and in destroying the scab charter issued by the A. F. of L. during the fight. This fight cost the employers over \$100,000. The strike of the W. F. M. in October, 1907, took place during a panic and destroyed the organization's control in that district.

Under the I. W. W. sway in Goldfield, the minimum wage for all kinds of labor was \$4.50 per day and the eight-hour day was universal. The highest point of efficiency for any labor organization was reached by the I. W. W. and W. F. M. in Goldfield, Nevada. No committees were ever sent to any employers. The unions adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside of the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union's committees.

Beginning in July, 1909, at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, 8,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen different nationalities, waged the most important struggle that the I. W. W. took part in to that date. The strike lasted eleven weeks. As usual, the employers resorted to the use of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, known as the American Cossacks, to intimidate the strikers and browbeat them back to work. This constabulary is a picked body of armed thugs recruited for their ability to handle firearms. Every strike in Pennsylvania since the institution of the constabulary has been broken or crippled by them. Men, women and children have been killed and brutally maimed by them with impunity. Their ad-

vent upon the scene in McKees Rocks was marked by the usual campaign of brutality. Finally one of the cossacks killed a striker. The strike committee then served notice upon the commander of the cossacks that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. And that they were not at all concerned as to which cossack paid the penalty, but that a life for a life would be exacted. The strikers kept their word. On the next assault by the cossacks, several of the constabulary were killed and a number wounded. The cossacks were driven from the streets and into the plants of the company. An equal number of strikers were killed and about fifty wounded in the battle. This ended the killing on both sides during the remainder of the strike. For the first time in their existence the cossaks were "tamed." The McKees Rocks strike resulted in a complete victory for the strikers.

On November 2, 1909, the city government at Spokane, Washington, started to arrest the speakers of the I. W. W. for holding street meetings. The locals at that point decided to fight the city and force it to allow the organization to hold street meetings. The fight lasted up to the first of March following, and resulted in compelling the city to pass a law allowing street speaking. Over 500 men and women went to jail during the free speech fight. Two hundred went on a hunger strike that lasted from 11 to 13 days, and then went from 30 to 45 days on bread and water; two ounces of bread per day. Four members lost their lives as a result of the treatment accorded them in this fight.

Many more free speech fights have occurred since the one in Spokane, the most notable being at Fresno, California. Here the authorities in cahoots with employers attempted to stop I. W. W. agitation, which was directed toward the organization of the thousands of unskilled workers in the San Joaquin Valley, the fruit belt of California. Street meetings were forbidden in

Fresno. The I. W. W. again made use of "direct action" methods, and filled the jails of that city with arrested street speakers. The fight lasted for four months, and over 100 members were in jail for from two to three months. Arrested members refused to hire lawyers, and plead their own cases in court, or used some member or the organization as their "attorney." Finally, the organization outside of Fresno took an energetic hold of the fight, and organized a movement to "invade California." In accordance with this plan, detachments of free speech fighters started to "march on Fresno" from Spokane, Portland, Denver, St. Louis and other sections. Whereupon the Fresno authorities decided that they had enough, and surrendered. Freedom of speech was completely re-established in Fresno, and the I. W. W. has never since been interfered with, until the beginning of the war.

A four months' strike of shoe workers occurred in Brooklyn, New York, in the winter of 1911. This strike was most stubbornly contested on both sides, and resulted in improved conditions for the workers in some of the shops.

Some of the Strikes of 1912-1917.*

1912

Local Union No. 10, Electrical Supply Workers, Fremont, Ohio. One strike; 30 men involved. Lost because of inability to extend the same and shut down the plant.

Local Unions 161 and 169, Textile and Shoe Workers, Haverhill, Mass. Two strikes involving 572 mem-

*Under this heading all the references to Local Unions and National Industrial Unions are based upon the terms used and the structure provided by the constitution prior to the tenth convention in 1916. The Industrial Workers of the World being as broad as industry and dealing with the workers in the industries rather than along mere local lines, the inconsistency of the words Local and National was cured by striking them out and thus removing any restrictions that may have been imposed upon our ideals by the use of such terms.—W. D. H.

bers. Lasted seven weeks altogether. Both strikes successful. Sixty members arrested and 15 of them convicted and sentenced to jail for one to four months.

Local Union 194, Clothing Workers, Seattle, Washington. Ten small strikes lasting from a few hours up to two months. All of the strikes successful except one. Fifteen arrested, one conviction, two members held in jail nine weeks for deportation finally released. Number of workers involved not specified.

Local Union 326, Railroad Construction Workers, Prince Rupert, B. C. Two strikes, both of which were successful; 2,350 workers involved; 12 members arrested, all of whom were convicted and sentenced from six months to three years. This local also assisted in winning a strike for unorganized workers at the Shenna Crossing.

Local Union 327, Railroad Construction Workers, Lytton, B. C. One strike lasting seven months; 5,000 involved; 300 members arrested; 200 convicted and sentenced to from one to six months. This strike was called off by the local union owing to the failure to keep the line tied up. The contractors were forced, however, to improve wages and conditions.

National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers. Two strikes, involving seven local unions and 7,000 workers. One strike lasted two months and the other three weeks. No record of the number of members arrested, but there were several hundred. Three members were convicted and sentenced to from one to three months in jail. The strikes were partially successful in raising wages in the industry.

Extending the organization of the lumber workers in the southern lumber districts involves a contest with the employing class in a section of the country where the employers have held undisputed sway since the American continent was first settled.

Organizers are assaulted and killed by the armed thugs of the industrial lords. The will of the employing class is the law of the land.

July 7, 1912, a meeting held upon the public road at Grabow, Louisiana, was ambushed by the guards of the Galloway Lumber Company. Three men were killed and forty wounded. Following this attack, A. L. Emerson, the president of the southern district organization, and sixty-four members were arrested and held for trial upon charges of conspiracy to commit murder. Emerson and nine of the members were tried and acquitted in spite of the efforts of the mill owners and lumber companies to railroad them to the penitentiary or gallows. All others were discharged from custody without trial.

Local Union 436, Lowell, Massachusetts, Textile Workers. Two strikes, one of which resulted in victory and the other was lost; 18,000 involved. Number arrested in strikes 26, all of whom were convicted and sentenced to from one to six weeks in jail.

Local Union 557, Piano Workers, Boston, Massachusetts. One strike; 200 members involved. Strike lasted five weeks and was lost.

Local Union 20, Textile Workers, Lawrence, Massachusetts. Five strikes involving 29,000 workers; 333 arrested, 320 of whom were convicted and fined from \$100 down, and to one year in jail. Most of these cases, however, were settled for a nominal fine on appeal to the higher court. (For an account of the great Lawrence strike and of the Ettor-Giovannitti trial growing out of it, see "Trial of a New Society," by Justus Ebert.)

Local Union 157, Textile Workers, New Bedford, Massachusetts. Lockout; 13,000 workers involved. Number of arrests not known.

The workers in the textile mills of the city of Little Falls, N. Y., to the number of 1,500, most all of whom were of foreign birth, walked out of the mills although unorganized, in an effort to better their conditions.

They called upon the National Union of Textile Workers for organizers to assist them in their struggle. The National Union responded to the call by sending Ben Legere and an Italian Fellow Worker named Bocinni.

These two organizers got the unorganized workers together, organized strike committees and a picket line, in an endeavor to prevail upon the English speaking workers to join hands with their brother workers of other tongues and force the bosses to grant the demands.

Their efforts were of little avail, but the employers after a few weeks resorted to the time-worn practice of using the police to cause riot and disorder. The picket lines were attacked and broken up; men, women and children were beaten and clubbed senseless. The organizers were arrested and charged with being responsible for the police-made riots and Legere and Bocinni convicted by prejudiced juries and sentenced to short terms in prison.

After a period of several weeks the bosses were forced to make concessions in wages and the strike terminated. No organization remained after the end of the strike.

In addition to the above there were other strikes of smaller size, but the locals and members involved in the same have not furnished the General Office with any information, so we cannot include data concerning them.

An estimate of the amount of money expended for relief and other expenses incidental to handling strikes in the year (1912) shows that \$101,504.05 were ex-

pended in handling strikes involving a total of 75,152 strikers and their families, lasting over a period of 74 weeks in the aggregate. The number arrested during that period totaled 1,446; and there were 577 convictions.

1913 Strikes.

An aftermath of the Lawrence strike was the trial of Ettor, Giovanitti and Caruso, who were charged with the murder of a striking girl mill worker killed by the police. The trial was bitterly fought in an effort to railroad these valiant champions of working class freedom to the gallows or the penitentiary.

In this instance, however, the employers suffered defeat. The trial resulted in the triumphant acquittal of the fellow workers.

As a result of the sawmill owners at Merryville, La., discharging workers who were witnesses in defense of A. L. Emerson, the local of Lumber and Mill Workers declared a strike to force their company to reinstate these workers. The strike was attended by the usual tactics of the labor hating lumber barons of the south.

Mobs of gunmen drove out the strikers and their families, the commissariat of the strikers was raided and the union after a bitter struggle was entirely destroyed.

The workers employed in the tire and rubber goods factories of Akron, Ohio, to the number of 22,000 walked out in an effort to secure a readjustment of working conditions and wages to offset losses suffered by them because of new machinery and the efficiency systems installed by the various companies operating in that industry. After a struggle of seven weeks the strikers were defeated.

Following close upon the termination of the Law-

rence strike, the workers in the silk mills of Paterson, New Jersey, Summit, New York, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, numbering upwards of fifty thousand, came out on strike under the banner of the I. W. W.

The struggle was marked by intense brutality on the part of the police force, especially in the city of Paterson. Every supposed right of the workers was trampled under foot; halls were denied the workers; the pickets were attacked and arrests made by the hundred. Starvation finally forced the workers to accept a compromise settlement of a nine-hour workday and a small increase in wages.

In this struggle, as in the Lawrence strike, the A. F. of L. union, The United Textile Workers of America, through its president John Golden, attempted to serve the silk mill owners.

At Detroit, Michigan, eight thousand employes of the automobile factories came out unorganized in a demand for better wages and working conditions. At the end of a week the strike was called off and the workers returned to work without gaining any of their demands.

The dock workers on the iron ore docks of Duluth and Superior attempted to form an organization and were forced to strike by the companies discharging all known members. The strike was lost and the organization broken up.

One thousand workers in the machine shops of Toledo, Ohio, won their demands after a short strike.

The employes of the Avery Agricultural Implement Company of Peoria, Ill., numbering five hundred, declared a strike for better wages. After a week the pickets were arrested and the hall of the local closed by the police at the bidding of the employing interests of that city. The strike was lost.

The Utah Construction Company, a railroad construction concern, financed by Mormon capital, engaged in grading out of Tucker, Utah, attempted to squeeze heavier profits from the workers employed by them. As a result, the local at Salt Lake City was called upon by the workers involved. A short and bitter strike resulted in gaining better conditions for the workers. No permanent organization resulted from the strike.

The great Industrial center of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was the scene of a great many strikes in various industries. The Stogie Workers, Oliver Steel Plant, Aluminun Workers and Frank & Seder's department Store Workers were on strike at various times. No organization resulted from any of these strikes and little if anything was gained by the workers.

Longshore workers of the Philadelphia waterfront, becoming disgusted with the A. F. of L. International, broke away and reorganized themselves as a part of the I. W. W. After a short strike the boss stevedores were compelled to grant the demands of the workers, who have maintained shop control on the water front since that time.

One thousand sugar workers struck for better wages in the sugar plants at Philadelphia. The strike was lost.

Philadelphia stone masons and helpers won a short strike as members of the I. W. W., but did not maintain the organization.

The restaurant workers of that city likewise gained some concessions, but did not preserve their organization.

The garment workers of Baltimore lost a fourteen weeks' strike by reason of the A. F. of L. garment workers furnishing strike breakers.

The workers of the Draper Loom Plants at Hopedale and Milford, Massachusetts, rebelled against low wages and long hours, but were defeated in their strike.

Textile workers at Ipswich, Massachusetts, struck for an increase in wages and the return of pay deducted by the companies as forfeits for quitting without giving two weeks' notice. The strike resulted in an increase in wages from 5 to 15 per cent and forcing the company to refund \$60,000.

Ten thousand barbers in New York won a strike of short duration. The organization, however, gradually disintegrated and in a short time died out.

River front workers of New Orleans fought and lost a bitter fight in that city as a part of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union.

The lumber workers of Marshfield, Oregon, Missoula, Montana, and the Puget Sound district engaged in strikes, all of which were lost or compromised for lack of organization to co-ordinate the struggles and extend them thruout the industry.

Two thousand three hundred hop pickers on the Durst Ranch at Wheatland, California, went on strike against the inhuman conditions prevailing there. A riot was precipitated by deputy sheriffs firing into a peaceful body of striking men, women and children. Several strikers and deputy sheriffs were killed. As a result of this occurrence two of the most active strikers, Ford and Suhr, were railroaded to the penitentiary for life.

The lumber workers of the Grays Harbor district came out on strike to the number of 5,000 or more in an effort to establish an eight-hour day and sanitary living conditions in the camps. The strike was unsuccessful in obtaining these conditions generally, but some camps improved the housing and boarding conditions as a result of the strike.

1916 Strikes.

The iron ore miners of the Mesaba Iron Range lost a bitter strike marked by the killing and injury of strike pickets and one of the deputy sheriffs, by company gunmen.

In line with the usual corporation practice in strikes where strikers or others are killed by company gunmen, the organizers and active members in the strike were charged with the crimes committed by gunmen in the employ of the companies.

The sugar workers of Philadelphia again lost a bitterly contested strike in which one worker was killed and several injured by police attacks upon the picket lines.

A strike of the shingle weavers organized in the A. F. of L. took place at Everett, Washington. The strikers requested the I. W. W. to furnish them with speakers to aid in carrying on the strike. Compliance with this request resulted in the authorities attempting to drive all members of the I. W. W. out of that section.

The usual Vigilante tactics were adopted. Members were arrested by deputy sheriffs on trumped up charges and thrown into jail. At night they were taken out of the jail by groups of armed deputies, turned over to mobs of profiteers to be beaten and shot.

In an effort to end this condition of affairs by advertising its existence to the citizens of that section, the I. W. W. decided to hold a mass meeting on the streets of Everett. A boat was chartered and members to its passenger capacity responded to the call. On arrival at Everett they were met by a drunken sheriff and a posse of gunmen who opened fire upon the boatload of men and women. Seven members were killed and many wounded.*

Seventy-four members were indicted for this crime of a drunken sheriff. The trial which followed resulted

*See "Everett Massacre," cloth bound, 50 cents, published by the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

in the acquittal of Fellow Worker George Tracy. The others who were under indictment were discharged. Neither the sheriff nor any of his deputies were ever called to account for their murderous activities.

1917 Strikes.

The year 1917 marked the entry of the United States into the World War, and as an inevitable consequence profiteering became the order of the day with the master class. Prices of the necessities of life soared, millionaires were made over night, but the lot of the workers in the basic industries, where the workers had little or no organization, became worse and worse.

As a result of this condition of affairs the workers in the great copper and lumbering sections of the northwest and southwest began to organize and to demand some share of the fabulous wealth which their labor was creating.

Out of this grew the strikes of the copper miners of Bisbee, Jerome, Globe and Miami, Arizona, and Butte, Montana, and the general strike of the lumber jacks and sawmill workers of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

The workers in these industries to the number of thousands came out to enforce a decent standard of living, a standard compatible with the efforts that they as workers were putting forth to help meet the demand that wartime conditions were making upon the industries of the country.

But the profiteers and their henchmen were quick to take advantage of wartime conditions and use them in order to protect profits, and to keep the workers in subjection.

Every attempt on the part of the rebel workers to organize and demand better wages and conditions was met with the charge that it was a pro-German plot to hamper the government in its conducting of the war.

At Jerome, Arizona, organizers and members of the I. W. W. were deported by company gunmen under the cloak of patriotism.

A company owned sheriff at Bisbee in command of 2,500 imported thugs and gunmen deported from their homes 1,200 strikers and sympathizers, after murdering one man who defended his domicile against attack by company thugs.

Butte, Montana, witnessed the crowning act of infamy, perpetrated by the money-mad profiteers posing as patriots, in the cowardly assassination of Executive Board Member Frank H. Little, who, crippled and unable to defend himself, was kidnapped in the dead of night, dragged behind an automobile for miles and hanged to a railroad trestle.

In spite of his reign of terrorism, unparalleled in the history of the nation, the lumber workers were successful in establishing the eight-hour day, an increase in wages, and the installation of sanitary living conditions in the lumber camps of the northwest.

The copper miners, even though their organization was shattered so that its effectiveness has been impaired, forced the wages up and bettered working conditions in the hell-holes where copper is produced.

Failing to destroy the I. W. W. by terroristic methods, the employers next proceeded to use a compliant government in an attempt to destroy the organization. Nation wide raids upon the offices of local and industrial unions and the general offices were staged. Books, papers, literature and supplies of the organization were illegally seized, and in some cases, destroyed by government agents.

This was followed by a grand jury, in the city of Chicago, returning an indictment against 166 officials and members, charging them with conspiracy and sedition.

In a mock trial that followed, before a corporation owned judge, who cloaked his fealty to the profiteers

with a veneer of patriotism, a jury, hand picked by the A. P. L. (American Profiteers Legionaries) returned a verdict of guilty against 98 of the defendants, 93 of whom were sentenced to terms in the penitentiary ranging from one to twenty years.

But in spite of all the I. W. W. still lives and is slowly but surely building up the organization that will strike the shackles of wage slavery from the limbs of the world's workers and make this earth a fit place for free men and women to inhabit.

Note—On account of the seizure of records by the government the data on strikes and other activities is incomplete and lacking in definite detail as to dates, number involved, length of strike and the outcome. Such data from 1912 is from memory, and by the courtesy of H. L. Varney.

Free Speech Fights.

San Diego, California, was the scene of a bitter and brutal fight for free speech, participated in by the I. W. W. and Socialist Party local. The fight cost two members of the I. W. W. their lives as a result of police brutality. The struggle was lost.

Free speech fights in Denver, Sioux City, Kansas City, Omaha and Des Moines, resulted in preserving that supposed right to the workers at these points.

The I. W. W. at Present.

The organization to date Oct. 1st 1919, consists of seventeen Industrial Unions' with Branches, Lumber Workers, Metal and Coal Miners', Agricultural and Oil Workers, Construction Workers, Marine Transport Workers, Railroad Workers, Metal and Machinery Workers, Textile Workers, Shipbuilding Workers, Hotel Restaurant & Domestic Workers, Bakery Workers, Furniture Workers, Leather Workers, Printing and Publishing Workers, Rubber Workers, Food Production Workers, General Distributing Workers and 60 Recruiting Union Branches, directly united with the general organization.

The membership today consists very largely of unskilled workers. The bulk of the present membership is in the following industries: Textile, steel, lumber, mining, farming, railroad construction and marine transportaton. The majority of the workers in these industries—except the textile—travel from place to place following the different seasons of work. They are therefore out of touch with the organization for months at a period. The paid-up membership of the organization at this time is 100,000. Due to the causes referred to above, this is all of the membership that keeps paid up on the books at all times. The general office however has issued 500,000 cards, which is about the number of workers that are in the organization in good and bad standing.

The general practice of exaggerating the membership of the organization is looked upon with disfavor in the I. W. W., as the organization aims to have the membership at all times look at all questions that affect their interests in their actual state. It is absolutely necessary that they do so if they are to be able to judge their strength and their ability to accomplish any proposed undertaking.

As will be seen, the organization in the past has had a continual struggle, not the least of which has been the internal strife engendered by conflicting elements whose activity sprang from many different motives.

The future of the organization will be one of greater struggles. We would not have it otherwise. The internal strife will no doubt be present in the future as in the past. The employing class are fully aware that the most effective way of lessening the power of the revolutionary labor organization is to keep it busy with internal wrangles.

As the membership gain experience from actual contact with the problems of their class they will learn to know each other and the internal wrangles will disappear. Then this weapon in the hands of the employ-

ers will become useless, because the membership will refuse to be divided where their class interests are involved.

The future belongs to the I. W. W. The day of the skilled worker is passed. Machine production has made the unskilled worker the main factor in industry. Under modern industrial conditions the workers can no longer act in small groups with any chance of success. They must organize and act as a class.

We are looking forward to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in their union the world over "and decide how long they will work and how much of the wealth they produce they will give to the boss."

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond

most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wageslaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for suc-

cess upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force

men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony

with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE I. W. W.

By Vincent St. John.

I am in receipt of many inquiries relative to the position of the I. W. W. and political action. One fellow

worker wants to know, "How is this revolutionary body going to express itself politically?" and "if it is going to hop through the industrial world on one leg?"

A little investigation will prove to any worker that while the workers are divided on the industrial field it is not possible to unite them on any other field to advance a working class program.

Further investigation will prove that with the working class divided on the industrial field, unity anywhere else—if it could be brought about—would be without results. The workers would be without power to enforce any demands. The proposition, then, is to lay all stress in our agitation upon the essential point, that is upon the places of production, where the working class must unite in sufficient numbers before it will have the power to make itself felt anywhere else.

Will it not follow that, united in sufficient numbers at the workshops and guided by the knowledge of their class interests, such unity will be manifested in every field wherein they can assist in advancing the interest of the working class? Why then should not all stress be laid upon the organization of the workers on the industrial field?

The illustration used by our fellow worker in which he likens the economic organization to a one-legged concern because it does not mention political action, is not a comparison that in any way fits the case. As well might the prohibitionist, the anti-clerical, or any other advocate of the many schools that claim the worker can better his condition by their particular policy, say that because the declaration of principles of the economic organization makes no mention of these subjects, the I. W. W. is short a leg on each count.

The Preamble of the I. W. W. deals with the essential point upon which we know the workers will have to agree before they can accomplish anything for themselves. Regardless of what a wage worker may think on any question, if he agrees upon the essential

thing we want him in the I. W. W. helping to build up the organized army of production.

The two legs of the economic organization are KNOWLEDGE and ORGANIZATION.

The only value that political activity has to the working class is from the standpoint of agitation and education. Its educational merit consists solely in proving to the workers its utter inefficacy to curb the power of the ruling class and therefore forcing the workers to rely on the organization of their class in the industries.

It is impossible for anyone to be a part of the capitalist state and to use the machinery of the state in the interest of the workers. All they can do is to make the attempt, and to be impeached—as they will be—and furnish object lessons to the workers, of the class character of the state.

Knowing this, the I. W. W. proposes to devote all of its energy to building up the organization of the workers in the industries of the country and the world: to drilling and educating the members so that they will have the necessary power and the knowledge to use that power to overthrow capitalism.

I know that here you will say: what about the injunction judges, the militia and the bull pens? In answer, ask yourself what will stop the use of these same weapons against you on the political field if by the political activity of the workers you were able to menace the profits of the capitalist?

If you think it cannot be done, turn to Colorado where in 1904 two judges of the supreme court of that state, Campbell and Gabbert, by the injunction process assumed original jurisdiction over the state election and decided the majority of the state legislature, the governorship and the election of the United States senator.

Turn to the Coeur d'Alenes where the military forces of the United State put out of office all officials who would not do the bidding of the mining companies of that region.

Turn to Colorado, where a mob did the same thing in the interest of the capitalist class.

The only power that the working class has is the power to produce wealth. The I. W. W. proposes to organize the workers to control the use of their labor so that they will be able to stop the production of wealth except upon terms dictated by the workers themselves.

The capitalists' political power is exactly the measure of their industrial power—control of industry; that control can only be disputed and finally destroyed by an organization of the workers inside the industries—organized for the every day struggle with the capitalists and to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

With such an organization, knowing that an injury to one member of the working class is an injury to every member of that class, it will be possible to make the use of injunctions and the militia so costly that the capitalist will not use them. None of his industries would run except for such length of time as the workers needed to work in order to get in shape to renew the struggle.

A stubborn slave will bring the most overbearing master to time. The capitalists cannot exterminate a real labor organization by fighting it—they are only dangerous when they commence to fraternize with it.

Neither can the capitalists and their tools exterminate the working class or any considerable portion of it—they would have to go to work themselves if they did.

It is true that while the movement is weak they may victimize a few of its members, but if that is not al-

lowed to intimidate the organization the employers will not be able to do that very long.

Persecution of any organization always results in the growth of the principle represented by that organization—if its members are men and women of courage. If they are not, there is no substitute that will insure victory.

The I. W. W. will express itself politically in its general convention and the referendum of its members in the industries throughout the land, in proportion to its power.

The work before us is to build up an organization of our class in the field wherein our power lies. That task must be accomplished by the workers themselves. Whatever obstacles are in the way must be overcome, however great they seem to be. Remember that the working class is a great class and its power is unbounded when properly organized.

As we organize we control our labor power. As we control our labor power a little we control industry a little; as we organize more we will control more of our labor power, and also control industry more. When we control enough of our labor power we will meet in our representative assembly—the Convention of the I. W. W.—and tell the boss how long we will work and how much of what we produce he can have.

The sooner all the members of the working class who agree with this program lend their efforts to bring it about—by joining the I. W. W.—the sooner will the struggle be ended in spite of all the machinations of the capitalist and his judges and armies.

Therefore it will never be necessary for the I. W. W. to endorse any political party, whether we will gain support or not by so doing. Neither will the I. W. W. carry on a propaganda against political action. To do so would be as useless as to carry on a campaign for it.

We are forced, however, to point out the limitations of political action for the working class in order that the workers be not led into a cul se sac by the politician, and because of that lose all idea of ever being anything but slaves for generations to come.

This we can only do by devoting our entire effort in the work of organization and education to the industrial field.

To those who think the workers will have to be united in a political party, we say dig in and do so, but do not try to use the economic organization to further the aims of the political party.

THE TREND TOWARD INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

By B. H. Williams.

(Written for the American Journal of Sociology.)

"What kind of a world does the I. W. W. want?" Such, in substance, is the question asked of the writer by the editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Nothing would please me more than to attempt to draw a picture of that world; but space is too limited. I shall, therefore, indicate only some salient features of the I. W. W. forecast and program, which seem to me wholly in accord with scientific principles and facts, and therefore not to be successfully controverted.

In harmony with the theory and the established facts of evolution, the Industrial Workers of the World holds that the general tendency of the organism we call Society is progressive—that is, from lower or less finished forms and functions, to ever higher and more nearly finished forms and functions, approaching the infinity of perfection. In other words, Social Evolution differs in no essential respect from organic evolution.

Applying this evolutionary principle, we discover:

1. That this society which we call Capitalism is a more advanced form of the social organism than was any prior state. Its crowning achievement is the Age of Machinery, bringing into existence an enormous increase in wealth and in the capacity for producing the accessories of an ever-richer civilization; in short; transforming the face of Society in a manner undreamed of prior to its advent.

2. That the manner of producing the social wealth has evolved from an individual or small group form to an ever larger group form, embracing great industries and correlating these industries into what is approaching a world-system of production and exchange. In other words, machinery or the Machine Process has evolved Social Wealth Production, in which, generally speaking, all workers co-operate nationally and internationally in the creation and exchange of the accessories of civilization.

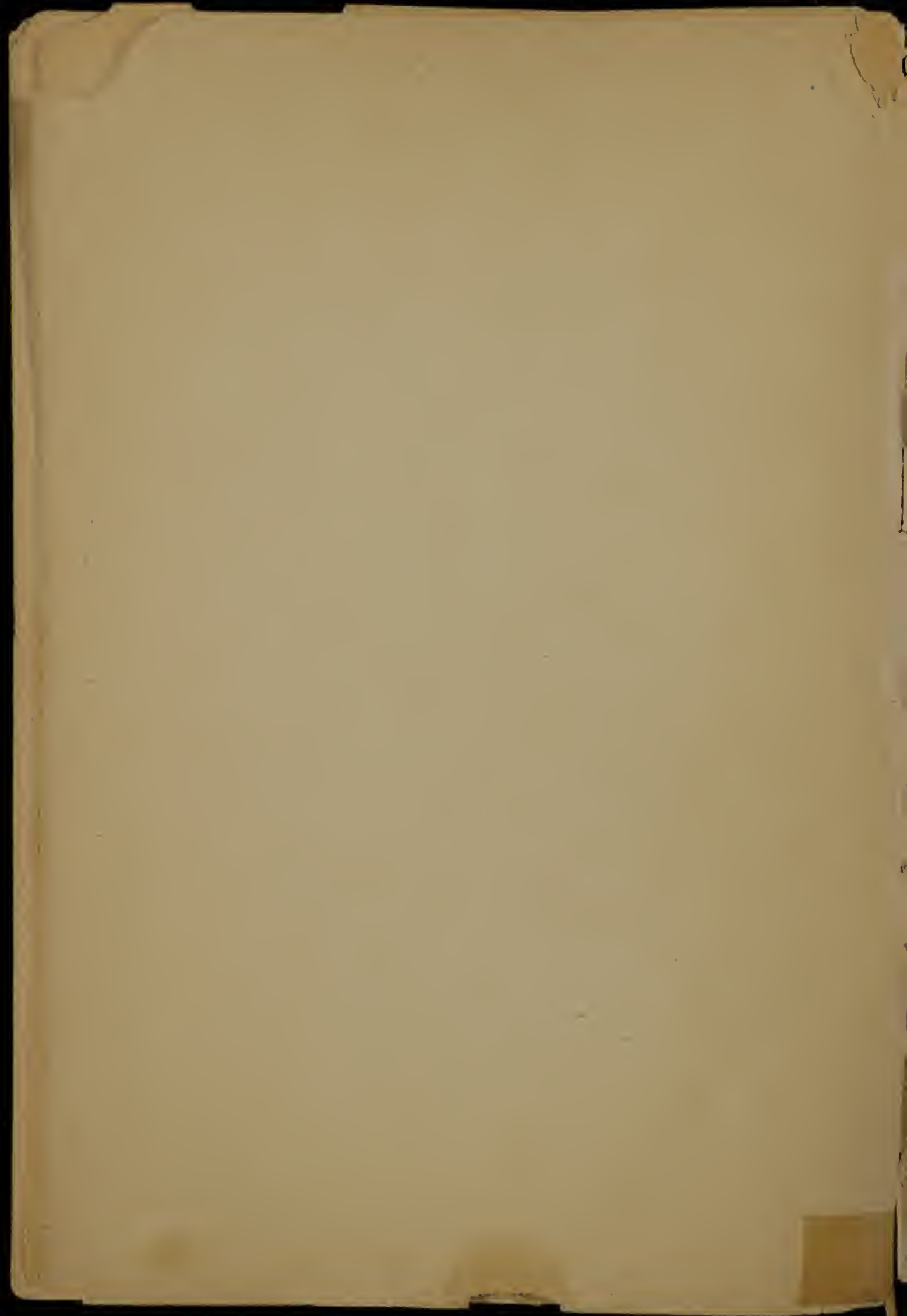
3. That the control or management of this system of production and exchange is not democratic, but autocratic—is in the hands of individuals or groups of capitalists, who claim absolute control over the product of labor as well as absolute ownership of the natural resources and of the machinery of production. In brief, the system of ownership and control is in contradiction to the system of producing and exchanging wealth in accordance with the machine process.

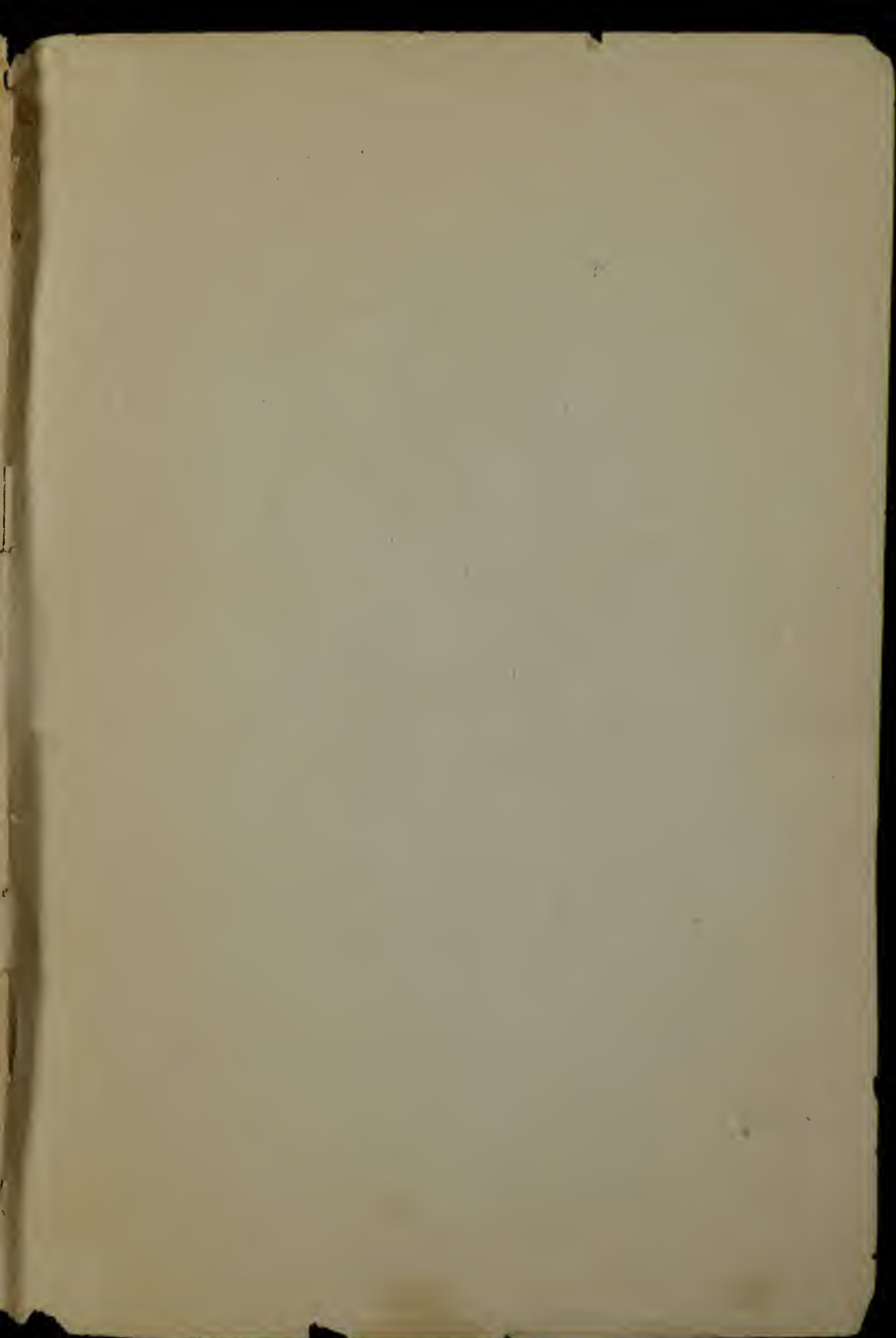
4. That the contradiction aforementioned inevitably keeps alive and intensifies the class struggle between the owners or controllers, and the workers, in which struggle the latter seek (some consciously, some unconsciously) to remove the contradiction by eliminating autocratic, and substituting democratic, control as well as operation of the system of wealth production and distribution, and therefore of Society itself. To

put it in another form: The most promising tendency that the I. W. W. discovers in modern society is that toward Industrial and Social Democracy.

This tendency, in our judgment, is the one that should be most emphasized, in the American thought both of the present and of the future. Its goal—the complete democratization of industry—means the freeing of the social organism from economic contradictions, whose social fruitage has been and is: wars between nations, panics or industrial depressions, strikes, lockouts, riots, unemployment, long hours of toil, insufficient wages, excessive labor, prostitution, pauperism, many classes of crimes and diseases, and other evidences of social malnutrition. It means a freer play of individuality, and the unfolding of a social initiative whose fecundity will make this old Mother Earth as near a paradise as can well be conceived of at present. And for all this and more, we shall still have to thank our old step-mother, Capitalism, for having made us rebels against her crudeness and barbarism.

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."







WE ARE IN HERE
FOR YOU, YOU ARE
OUT THERE FOR US

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
The I. V. A. is Fifty Years

The
I. W. W.

Its First Fifty Years

(1905 — 1955)



The history of an effort to organize the
working class in One Big Union—world
wide—so each would have the backing
of all — so no worker anywhere
could be used against another

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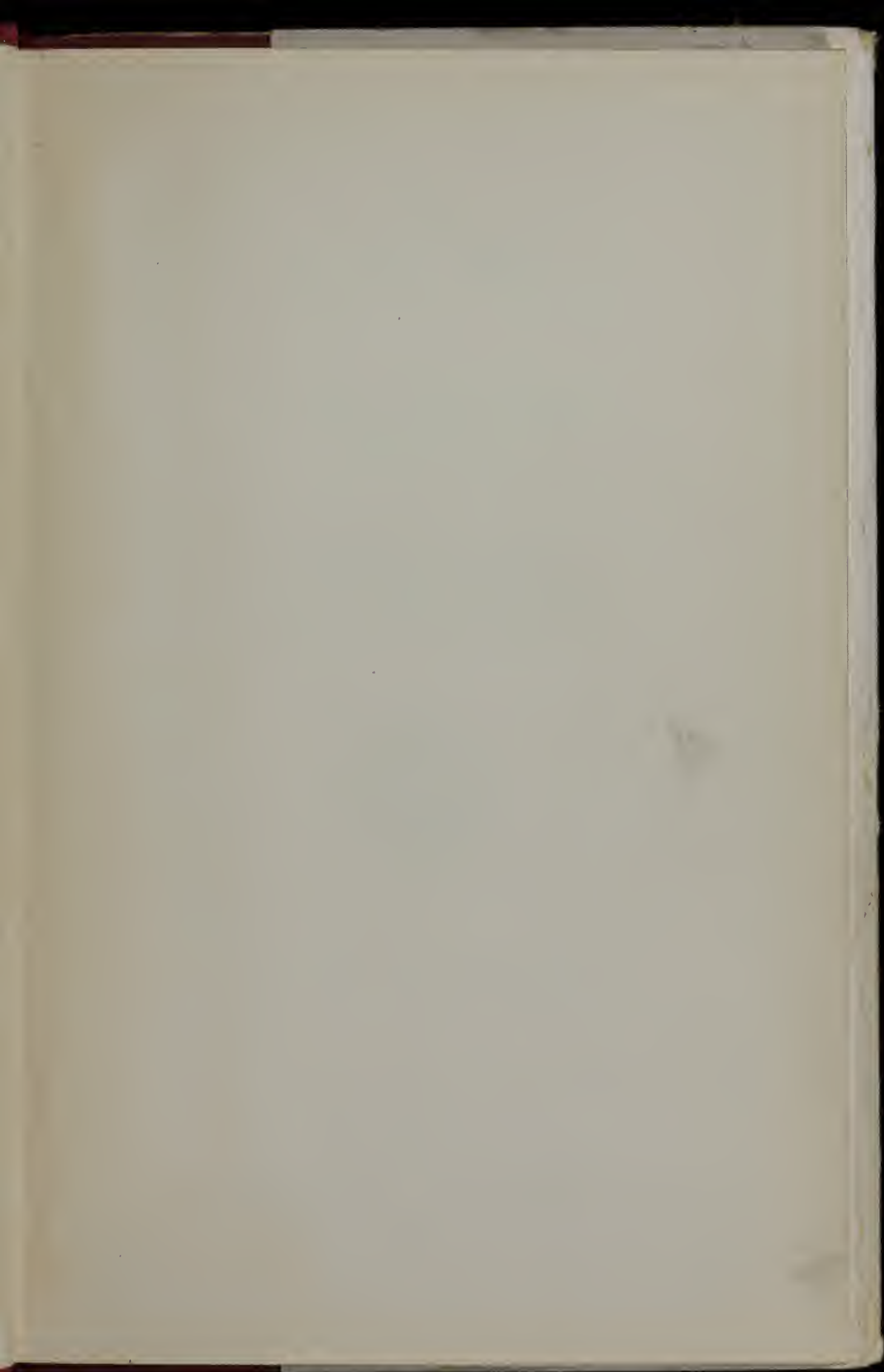
Porkchops and a Vision

Back in 1904 some union men met to face such practical problems as these: how to give metal miners the needed backing of a widespread labor movement; how to stop the Brewery Workmen's union from being chopped up by craft union claims; how to avoid the recurring situation where one union, by staying at work, helped break the strike of another.

They came up with a plan for One Big Union of All Workers, organized in industrial unions and in departments of related industries.

They noted that if the working class could be organized in this way, it would solve more than the immediate issues that had led to their meeting. It would enable the producers to control industry and to establish a depression-proof Industrial Democracy. If extended worldwide, it would create a war-proof and politician-proof Brotherhood of Man. So they launched the Industrial Workers of the World.

This is the first adequate account of its hard-fought strikes and dynamic history.



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The
I. W. W.

Its First Fifty Years

(1905 — 1955)

The history of an effort
to organize the working class



Compiled by Fred Thompson

Published November 1955

by

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★ Education

★ Organization

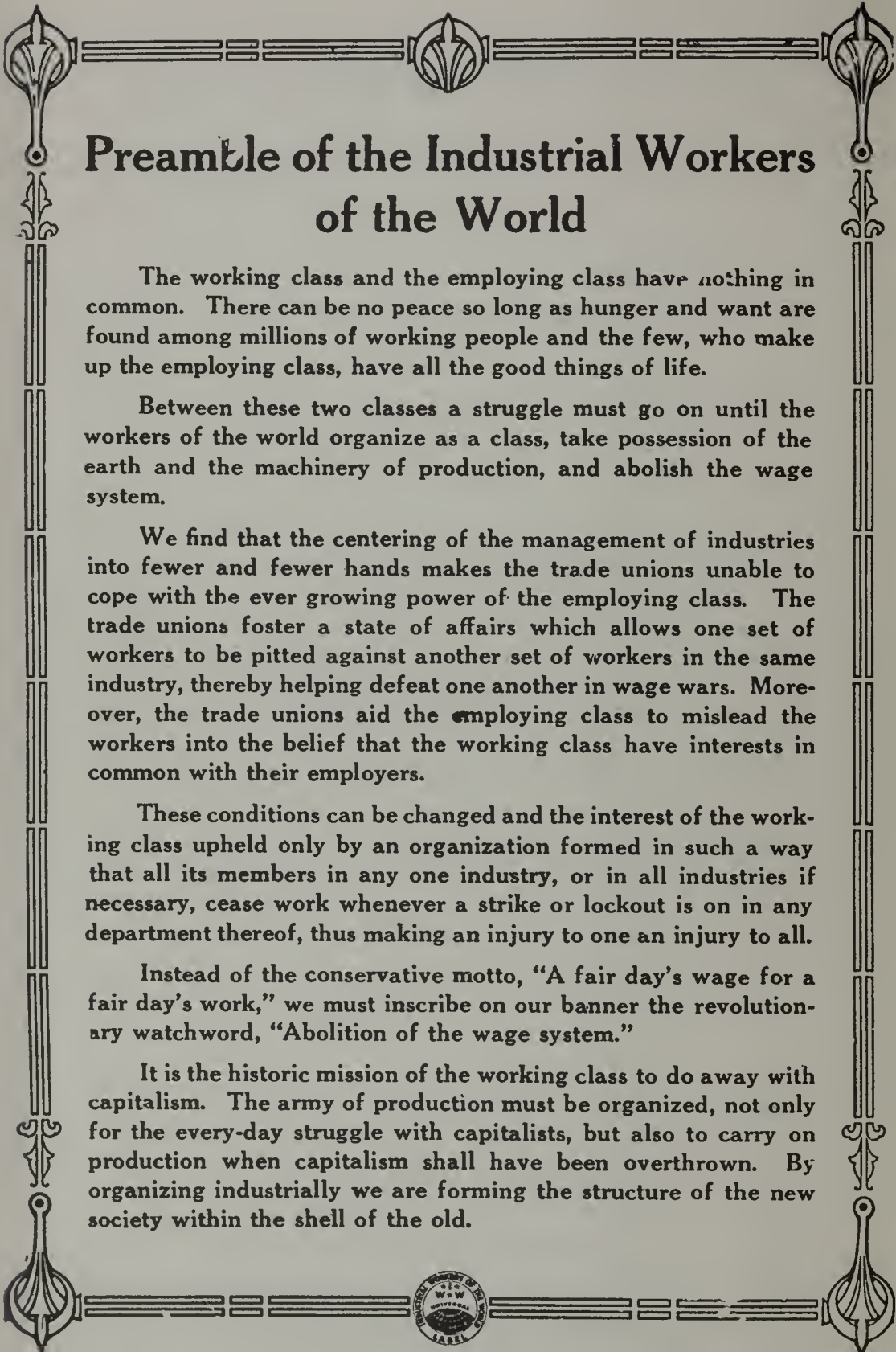
★ Emancipation

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CONTENTS

Preamble to Constitution of IWW.....	4
I Why the I.W.W. Was Started.....	5
II Getting Started (1905-1908)	23
III Big Fights of a Small Union (1909-1911).....	41
IV The Textile Workers (1910-1913).....	53
V Pre-War Crest: Activities 1912-13 outside Textile Industry	64
VI "Those Bomb-Throwing I Won't Works"..... (Sources of its weird reputation)	80
VII Hard Times (1914-1915).....	89
VIII Events of 1916.....	98
IX Fight with the War Profiteers (1917-1919).....	111
X Revolution Around the Corner (1919-1921)....	127
XI Peak, Split and Recovery (1922-1929).....	139
XII The Stimulus of Depression (1930-1940).....	156
XIII World War II and Cold War (1941-1955).....	179
Alphabetical Index	202
Bibliography at end of each chapter	



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



I. Why the I.W.W. Was Started

The I.W.W. was started in 1905 by "seasoned old unionists," as Gene Debs called them,¹ who realized that American labor could not win with the sort of labor movement it had. There was too much "organized scabbery" of one union on another, too much jurisdictional squabbling, too much autocracy, and too much hobnobbing between prosperous labor leaders and the millionaires in the National Civic Federation. There was too little solidarity, too little straight labor education, and consequently too little vision of what could be won, and too little will to win it.

Building a new labor movement was not a project to be undertaken lightly. Even to build a new craft union was something then to undertake with great caution and secrecy, but the six men whose meeting in the fall of 1904 gave eventual birth to the I.W.W. aimed at one organization of all labor to replace the existing labor movement. When they met it was only 18 years since the AFL had been set up to rout the Knights of Labor and to protect the craft unions from the inroads that its greater vision of solidarity was making on their vested interests. The Knights had been rendered impotent only ten years earlier, and labor leaders still watched vigilantly lest any similar movement break out. Those who could be counted upon to help were few and were already active in the existing labor movement, its socially-minded or radical minority, and were engaged in vigorous disputes among themselves over theory and policy. To identify themselves with this new effort might mean the loss of their union positions, and worse yet, turning over those positions to reactionaries who wanted, not only the job, but the opportunity to make the unions more acceptable to the plutocrats on the Civic Federation.

The six men who met in Chicago in November of 1904 to consider what might be done to correct the inadequacies of the labor movement, did so secretly. These six were Clarence Smith, secretary of the American Labor Union; Thomas Haggerty, editor of that union's paper, "The Voice of Labor"; George Estes and W. L. Hall, president and secretary of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; Isaac Cowan, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and William E. Trautman, editor of the "Brauer-Zeitung," official organ of the United Brewery Workmen. Involved, but unable to attend, were Gene Debs, long interested in industrial unionism especially for the railroad workers, and Charles O. Sherman, secretary of the United Metal Workers. The common interests of these men perhaps best explain why the I.W.W. was born; and their discordant interests, the troubles of the labor movement that the I.W.W. was to inherit.

The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees consisted of men mostly in the Chicago and nearby Indiana yards, and some in Kansas, who had been with Debs' American Railway Union in 1894, and who resented the action whereby he "had left them without a fighting industrial union and forced them to enter the scab craft movements after he changed the ARU to a political movement," as one of them described their situation.² Estes had helped organize the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and, when given the job of revising its constitution, had urged a federation of all railroad brotherhoods, and the dropping of the phrase in its statement of purpose, "no quarrel with capital." When the ORT joined the AFL, Estes and those supporting his program, withdrew and members from all other railroad crafts started the UBRE. However, it felt too isolated and that year, 1904, it had applied to the AFL for a charter. This was refused, as the Scranton Declaration of 1901 restricted industrial unionism to the coal mines, and to avoid antagoniz-

ing the railroad brotherhoods that the AFL hoped might join it.³

The United Metal Workers had dropped out of the AFL that year. In 1900 Charles Sherman, with Gompers' approval, had got the three Chicago locals of metal workers, which were affiliated directly with the AFL, to call a convention to launch their own international. Their originally extensive jurisdiction had been steadily eaten away. After organizing the coppersmiths 95 per cent throughout the United States, these men were surrendered, against their own wishes, to the Sheet Metal Workers. A special charter issued in 1902 lopped off the bridge and structural iron workers. The expense of efforts to adjust jurisdictional claims had exceeded \$4000, and the 1904 convention of the AFL ordered the union broken up into further pieces. On referendum the United Metal Workers voted 92 per cent to disaffiliate and to adopt an industrial structure. Though this had meant more opposition and raids, it grew more rapidly, according to Sherman, after its separation from the AFL.⁴

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers had been brought here by skilled machinists coming from Britain with a strong attachment for the semi-industrial structure of their union that had been the model of progressivism from 1851 until the "new unionism" was born on the docks of Britain in the 1890's.⁵ Its American section had just been thrown out of the AFL on jurisdictional grounds in 1904.

The United Brewery Workmen was fighting for preservation of its industry-wide jurisdiction. Inside it a schism had been developing between the previously dominant socialistic old-timers and the rising crop of "major party" labor politicians. It had been born of America's first "stay-in" strike, in the Jackson Brewery in Cincinnati in 1884. In those days to keep the brauerei-knechte or "brewery peons" at beck and call, management housed them on the property in a "schalander." They were still mostly German-speaking in 1904. In this first stay-in strike, the workers sent management out, barri-

caded themselves with barrels of beer against the state troopers, and had a food supply to last them for weeks. Every shot at the barricade poured precious amber fluid down the streets, unstained by blood. The employers gave in, and the union was founded. It declared it would be industrial, and among its purposes was one of educating its members to make good beer to add to the joy of the Co-operative Commonwealth.⁶

The Brewery Workmen grew to a national organization, affiliating with the AFL in 1887. Many of its locals were affiliated with the Knights of Labor. This was encouraged because of the extra boycott power it gave, for the union relied heavily upon this weapon and was engaged for fourteen years (1888-1902) in a boycott against the National Brewery Owners Association. As a national body it joined the Knights in 1893; then under penalty of losing its AFL charter, withdrew in 1896, still urging its individual members to stay with the badly routed Knights to build the greater solidarity. That same year the coopers' union demanded it get the brewery coopers. Then in 1898 came a demand to surrender the engineers. In 1902 the AFL ordered the firemen and engineers out of it. At the 1904 AFL convention the teamsters demanded 10,000 beer truck drivers. The brewery workers voted on referendum 34,612 to 367 not to surrender to these claims.

At the Brewery Workmen's convention in September 1904 there had been some talk of leaving the AFL and joining with the American Labor Union, the other major participant in this November conference; but it was plain that the ALU must become a bigger union to make such a switch possible, and enable the Brewery Workmen, if so affiliated, to enforce boycotts and resist jurisdictional raids. The brewery workers were also held back by an internal "right-left" schism, born of the political policy of "reward your friends," and the need of city central labor bodies for ties with whichever party got in, ties that were indispensable in the

racketeering in which central labor bodies, especially through their building trades, were at the time heavily involved. Trautman, representing the progressive brewery forces, attended both this and the January conference without notifying his union.⁷

The American Labor Union had been founded by the Western Federation of Miners in 1902 because these metal miners wanted a class-wide labor body with which to affiliate. It had not flourished, and a chief reason for this November conference, and eventually for the determination to launch the I.W.W., was the hope of these western metal miners, and of the men they had rallied to the American Labor Union, and of the progressive forces around Trautman in the Brewery Workmen, that the obvious inadequacy and misdirection of the labor movement might now make it possible, by mergers and re-organization and the organization of the unorganized, to build an organization large enough to give the brewery workers the power to boycott any scab beer, and to provide each affiliate with the unstinted backing of all.

The Western Federation of Miners was frontier unionism, the organization of formerly self-employed prospectors and former mine-owners who had become "wage slaves" of mining corporations rather recently acquired by back-east absentee ownership. They built their union when they were not yet "broken in" to the discipline of business management. It had the militancy of the undisciplined recruits who fought for the ten hour day here in the 1830's, or for Chartism in England in the same era, or those who staged the sit-down strikes of France in 1936 and here in 1937. From the founding of the Western Federation in 1893, its story for twelve years is that of a continuous search for solidarity. Metal miners had been organized locally before that time, and formed their federation the better to back each other up in the increasingly hard battles forced upon them by well-heeled big business management. The idea of federating the vari-

ous local unions was said to have been born "in the Ada County jail" and bull pens where hundreds of them were herded after the Couer d'Alene strike of 1892. It affiliated with the AFL, but its delegates to the AFL Cincinnati convention of 1896 came away not only disappointed with the refusal to aid their big fight in Leadville, but with a feeling that they had not been associating with union men, or with men possessing the moral or intellectual fibre ever to become good union men.⁸

They left the AFL and launched the Western Labor Union. The miners had reasons for building unions for non-miners. The mining territory was, apart from the miners, unorganized; the AFL outside of Denver and a few cities had done little western organizing except on the coast. Workers outside the miners wanted a union, and the Western Federation either had to take them in or build them one, for it needed to have them organized and on their side. How their strikes went depended largely on how the rest of the community that didn't work in the mines stood. Their strike experience had shown it made a substantial difference whether state politics was under labor-Populist influence or not. In the Cripple Creek strike of 1891-94 the Populist Governor had used the National Guard to restrain the private armies recruited by mine management. In the Leadville strike two years later the Governor swore the scabs into the National Guard and deputized the business element to give the miners a hard time. Gene Debs was on hand to help them organize the Western Labor Union and teach them socialism and solidarity. In the second battle of the Coeur d'Alene 1899-1901 Federal troops demonstrated the power of the back east owners, compelling some miners to work at gun point, others to build their own bull-pens, inventing the rustling card system so no man could hunt a job without the sheriff's approval, and using Governor Steunenberg, whom the miners had helped elect as a Populist, to oust the elected local authorities who might have some sympathy with the strikers.

The miners wanted a nationwide labor movement that would not only help provide beans and bacon when long strikes had drained their own treasuries, but would exert some pressure to expose the daily press that lied about them and that thereby laid the carpet for atrocities by Federal troops. Class-wide solidarity was not only an ideal with them; it was a bread-and-butter necessity, the only conceivable means to protect their wives against the atrocities of Federal troops, and their children from the hunger imposed by absentee owners.

The Western Labor Union worried the Washington, D.C., heads of the AFL. Frank Morrison, secretary of the AFL, came to Salt Lake City in 1902 to attend the conventions of the Western Federation and its projection, the Western Labor Union. He threatened that if they did not re-affiliate, he would build a rival union. The delegates knew what that would mean: their dismemberment by crafts in an industry that made industrial unionism a matter of necessity, not one of choice. They feared too it would crush the spirit of their union, and they sensed that the anti-capitalist spirit that they cultivated in themselves and the community was an essential part of the defense of their bread and butter. Mark Hanna had launched the National Civic Federation in 1900 to housebreak unionism, to confine its growth to those fields where management could use it, and to emasculate it by a united front of labor leaders and captains of industry against all socialistic and insurgent elements. Miners knew that this growth of what was called "responsible unionism," in which the members were responsible to the leaders whom Mark Hanna called "the labor lieutenants of the captains of industry," meant more "sell-outs" of the sort imposed on the steel workers in 1901. So they met Morrison's threat by changing the name of the Western Labor Union to American Labor Union, a challenge to the AFL in its back east empire. To spice the retort they endorsed Debs' new Socialist Party, partly because it was an antidote to Morrison's and Gompers' and Mark Hanna's poison,

partly because they thought socialism might be a good idea, and partly because they liked Debs who had been around in their strikes making speeches to help their families keep a stiff upper lip.⁹

Between then and this November 1904 conference they had fought a two year war in Colorado. The union had spent over \$400,000 in this struggle against the companies, the militia and the Citizens' Alliance. Its members had been put in bull-pens, its officers repeatedly indicted. White-capped vigilantes had invaded its members' homes to deport them; the right of habeas corpus had vanished; the miners' wives were subjected to outrages and terrorism. As the secretary of the Western Federation, Bill Haywood, told the January conference: "The miners of Colorado fought alone the capitalist class of the United States; we don't want to fight that way again."

The American Labor Union had grown only to about 16,000 members, not counting the 27,000 in its chief affiliate the Western Federation. But these included the two thousand or more in the UBRE which was affiliated with ALU and those in Amalgamated Society.¹⁰ Its paper "The Voice of Labor" edited by a left-wing socialist, Thomas J. Haggerty, often called Father Haggerty, was an effective challenge to craft unionism, organized scabbery, and the Gompers-Hanna unholy alliance. It seemed plain that unless the progressive forces in the labor movement could be rallied to build something new, the metal miners would have to fight that way again, the brewery workers would be dismembered, and that an unbridled and reactionary autocracy would stifle these progressive forces that could be found to some degree in all unions. This is the chief explanation why these six men met in November 1904, to consider whether there was any chance of building a labor movement in which unions would support each other and not, in the name of sacred contracts, scab on each other.

As these six men met it was plain their combined mass lacked the gravitational pull necessary to start

a new movement which it would seem prudent for progressive forces to join. The labor history of the last few years made them reckon, however, that a sufficient mass could be rallied. There had been great recent changes in the environment of the labor movement: first "the Morganization of industry" or mushrooming of great trusts starting with U.S. Steel in 1900; growth in the size of factories and consequent interdependence of crafts; the open shop campaign of the Citizens' Alliances from 1902 on a nation-wide scale with backing of National Association of Manufacturers. The new model for capital organization, U.S. Steel, had promptly broken the old Amalgamated steel union in the strike of 1901 and had locked unions out of the nation's basic metal industry by lulling Gompers into inaction in the belief that Morgan was a "friend of labor." On the Great Lakes the Lake Carriers was organizing to drive off unionism. In the then very important molding trade, a much prized national agreement had given way to a current attempt of the employers' association to rout the Molders throughout the nation. The Machinists similarly after the Murray Hill Truce now found themselves for several years in ceaseless conflict with the National Metal Trades Association. In the building trades, the racketeer unionism of Skinny Madden and Parks had played out; AFL unions had been compelled to merge with dual company unions; their sympathetic strike machinery was disrupted, and a most unpalatable arbitration scheme imposed in major cities. On the railroads the unions existed only for such crafts as the owners let organize; Clerks were not allowed a union. On the Louisville & Nashville and other roads the shop crafts were engaged in long and unsupported strikes for survival. On New York's Interborough Transit, as these six men met, August Belmont, bell-wether of the National Civic Federation, was using the ace strike-breaker James Farley to build up an army of scabs should the men dare strike. The Butcher Workmen had just collapsed before the onslaughts of the Beef Trust in the strike

(made famous by Sinclair's "Jungle") that ended with unconditional surrender in September 1904.

Could a labor union of the sort needed for this new industrial situation be built by the re-organization of the crafts and the enrollment of millions of unorganized? The six men decided there might be a chance, and invited 36 of those they figured best able to help to attend a secret conference to be held January 2, 1905.

The six men were all in the general sense of the term, socialist as, in that age, were most staunch unionists, either espousing some specific socialist program or expressing a general faith in some vague "Co-operative Commonwealth" as the solution to the "labor question." Even most old line union Preambles expressed such ideas, and rather unavoidably, since the reason for their formation was to win quarrels with employers, and these quarrels would arise no matter what they won so long as the employer-employee relation continued. Consequently to contemplate final or complete victory for labor had for decades been recognized as the contemplation of some social order successor to capitalism in which workers owned their jobs and the equipment with which they worked either individually or collectively. While the practical reason for their meeting was the need for greater labor union solidarity, it was plain to them that the solution of this practical problem would assure the solution of the larger "labor question," and this was emphasized in their invitation:

"Asserting our confidence in the ability of the working class, if correctly organized on both political and industrial lines, to take possession of and operate successfully . . . the industries of the country;

"Believing that working-class political expression, through the Socialist ballot, in order to be sound, must have its economic counterpart in a labor organization builded as the structure of socialist society, embracing within itself the working class in

approximately the same groups and departments and industries that the workers would assume in the working-class administration of the Co-operative Commonwealth;

"We invite you to meet us at Chicago, Monday, Jan. 2, 1905, in secret conference to discuss ways and means of uniting the working people of America on correct revolutionary principles, regardless of any general labor organization of past or present, and only restricted by such basic principles as will insure its integrity as a real protector of the interests of the workers."

Size was important for solving the practical problems that had brought these six men together. In retrospect it appears that they erected a barrier to size by this pre-natal injection of revolutionary theory. While the January conference in Wostas Hall was attended by 23 persons, representing nine organizations, it represented very little more union force than the November conference. Of them 18 came from these same unions, though now Moyer, Haywood and O'Neil represented the Western Federation directly; Sherman and Kirkpatrick came from the United Metal Workers; Trautman had brought along Frank Kraft of the Brewery Workmen. New participants were "Mother" Jones of the United Mine Workers, Shurtleff of the International Musical Union, Schmitt and Guild from the Bakers, the former the editor of its Journal, and W. J. Pinkerton of the Switchmen. Debs was prevented from attending by illness. Though representing no union, A. M. Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, was present, and though not originally invited, Frank Bohn, national organizer for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, who happened to be passing through Chicago, was asked to participate, and did. This brought the gathering to 25. They decided to go through with the attempt, and issued a Manifesto calling for an Industrial Union Congress in Chicago on June 27. When this met, it became the Industrial Workers of the World.¹¹

This Manifesto called for "the economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party"; industrial organization, with "industrial autonomy internationally"; transfers between local or national or international unions to be universal; a central defense or strike fund to which all members were to contribute equally; its general administration to be conducted "in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class." It argued for the need for such an organization from the technological changes in industry, the organization of capital, and recent bitter experience in strikes.

The proposals of this Manifesto came however to be considered less on their obvious union merits than on the suspicion what political motives might lie behind them. The Manifesto was much more a union document than the letter of Nov. 29. It went into the socialist issue only by including in its criticism of the craft union movement the comment that "it is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product which they alone will enjoy." The committee circulated 180,000 copies of the Manifesto, and the reaction was largely the question, what were the bifurcated socialists planning to do to the unions now? One good indirect result: the industrial jurisdiction of the Brewery Workmen was temporarily restored.

To make at all clear the reception of this Manifesto it is necessary to consider at least briefly the past relations of the unions and the American socialist movement. Immigrants, especially Germans, had brought over the controversies of Marx, Lassalle and Bernstein; such books as Bellamy's "Looking Backward" had made a strong impression on American labor; the old Greenback and Populist movements had become impregnated with some of this more systematic socialist theory; the fact that the major labor movements of most other countries

gave at least lip service to socialist ideals, had its influence; both the immigrant and native socialist movements had carried on propaganda and sought converts and positions in the unions. A major argument within socialist ranks was over the role of unions in relation to their program. Complete Marxists said that not only was the will to build a new social order an outgrowth of the daily union struggle, but that the unions themselves were the "cells of the future society." They felt union activity was part of the work of a socialist. Complete Lassalleans said workers could gain nothing by unions, that the unions diverted the efforts of labor into futile channels from the building of a party by which to triumph. But all were sympathetic toward unionism and strikers. Some of both these divisions said that the future was one of increasing misery for labor until it reached the intolerable point where labor woke up and somehow made itself supreme; others of both these divisions held that either by union or legislative gains labor would steadily improve its lot as it increased its competence to run the world. Some said victory would be by ballots; some that it would come only by violent revolution. Some felt the way to win was to start colonies to practice socialism; some that it required the growth of select groups studying and agreeing upon fine points of doctrine; others that it was by building reform parties with a mass appeal, even if this involved slogans in which the leaders themselves could not believe. Socialism was far from a uniform body of thought, but most socialists felt that it was good to "bore from within" the unions, to seek converts, votes, and positions.

Marx's First International, the IWMA, mortally wounded by the affright of British labor after the Paris Commune of 1871, and by schisms between himself and Bakunin, moved to New York in 1872, and was dissolved at a convention in Philadelphia, July 15, 1876. Four days later the delegates merged with a few American labor political groups to found the Workingmen's Party of the United States which

bore the brunt of agitation in the spontaneous strike movement of 1877, and at the close of the next year changed its name to Socialistic Labor Party of North America. It sought friendly relations with the unions, particularly with those of the Gompers persuasion until 1890 when it began its quarrel with the AFL, and, with the final "ic" off the first term in its name, began its re-shaping under Daniel De Leon. For five years it gave its attention to the Knights of Labor, then losing out in that venture, De Leon grabbed what he could to form the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, a union completely dominated by SLP. This body started out with 20,000 but dwindled rapidly though 228 charters were issued prior to its Buffalo convention in 1898; after that convention the Central Federated Union in New York with its locals quit, leaving the ST&LA little more than a "paper" union in which the members of the SLP doubled as union members. It reported 1450 members in 1905 and entered about 1200 into IWW.

One circumstance that shaped its character was the "violence" mania of the mid-eighties. Largely under the influence of Johann Most, a large section of the then appreciable anarchist movement and of those socialists who placed little hope in the election process, adopted the Pittsburgh program of physical force in 1883 and pushed the dynamite philosophy that made the conviction of the Haymarket anarchists easy despite their obvious innocence. The aftermath was a strong employer offensive (the more effective as neither AFL nor K of L had defended the Haymarket victims) and the first clear triumph of conservative bureaucracy in the unions, denouncing all radicalism as tainted with this violence. This was the easier as the dynamite enthusiasts had scorned the union movement and its 8 hour campaign. De Leon, appealing to leftists who tended to assume that the plutocrats would yield to nothing short of a triumph of arms, preached the doctrine as "unquestionable" laws of society, that in election the workers must establish their right to rule, but that "right without might is illusory; in other words,

the field of physical force is the unavoidable court of second and last resort," and thirdly "He who cannot vote right, ever will shoot wrong."¹² This he termed putting the class struggle "on the civilized plane," and jumped to the conclusion that for any group to advocate a major social change without endorsing a political party and program to legislate it, implied "physical forcism."

From the 1890 breach with the AFL and the 1898 breach with the Knights, the De Leon group reached the further conclusion that the labor union movement was a corrupt mobilization of labor for the defense and perpetuation of capitalism, and that workers alike for everyday struggles and ultimate emancipation must build socialist industrial unionism. The possibilities of such unionism as visualized in the ST&LA and more clearly yet with the launching of the IWW, so long as the De Leonites could exert a substantial influence in it, tended to replace the prospect of "physical force" as the field of last encounter with the prospect of a lockout of employers by an organized working class, to supply might to the revolutionary SLP ballot.

Though the ST&LA had dwindled instead of growing, the De Leon movement was an irritant to the AFL leadership. The presence of Bohn, national organizer of the ST&LA, at the January conference and his signature to the Manifesto, was taken by most union organs as evidence that De Leon was attempting to use this need of metal miners, brewery and other workers for a class-wide industrial union movement, to build a bigger ST&LA which he could dominate. The discussion on the Manifesto running for months in the columns of De Leon's Daily People clearly showed that this was the hope and plan of those SLP members who favored participation.¹³ This hurt the chances for the new movement the more because of recent splits in the socialist movement.

Since most socialists felt it necessary somehow to get along with the unions, even when they were

hostile to socialist ideals, and since the interest in the labor movement that led a worker to become a socialist often led him to be active enough in his union to become an officer of it, the switch of the only socialist party in the country to a policy of devoting most of its effort to an attack on the existing unions, created a demand for a socialist movement less doctrinaire than De Leon's and able to get along with the unions as they were. Debs' conversion to socialism after the Pullman strike provided this movement with its most popular and effective exponent. He turned the remnants of his American Railway Union into the Social Democratic Party, which by merger with defections from the SLP, in 1901 became the Socialist Party of America. Between the two parties raged such a war as can be found only between competing radicals. The more Marxian and "class struggle" tendencies in the young Socialist Party were focused around the *International Socialist Review*, a monthly magazine issued in Chicago and edited by Simons, who also attended the January conference and signed the Manifesto. All this put the proposal for a new union movement to end organized scabbery and Civic Federation hobnobbing, in the middle of vociferous arguments between different schools of socialists. Most socialist papers condemned the new effort then and throughout its formative years, chiefly, as Debs repeatedly insisted, not because of any principle or sound argument, but out of personal hostility toward De Leon.¹⁴

These circumstances not only prevented the proposals of the Manifesto from being considered on their merits, but beset the new union with internal quarrels that almost killed it in its infancy. From the advantaged view of hindsight it seems plain that had neither Simons nor Bohn attended that January conference, and had these extraneous political quarrels been sidetracked, it would have been much better for the IWW and the labor movement.

An indirect good was the preservation of the industrial jurisdiction of the Brewery Workmen.

Trautman, editor of their paper, was deposed for his participation in this new venture; the issue went to referendum of the brewery workers, so that according to Trautman, with 10,481 votes cast for him and only 9,157 against, the AFL Executive counsel bought his ouster by restoring the charter revoked in 1904 in turn for counting out enough of these votes. The threat of the IWW was again to preserve industrial union jurisdiction for the brewery workers in 1908 and 1912.¹⁵

To the Industrial Union Congress June 27, 1905 came 70 delegates empowered to install the Western Federation, the American Labor Union, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a total membership of 50,827 according to the memberships claimed by each. Also came 72 delegates without power to install, and 61 individual delegates able to install only themselves. With great oratory and repeated assurances by Debs and De Leon that here was common grounds for all socialists to meet, they launched the Industrial Workers of the World, with little more actual backing than at that November conference of six men, minus the hopes then held of including the Brewery Workmen. There could be no blindness to the difficulties ahead; it was started because there was obvious need for a union of, by, and for the working class, and hopes that it might so conduct its affairs that locals and internationals would join, and great masses of unorganized workers become organized through its efforts.

General Sources: Brissenden's "IWW" is the best work available as yet, but covers the story with fullness only up to 1913, and sketchily to 1918. Gomb's "Decline of the IWW" purportedly taking up where Brissenden left off, indicates no such familiarity with the subject as Brissenden had. The story of the IWW in short is given rather well in several chapters of Vol. IV of the History of Labor in the United States, that volume being written by Perlman and Taft. For the Western Federation of Miners, see Jensen's "Heritage of Conflict" which is a detailed history of that union, but takes a rather hostile attitude toward IWW from the year 1906 on. "Bill Haywood's Book" contains much information. Bound copies of the Proceedings of the First Convention of the IWW are available from the SLP. A series in the Industrial Worker in 1950, entitled "Hard Rock Miner," considers the relations of the IWW and the WFM and SLP in great detail. Another series, "The I. W. W. Tells Its Own Story," starting in Industrial Solidarity December 23, 1930, and continuing in Industrial Worker to August 2, 1932, gives the story in much more detail than it is given in this book up to 1919. In 1945, to mark the 40th anniversary, the Industrial Worker ran a series "The First Forty Years" and much other commemorative material, largely written by

those who had participated in the making of the IWW's history, in issues from June to September. Because of space limitations, this booklet has avoided detail on those aspects where detail is readily available; and in these footnotes confines reference usually to items not included in the already published accounts.

1. In article Aug. 1906 in *The Worker*, a Socialist publication, reprinted in *Daily People*, Aug. 12, 1906.

2. Quoted from Pinkerton, one of its delegates to 2nd Convention, in *Daily People*, Nov. 4, 1906.

5. Barou: *British Trade Unions*, p. 15.

6. Trautman in *OBU Monthly*, October, 1937.

7. Sources: *Daily People*, March 9 and April 30, 1905, and Perlman & Taft, Vol. IV, pp. 363-365.

8. See Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, p. 60.

9. All was not friendly between ALU and WFM, according to Trautman in IUB, Feb. 22, 1908.

10. Membership of American section of the ASE seems about 4,000; Trautman reported to 2nd convention that for one year its tax to ALU had been \$2,688.13.

11. The Manifesto has been frequently republished, as in Brissenden's "Launching," in "Bill Haywood's Book," as a separate leaflet on several occasions, and is currently available as appendix to Ebert's "IWW in Theory and Practice," IWW, 2422 N. Halsted, Chicago 14, Ill., price 15 cents.

12. Editorial, *Daily People*, Feb. 3, 1905. For the general history of American radicalism in 19th century see both Vols. II and IV of the "History of Labor in the United States," and David's "The Haymarket Affair."

13. Examples: *Daily People*, Jan. 26: "With the conception of a Socialist Union comes the cessation of the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, and the struggle for working class supremacy begins." Feb. 3, W. Cox argued, "The new economic organization must be affiliated with SLP or party must fight it." March 19 issue showed how completely SLP dominated ST&LA. March 31, Olive M. Johnson writes: "It is impossible that the ST&LA can desire a separation of the political and economic organization of labor . . . or even passively submit to it." April 1 issue, H. J. Schade proposed that the initiation fee of the new union be used for subscription to *Weekly People*, and E. J. Rounier argues: "The Constitution of the SLP designates any union not under the control of the party as pure and simple. The SLP insists that the economic organization be controlled by the political one."

14. Debs wrote in *Worker*, Aug. 1906 (reprinted *People*, Aug. 12, 1906): "It may be that De Leon has designs upon the Socialist Party and expects to use the I.W.W. as a means of disrupting it . . . if he succeeds, it will be because his enemies in the Socialist Party, in their bitter personal hostility to him, denounce the revolutionary IWW and support the reactionary AFL and thereby play directly into his hands."

15. Same sources as Footnote 7.

II. Getting Started — 1905-1908

Though the founding convention of the IWW ended with declarations of affiliation by bodies that gave it a claimed membership of about 52,000 to start with, it did not start with this membership. Apart from the individuals who had joined, it started out with the 1100 members the American Labor Union entered on August 1, and the \$817.59 that John Riordan of the ALU had left after winding up the affairs of the ALU. This was a substantial let-down from the 16,750 that ALU had reported to first convention. Sherman's United Metal Workers entered 700 members, not the 3,000 it had claimed. When the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance entered 1200 members, this with the UBRE and individuals and miscellaneous groups brought the membership for September to 4,247. By that time individual recruiting was under way and raised the membership to 5078 in early October and by Nov. 1, to 7,800. It stayed at about that level until the membership of the Metal Department doubled in February and again in March to 3000 bringing the total on April 1 to 13,266.

This growth in the Metal Department was almost entirely in Schenectady among General Electric workers. Punch Press Operators Union No. 224 of that city was one of the bodies represented at the first convention. Now with the aid of an SLP group and others in a Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society, it promoted the IWW idea in this plant employing 17,000, some two thirds of whom were under various AFL contracts. The IWW in the summer of 1906 built up a membership of about 2,500 among these workers, taking over some craft locals intact, and keeping them as 17 craft affiliates of its Industrial Council of Metal and Machinery Workers. The favorite method used in this first auspicious organizing campaign of the new union was to sit down until grievances in a department got ad-

justed. This tactic was devised to end the run-around that management and business agents had been giving the men on their grievances, and it was soon copied even by the AFL union members in the plant. On hourly rates they drew their pay while staging sitdowns lasting from a few minutes in some cases to most of a shift in others.¹

Strikes, almost entirely in the east, steadily drained the organization's resources, with no promising development outside of this in Schenectady, which led to the first stay-in of the century in December, noted later. In some of these the AFL sent in scabs. In Youngstown the tanners and slaters, previously divided in four crafts, joined the IWW and struck; the employer wired the AFL for scabs, and these were sent despite the protest of the local Painters. The AFL replaced IWW strikers in Yonkers and San Pedro. In contrast the IWW bricklayers in Cleveland walked out in sympathy with the building laborers of the AFL and refused to desert them even when offered a pay boost and a closed shop contract. In St. Louis and Butte an AFL boycott was put on IWW products. The Machinists, the Hat & Cap Makers, the Leather Workers, and the Carpenters all decreed no IWW could belong to their organization or work on jobs that they controlled.

On February 7, 1906, Moyer and Haywood, president and secretary of the Western Federation, were kidnaped, along with a friendly non-member, Pettibone, by government officers and taken to Idaho, charged with the murder of former governor Steunenberg. From that date to their trials in the summer of 1907 the IWW was preoccupied with agitation on their behalf and with raising funds for their defense. It raised \$10,982.51 and secured the services of Clarence Darrow. Meanwhile the Western Federation was for the first time in its history free from strikes, and the new IWW beset with them, yet concentrating on this defense case which, while it got much newspaper space, called no attention to the new union, but only to the Western Federation

and its past struggles. The WFM was not actually a part of the IWW until after its convention in June of 1906, when it entered 22,000 members. Haywood's imprisonment gave the right wing in the Federation control of its offices and a deal was worked out between these right wing forces, commonly called the "Denver Triumvirate," and Charles Sherman, President of the IWW, aiming to make the forthcoming second convention, in Sherman's phrase, "the Waterloo of the revolutionists." Sherman, the first and only president of the IWW, nominated by Moyer, had been elected at the first convention, chiefly because he stood nowhere, while all those who had taken definite positions felt it would be in the interests of harmony to decline the nomination.

The founding convention, amid its radical oratory, had elected an administration predominantly on the more conservative side, and provided for a system of departmental autonomy that entrenched the position of these conservatives. Simons warned at the first convention: "The men in one of those departments where we have a union today may go in there and adopt the name of that department and seize its machinery. . . . A little handful of men can control the machinery of that department and keep up such a hubbub as to keep all opposition out." Sherman's United Metal Workers, which proved to have only one executive beside himself, did that with the Metal Department and kept out the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Dictatorship developed in the Transportation Department whittling it down to almost nothing by the second convention, through refusal to furnish dues stamps to those opposing the departmental heads; these ousted men sought a hearing and Sherman refused to do anything on the grounds of departmental autonomy. The only friends of the rebel railroaders were the two radicals in the administration, Trautman, the secretary who weakened his position by traveling, and "Honest John" Riordan, the one rebel on the Executive Board, who stayed in the office but had to content himself with

writing "graft" across the checks drawn for the junketing trips of those who acted the customary role of labor leader.²

The second convention was supposed to have been held in May; then it was postponed so that the Western Federation could convene first and be duly installed. Had it been held then it might perhaps have ironed out these growing headaches but on the urging of Debs and his Terre Haute local, it was further postponed in the hopes of early trials for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, both to conserve funds for their defense and to make it a victory celebration for their acquittal.³ When it was seen that their trial could not come until after Supreme Court had ruled on the kidnaping and related issues, it was called for Sept. 17, 1906. The delegates assembled expecting it to be a short affair, and after ten days spent in wrangles over the seating of delegates from these dictator-ridden departments, many of them were out of funds. Sherman later explained in the Chicago Record-Herald of October 7 how he had planned to handle the "revolutionists":

"We believed we could starve them out by obstructive tactics, but at the end of the tenth day, De Leon had a resolution passed that they be allowed \$1.50 per day as salary and expenses while attending the convention. That was more money than any of them had earned in their lives and they were ready to stay with him until Christmas."

These remarks came rather poorly from one who in addition to his salary of \$150 per month, turned in expense accounts that even his cronies on the Denver Triumvirate could not swallow, and who, it later developed, was planning to make a fortune from control of the Fraternal Supply Company furnishing badges, buttons, etc. to WFM and IWW. Providing expenses for the delegates cost the IWW \$450, and won by a vote of 380½ to 251. The Sherman group argued this clearly violated the provisional constitution's provision that delegates should bear their own expenses, and the socialist

and general labor press denounced it as the "coup of the proletarian rabble," and pictured it as a De Leon victory over the socialists. Actually SLP followers had only 60 votes at the convention while followers of the Socialist Party had 158, and the division was not between these two parties but between those who wanted to make a union in the accepted patterns and those who wanted to build an instrument for the emancipation of the working class. Of the five delegates from Western Federation, two, Vincent St. John and Albert Ryan, were consistently with the rebels.

With "starve out" tactics foiled, the convention soon attended to its business and ended Sherman's position by abolishing the office of president. When the new executive board went to the offices at 146 W. Madison they found that Sherman and his allies had hired the Mooney-Bohlen Detective Agency to hold it against all comers. As Trautman reported to the 1907 convention:

"With no records or documents left, without addresses of unions or individuals, scarcely in possession of enough cash to communicate the outrageous proceedings to those who were expected to rush to the organization in its hour of need, with the whole press controlled by socialist party individuals, with one notable exception, as well as the capitalist mouthpieces, hurling their invectives against the 'tramps and beggars' and the 'proletarian rabble,' it certainly was a hard task to carry on the work and duties mapped out by the convention, which had adjourned a few hours earlier under the most favorable auspices."

St. John got an injunction against Sherman, but the funds were tied up. After long delays Sherman allowed the portion that had been raised for the defense of the Idaho cases to go to the Western Federation, and when the settlement was reached on Sept. 27, 1907, most of the rest of the funds went to the two lawyers. The "St. John-Trautman-De Leon faction" opened offices at 212 Bush Temple and won in the courts. Soon nothing was left of the

Sherman faction which held the old address until June 1908 and then sold its assets to the Socialist Party for \$250, while Sherman and Kilpatrick went on pay as speakers for the Hearst Independent League. Later Sherman was given a job with the Western Federation and still later a clerical job for the Socialist Party.⁴

Though the rebels won in the convention and in the courts and among the scattered locals, they lost the promising start in Schenectady and also the Western Federation.

The IWW organization at General Electric had continued to grow, and in December staged the first stay-in of the century, the first in which it was necessary to bring food to the strikers holding the industrial fort. When they had formed a craft local for draftsmen, the company felt this was going too far and discharged a number of these front office hands. Some felt that they would break their organization in a lost strike if they pulled the plant to win their re-instatement, and urged that the union take care of them until they could get other jobs, meanwhile try to build the union. Noonan, head of the Industrial Council, favored Sherman, while Local 34, its largest affiliate, supported the rebels. Noonan called for a strike; some departments worked, some walked out, and others at 10 a.m. on Dec. 10 stayed on the job but pulled the power. Both the craft structure of the industrial council and the dissension over the rift at the second convention, wrecked the local organization, even though this novel stay-in strategy induced the company to re-instate all without discrimination. For a while there were two IWW bodies competing at the plant, the pro-Sherman Industrial Council, and its ousted locals 1, 34, 50, 55, 58, 76 and 77, which James P. Thompson, organizer for the rebel majority, re-organized in General Electric Workers Industrial Union No. 1. While some IWW support has existed among workers at this plant to this day, the IWW has not since then made any notable local history, despite the IWW sympathies frankly expressed for

many years by General Electric's colorful "wizard," Charles P. Steinmetz.

The Executive Board of the Western Federation promptly issued a referendum after the 1906 convention asking: "Shall the acts of the 2nd annual convention of the IWW be held as unconstitutional and illegal?" This carried and the WFM refused to pay per capita to "either faction," even though the Sherman faction existed only on paper and could be given life—and pay its debts—only with WFM per capita. The 1907 convention of the Western Federation by majority supported this position, but manifested the enduring need for a class-wide union that had led it to bring on the scene in succession the Western Labor Union, the American Labor Union and then the IWW, by adopting a new preamble (by 283 to 66 votes) re-stating the same principles as were in the IWW preamble, and concluding, "Therefore, we the wage slaves employed in and around the mines, mills and smelters of the world, have associated in the Western Federation of Miners, Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World."⁵ It issued at the same time a call for a conference of "the contending factions of the IWW, the United Brewery Workers, and all other labor unions ready to accept the principles of industrial unionism as formulated in the Manifesto issued at Chicago, June 2, 1905, to convene Oct. 1, 1907." The instructions to the delegates for the proposed conference included that the joint body assume no debts of either faction, for Sherman's debts were extensive; that no officer of either side could become an officer of the new body; that departmental autonomy was to be preserved, for the provisional constitution adopted in 1905 gave the GEB the power to pull out all members in support of any group on strike, and the miners needed to protect themselves against this, though the experience with the Metal and Transportation departments had shown the need of some right of appeal to the general organization. It was felt that this proposal was an idle gesture, and it was almost impossible to get

any to accept as delegates to the conference. It was repeatedly postponed. Haywood was acquitted a few weeks after this convention, and on Dec. 17, along with the other members of the Executive Board of the Western Federation sent an invitation addressed "To the Officers of Both Factions of the I.W.W." reading in part:

"As executive officers of the Western Federation of Miners we are determined to demonstrate to our membership, the membership of both factions of the I.W.W., and the working class generally, that we are not responsible for the continued dismemberment of the Industrial Workers of the World."

This call for a conference to be held April 6, 1908 was printed in full in the IWW paper, the Industrial Union Bulletin for Jan. 25, 1908, and flatly rejected. In rejecting it, the IWW, though its coming break with De Leon was already quite clear, evidently agreed with the arguments he was making in speeches and in his paper that ever since the founding of the IWW there had been a conspiracy to put it in the hands of those who would tame it and turn it from its declared purpose, and that this was the latest effort in this scheme.⁶

This decision ended the long struggle of the Western Federation to build a class-wide union. Thereafter it rapidly grew tame, futilely trying the approach of not antagonizing the employer in an industrial situation where that approach could not work, and steadily became more innocuous until the re-awakening of American labor in the mid-thirties. Having gone back into the AFL in 1911, after invitations as early as 1907, it changed its name to International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. Already in 1908, two days after the April conference that never conferred, the Denver Triumvirate fired Bill Haywood. He had had no connection with the IWW other than as chairman of its first convention, and now went speaking for the Socialist Party, and in 1910 represented it at the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, toured Europe lecturing,

and joined the IWW upon his return to America in the fall of that year.

Goldfield, 30 miles from Tonapah, in the silver region of Nevada had its 1500 gold miners solidly organized in Local 220 WFM—a progressive local built largely of active unionists deported from the Federation's battles in Colorado and Idaho. In February, 1906, an IWW local of newsboys was formed. Local 70 gradually organized the miscellaneous workers in the town, winning a strike of the Western Union messenger boys in May. In August, the Tonapah Sun declared war on the IWW, and the miners boycotted the paper so that it sold out to the Goldfield Tribune. Following the battle with Sherman at the September convention, these locals steadfastly supported the St. John faction.

In mid-December Local 220 tried to get \$5.00 established as low for all work in and around mines. The small leasers, largely former members of the Western Federation, were already paying this scale. They wanted to get all the ore out they could before their leases expired on Jan. 7; but the Florence and Mohawk Combination, owned back east, did not want this scale established and threatened to attack the small operators on the stock markets if they did not play ball. Thus work was stopped until two days after Jan. 7, when the scale was set at \$5 minimum below ground and \$4.50 minimum on surface.⁷

Once the big operators won out over the smaller, there was a more controlled production and many miners were laid off. They wanted to get some work out of the building boom, but the AFL carpenters objected to miners working even on the Miners Union Hospital. The Miners then demanded that carpenters working at mines carry WFM cards. The Mine Owners, recently re-organized on a straight anti-labor basis sided with the AFL, and locked the miners out March 10 to April 21. AFL organizers with sawed-off shotguns vainly tried to get miners to sign up for working the mines under AFL charters.

On the second day of the lockout, Silva, a restaurant proprietor, refused to pay a waitress her wages, and the IWW local struck his place. As M. R. Preston was picketing it in the evening, turning away prospective customers, Silva grew enraged and came out brandishing a gun. According to the parole board seven years later, Silva advanced on Preston for twenty-five feet, threatening to shoot, before Preston drew and shot in self-defense. (It was the custom to go armed.) Many were arrested, including St. John. Preston and Smith, the IWW delegate, were convicted on a conspiracy charge, though the parole board belatedly said there was no evidence of conspiracy. The Socialist Labor Party made Preston its vice-presidential candidate that year, over his objections, and though he was not a member of their party.⁸ About a week before St. John's arrest, the Chicago Journal of Finance forecast that soon he and other radicals in Goldfield would be arrested. The intent seems to have been to prevent this camp from sending radical delegates to the WFM convention; this miscarried, and also a plot to lynch the victims, to prevent which miners stood guard around the jail house.

After the lockout had been on 10 days it was decided to have the miners and the IWW local of town workers meet separately. They had been merged early that year in what seems to have been an effort to submerge a radical minority. Though now separated they stuck together. Mahoney, acting president of the Western Federation, came to settle the dispute. He found three-fourths of the businessmen in town had locked out the IWW, and that the AFL had sent in scabs. His concern was the miners, where the mine owners took the stand that they would not deal with a miners union connected in any way with the IWW, or that got involved in the troubles of the town workers. Mahoney evidently convinced them that the Western Federation would win out against the IWW. The lockout was settled, recognizing Local 220, affiliated with

both WFM and IWW, at the mines and with wages and other terms the same as before the lockout.

Throughout the summer the IWW step by step got rid of most of the AFL scabs around the town, and the amicable Third IWW Convention increased respect for the IWW. In October both Tonapah and Goldfield Locals of the WFM—along with various others—passed resolutions in favor of continuing support for the St. John-Trautmann IWW.⁹ How the WFM had been working meanwhile to undermine the IWW was explained in the following statement made by the Federation's counsel, Judge O. N. Hilton (later retained by IWW on Joe Hill appeal and in Mesaba Range cases), to the Goldfield Chronicle during the Federation's last unsuccessful bid for the good graces of the Mine Owners Association there:

"Already we have accomplished much along the line of weeding out the undesirable trouble breeders, and we propose to continue the work until such time as there remains only a hard working force of good miners who will not be interfered with or led by undesirables. Last summer when I was in Goldfield, I spent \$1200 on transportation for a number of members of the organization whom I thought it was best to send away from camp. These men are now away from here and there remain but a small number who, we believe, should have no hand in affairs here. If our proposition is received and accepted, I dare say that there will be no more trouble and that Goldfield will remain a union camp and a camp only of good well-intending miners."¹⁰

In October the big nation-wide financial crisis had hit. The Mine Owners asked Local 220 to permit part of the wages to be paid in checks drawn against ore in transit. The union was willing if the owners would guarantee eventual payment. While this was being negotiated with the mines in operation, an effort was made to kill St. John on Nov. 5, but the bullets hit another. When Mine Owners refused to guarantee payment to miners digging gold,

the miners struck, Nov. 27. The Mine Owners got the Governor to ask Theodore Roosevelt for Federal troops. There was no National Guard as the top layers feared that if one were formed it would consist largely of union men. The Legislature was not called as required for a request for Federal aid, as it was felt the Legislature would not make such a request. Roosevelt sent in troops, and on the day they arrived, the Mine Owners cut wages and announced a policy of yellow dog contract. A Commission investigated and reported there was no need for Federal troops, but Roosevelt kept them there until Jan. 29, when the legislature enacted a state police bill. On the same day the Mine Owners announced the mines would run open shop.¹¹ WFM job control was over. Soon the rich ore played out; Goldfield eventually became a ghost town, but with Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 353 of the IWW holding out and keeping some spark of unionism alive until the First World War.

A sawmill strike in Portland, Ore., starting March 1, 1907 and involving 3,000 men for 40 days, marked the first west coast progress of the IWW. There was a general public sympathy and a favorable press treatment of the demand for shorter hours and a minimum of \$2.50 a day. A feature article on the strike, "The Story of a New Labor Union," by John Kenneth Turner in the Sunday Oregon Journal, was reprinted as a leaflet.^{11a} A quickie strike pulled at a busy time swamped the IWW hall at 298 Burnside with a demand for union cards. In two weeks 1300 had enrolled. Soon the mill owners made a closed shop contract with the AFL, but the AFL managed to get no men past the picket line. Turner wrote of it: "Absolutely no violence, no lawbreaking, and no crying of 'scab.' Just one man was arrested for trespassing, and he imagined that he was standing in a public street. Other strange features were the red ribbons, the daily speech-making, and the night and day shifts of organizers who received not a red cent for their services." The AFL issued public statements denouncing the strike and the

IWW, and quoting extensively from the WFM Miners' Magazine in their attacks; yet WFM locals sent in over a thousand dollars. The strike committee had to send wires to send no more funds as their conduct of the strike kept expenses down: those not needed for picket duty were urged to go out and spread union doctrine on the various lumbering and construction jobs then in full swing. This was the seed from which sprang the IWW of the northwest.

As sideshoots grew a local of workers building a sewer and another local of harborcraft workers. In Tacoma the IWW smeltermen struck, and despite dissension over the WFM split, they won the 8 hour day and a 15% wage boost, but left the IWW. IWW lumberjacks struck in Humboldt County, Calif., and IWW bakers in San Francisco about the same time. In Montana the IWW had started organizing lumber workers and struck; the AFL gave them opposition, and as most of the logging was on Indian reservations, the bureau agents kept IWW organizers out.

In the east the IWW made progress prior to the panic in the fall of 1907 at American Tube in Bridgeport and in the textile industry, laying the foundations for its phenomenal victories five years later. In Bridgeport organizer French had started a local in June 1907, and when on July 15 the American Tube refused to alternate shifts, the local was ready to organize this indignation into an effective strike, with speakers in the various languages used, and a committee that rode bicycles up and down the parades of strikers around the two plants of the company. There the Machinists co-operated, happy to do so as these unorganized workers had helped them win a short time before. Victory in August came to a local that had enrolled 700 skilled and 1,000 unskilled among these workers.¹²

The IWW got its start in textiles in Skowhegan, Maine. The local there of Marston Mills workers demanded a 10% boost to be effective New Years 1906, but settled for 5% then and 5% in July if

conditions warranted. The manager tried to get rid of the active unionists. The entire force had met and decided upon policy; when fifty were put on notice by the manager, all walked out, including the boiler room crew who blew off steam and pulled their fires. This was Jan. 21. President Golden of the United Textile Workers offered "union scabs," and inserted his endorsement in ads through New England press for other scabs. IWW won on April 23 with re-instatement of all, abolition of fining system, day's pay instead of piece rates for poor work, shop committee to meet with management twice a month on all grievances.¹³

In Paterson, N. J., scene of a more noted strike in 1913, the IWW struck a number of silk dye-houses in March 1907, over the discharge of members. Private detectives, uniformed police threatened and arrested the strikers, but after a short time the local press announced a "pleasant surprise" for the 6,000 dye-house workers of a dollar a week pay boost, without mention of the strike or union.¹⁴ The union grew during the strike to a thousand members and in the fall tried to organize the American Locomotive plant there, resulting in a short strike of 300 workers. In November the IWW struck the international Stehli concern at Lancaster, Pa., and despite police interference came through the strike intact.

As a result of these activities in textiles, the General Executive Board called a convention in Paterson, May 1, 1908, to found the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, the first industrial union, not a local, that the IWW had built. Progress was also made in the garment industry, with a local of cloakmakers in Chicago, a strike of 200 pressers in St. Louis, and a 12-week strike against Ratner Brothers in New York, white goods, which cost \$2,012 but was defrayed locally by picnics, vaudevilles and other benefit affairs.

This eastern organizing—including a charter to the already striking flint glass workers of Marion,

Ind., and a strike of 200 car foundry workers in Detroit — was in territory where De Leon held strategic advantages, and it was plain shortly after the peaceful third convention that a fight must be made to keep the IWW from becoming a tail to De Leon's kite. The decision to launch the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, with James P. Thompson, an able exponent of non-political industrial unionism, as organizer, was shaped by a desire to keep this development out of De Leon's hands. From even before its first convention the IWW had faced an opposition based largely on hostility to De Leon and his record of disruption in the labor movement. Its Industrial Union Bulletin had printed each week in large type across the front page that it was independent of any political party; but its readers could find in the Daily People discussion of its internal affairs and advice how to vote on its referenda.

The conflict grew hotter in the fall of 1907 over a question in economic theory: Does a rise in wages cause a rise in price such that workers achieve no real gain? De Leon said it did. In common with many radical politicians he was inclined toward such a conclusion as it focused attention on the abolition of the wage system rather than on union demands, and support for the conclusion can be obtained by misinterpreting the experience that in periods of rising prices workers are most moved to demand wage boosts and find it easiest to obtain them. The argument to the contrary by James P. Thompson and James Connelly, who was here from Ireland and helping the IWW, appeared in the Industrial Union Bulletin. It followed the Ricardo-Marx analysis that price is a monetary expression of value; that value is not altered by how it is distributed among wage earners and others, but it is determined by the real or labor cost of production; that it can be changed only by changes in the amount of labor required for production. They supported their position by the practical consideration

that employers oppose wage boosts, while they would profit by them if De Leon's position were correct. It may have been theory, but it probed deeply into the question whether workers should consider unions worthwhile or concentrate on political activity.

The General Executive Board met in New York Dec. 22, 1907. Ever since the 1906 convention the rule had been that no GEB action was to be kept secret from the membership. Connelly appeared before it with a plan that, if acted upon promptly, might have brought 12,000 New York longshoremen, then independent, into the IWW. Action was hampered when De Leon induced the Board to go into secret session to try Connelly on his charge that his articles on economics constituted heresy. Even the SLP members of the Board felt all this was ridiculous, but indignantly rallied to their leader when the Board, in accordance with the rules, published its proceedings in *Industrial Union Bulletin* No. 49.

This brought the quarrel with De Leon to a head all over the country—and for that matter in the industrial union clubs that had been formed in Britain and Australia. Among the western membership there was a hearty disrespect for politicians, and the hard times starting in October 1907 had not abated IWW agitation in the west. An exceptionally enterprising organizer in that field was J. H. Walsh. In July 1907 he got enough support in Alaska to start the *Nome Industrial Worker*.¹⁵ Coming down coast he found that the employment sharks provided a major grievance about which something might be done. They had tie-ins with bosses on out-of-town work to fire the men they furnished after they had worked a week so that they were back to buy another job. To reach these workers and build a concerted refusal to patronize the "shark" and thus force the employers to hire directly, street meetings in the skidroads were necessary. The Salvation Army ran interference with

these meetings, and IWW speakers could not speak louder than the big bass drum. Walsh and his fellow workers hit upon the device of making parodies to be sung to the music furnished free by the Army. Thus the tradition of the "singing IWW" grew out of this conflict with the employment sharks. One satiric refrain, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" was particularly popular as its music was the customary "theme song" for the Army meetings.¹⁶ Walsh headed a group of delegates to the fourth convention, who traveled by box car, stopping at division points to soap-box and sing and sell the first edition of the IWW song book. Their most popular ditty led the unappreciative De Leonites to call them "the Bummery."

The convention met Oct. 1. De Leon's credentials were challenged on the ground that he represented a Store and Office Workers Union instead of belonging to the Printing and Publishing Local that as an editor he should have joined. De Leon argued for his seat on the contention that workers should be organized according to the tool each worked with, and he worked with a pen as did office workers. This was not accepted as sound industrial unionism. The convention then proceeded to recommend a change in the Preamble to the membership. Its second paragraph then read, as De Leon had insisted as a condition for co-operating in the first convention:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

When the present form of Preamble was accepted by the convention, the De Leon followers bolted, held a convention of a few eastern locals at Paterson, and founded what was known as "the Detroit IWW." De Leon followed up with attacks on the IWW as "slum proletarians" for which the GEB formally expelled him. The "Detroit IWW," like the

ST&LA of earlier days, carried on chiefly as a union duplication of SLP membership, changed its name in 1915 to Workers International Industrial Union, and gave up the ghost in 1925.

In one sense this is the launching of the IWW. It is from here on that it exists as an organization with its own distinctive character. The Brewery workers were not in it or likely to be; the Sherman tendency was out; the Western Federation was gone, and now the De Leon forces that had alienated so many unionists. The five thousand members it had after this 1908 convention were no longer divergent groups trying to live together but a compact organization of men attached to the IWW rather than to something else, largely rebels who had been organized by the new union, but who had long experience in the struggle with the employer, and many of whom were very familiar with all the fine points that radicals argue about. This was the IWW that was to add something new to the American labor movement.

1. On Schenectady see Trautman's report to 1907 convention; *Industrial Worker*, Vol. 1, No. 7—Chicago, 1906 series: *Solidarity*, Feb. 17, 1931, and *Industrial Worker* summary, Aug. 18, 1945.

2. *Industrial Union Bulletin* reports of 2nd convention; see also Hardrock Miner series, *Industrial Worker*, July 1950.

3. *Daily People*, May 26, 1906.

4. *I. U. Bulletin* editorial, June 27, 1908.

5. Jensen: *Heritage of Conflict*, chapter 11; WFM Preamble, quoted p. 189.

6. For details of conspiracy charge see Hardrock series, July 21, 1950 and for their substance, July 28.

7. To Goldfield, Brissenden and Jensen each devote a chapter: see also *Harper's Weekly* of June 22, 1907 and Pic 1950 for a complete distortion illustrated; St. John's account in *I.U.B.* No. 6.

8. Parole account, *Solidarity* June 6, 1914; SLP account, *Weekly People*, 1950.

9. *I.U.B.* No. 35 and 37.

10. Quoted *I.U.B.* No. 45, Jan. 4, 1908.

11. Details in Jensen's "*Heritage of Conflict*." 11a. Reprinted *IUB*, April 13, 1907, in full.

12. Detailed accounts in *I.U.B.* Nos. 22, 23 and 27, quoted in *Solidarity* March 3, 1931.

13. *I.U.B.* No. 1, March 2, 1907, quoted extensively *Sol.*, March 10, 1931.

14. *I.U.B.*, No. 2, quoted *Sol.* *ibid.*

15. *I.U.B.*, No. 32.

16. There are conflicting claims to authorship of "*Halleluja*." Walsh in *I.U.B.*, April 4, 1908, says it was made up in Spokane hall, and is quoted *OBU Monthly*, March 1938; various other claims to prior authorship in sundry versions exist; one in pocket edition *Treasury of American Folklore*, p. 386.

III. Big Fights of a Small Union—1909-1911

The hard times following the financial crisis of October 1907, the conversion of the previous SLP support into open enmity, added to the definite loss of the Western Federation and the collapse of the promising campaign in Schenectady, all put the I.W.W. in a tough spot. Yet it grew and its secretary, Vincent St. John, figured a total membership of 9,100 in 1910 and 12,834 in 1911. Of these, 4,397 were in the textile industry, 2,000 were metal workers, 1,800 were engaged in railroad construction and 800 in lumbering.¹ It is possible that to avoid embarrassment he may have about doubled these figures. In any case the IWW of these years was a small union, yet it put up some memorable fights, winning free speech in Spokane and elsewhere, defeating the big steel companies in McKees Rocks and in the Chicago area, prodding the AFL into action in many places, and yet with enough surplus energy to take on a civil war in Mexico. During these two years, the distinguishing characteristics of the IWW were definitely developed, perhaps most clearly in the argument with W. Z. Foster over his proposal to "bore from within."

The I.W.W. was small, but widely spread. A list of locals² in January 1910 shows 11 locals scattered through California; 3 in Oregon, all in Portland; in Washington besides locals in Aberdeen, Bellingham and Anacortes, four each in Spokane and Seattle; in British Columbia, four. In Montana there were locals at Anaconda, Butte, Great Falls, Kalispell, Billings and Missoula; in Wyoming at Cheyenne; one in Denver, one each at Globe and Phoenix, Arizona — these locals all showing that some hold had been maintained in Western Federation territory. There were three in Minnesota, and one each at Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis and New Orleans. East of the Mississippi there were locals

in Chicago, Muncie, three in Ohio, 12 scattered through Pennsylvania; three in New Jersey; five in New York City and one each in Buffalo, Yonkers and Brooklyn; two in Rhode Island and three in Vermont.

Thus over the map it had local organizations agitating, looking for opportunities and spreading its literature. Its official organ, the Industrial Union Bulletin, ceased in March 1909, but the membership in Spokane began at the same time to issue the Industrial Worker, soon moved to Seattle, and with only one major break, 1913-1916, continuing weekly to the present time. On Dec. 18, 1909, Solidarity, also a weekly, appeared at first as the official organ of the Pittsburgh District Council, but issued at Newcastle, Pa. Later it moved to Cleveland, and in 1916 was brought to Chicago as official organ of the I.W.W., appearing with minor breaks and changes of name, until it was merged with the Industrial Worker when it too was moved to Chicago in 1931.

The strike at McKees Rocks (Pittsburgh suburb) got the IWW started in steel. It started June 28, 1909, as an unorganized protest against a pool system of payment at the Pressed Steel Car Company, U.S. Steel subsidiary, by which the foreman got the pay for his gang and distributed as he saw fit, which meant with considerable favoritism. That day 50 riveters walked out; half returned and the other half got fired. A third of the passenger car department staged a protest, and most of them were fired. On July 1, some of the porch department walked out and united with the discharged workers to picket the works. All came out except the tool and crane departments which were under Machinist contract. AFL policy in the industry was against organizing the "unskilled foreigners"; Secretary Morrison of the AFL passed through town and turned them down. Among these foreigners, however, were men who had been in the Russian Duma in 1905, some who had been members of the Metallarbeiter-Verband, and Italians who had been in the

great resistance strikes.³ Some of these asked Trautman for help.

In their own preliminary organization two committees developed. One, called the "Big Six," was elected to take charge of the strike. The other developed of itself from among those previously active in the radical movement of Europe, and was referred to as the "Unknown Committee." This committee is credited with taming the Cossacks and with sending 60 strikers inside to bring out the 350 scabs who were living in the plant, and thus winning the strike.

Two troops of State Constabulary, commonly called Steel Cossacks, had treated the strikers with customary brutality, seriously wounding 76 by the end of July. On Aug. 12 when they killed Steven Horvath, one of the strikers, this "Unknown Committee" is reported to have written them: "For every striker's life you take, a trooper's life will be taken." One can neither verify nor refute this much-told story. Ten days later as strikers returning home from their meeting were crossing the O'Donovan Bridge, the constabulary attacked them. Four strikers and three troopers were killed. Secretary Trautman reported in the first issue of *Solidarity*: "Then the chief of the cossacks called off his bloodhounds. After that no striker or deputy was killed. Organized and disciplined 'physical force' checked the violence and wanton destruction of life." Following victory in the strike, six men, charged with participating in this riot, received sentences of 60 days in the workhouse. These light sentences may indicate that many in the community shared the view expressed by Trautman. The socialist press of the area, heartily supporting the strike, contributed to this favorable attitude. Now that the I.W.W. was definitely non-political, relations with the socialists were sporadically more friendly.

The McKees Rocks strike ended the "pool system," improved the shop rules, secured a 5% wage increase with another 10% to be paid 60 days later.

Its indirect results were much greater. Steel depended on a supply of labor from Europe, much of it obtained by glowing misrepresentation. The IWW gave the facts of life as encountered by steel labor to the European labor press, and this diffusion of information became a major factor to raise wages. Trautman reported to the Fifth Convention: "From data collected in several mills, the statement of a general increase of 15% and a reduction of five hours of working time per week for 350,000 workers would in sum total about express the results of the upheaval of workers in McKees Rocks." At the same time the AFL, appealing only to the skilled and preferably the Americanized workers in the industry, was losing strike after strike.

The IWW continued to win in steel, with victories against Inland Steel and Republic Steel, both at East Chicago, Ind., and another against Standard Steel Car in East Hammond.⁴ At Standard the IWW had been organizing quietly, but when the committee representing the riveters got thrown out of the place for presenting a grievance, a strike was called. Special deputies, recruited from the red-light district in West Hammond, began an orgy of brutalities on Jan. 24, 1910, when the strike had been on a week. Resenting abusiveness, the strikers' wives formed a league for self-defense, and effectively stopped scabbing despite the arrest of 12 of the women. On the 24th, all officers were jailed early in the morning, but the picketing became even more effective, and at ten the company sent word to the committee in jail that it would accept all demands except immediate increases. Next day the strikers marched back to work in a body to make sure of no discrimination.⁵

The Pittsburgh District Council grew. It held its second convention in McKees Rocks Jan. 8, 1910, with 26 delegates from five locals, electing Joe Schmidt to assist Joe Ettor as organizer. Its organ, *Solidarity*, was edited for 90 days from jail, since it had neglected to specify its ownership, but it missed no issues while edited by men enjoying

free board and room. It weathered efforts through that spring and summer to take away conditions won at Pressed Steel Car, including an attempted strike by company pets.

Organizers were kept there, and organization developed in other local industries, yet they were unable to keep the union among these victorious strikers more than a year. There are at least two explanations for this. One is that the growth of unionism is a widening of the occupational area in which unionism comes to be taken for granted; unionism first appears as organizing for immediate grievances, usually to strike, and only gradually among the workers lacking a skill that they might monopolize, has the feeling developed that organization should continue between strikes. The IWW has always had to do its organizing on the periphery of the occupational area in which unionism has become an accepted practice; and its "failure to achieve stability" there has also been experienced by all other unions in the same field at the same time. It was not until the mid-thirties that permanent organization of all occupations came to be taken for granted widely throughout industry.

Another factor was pointed out by Secretary Trautman to the Fifth Convention. Referring to a 10% increase just obtained at Republic Steel, he said:

"While we cannot oppose too much the time-contract system of the craft union movement, in this instance and in others that cannot all be recounted, all of the enemies of the IWW used the fact of our not having anything 'black on white' as an entering wedge to pull the workers away from the organization through which they had been able to win the strike."

Originally the IWW had put no restrictions, except requiring G.E.B. approval on contracts, and much of the discussion at the founding convention as to what constituted an industry proceeded on

the assumption that industry-wide action would depend on the structure of the industrial union making contracts. The tradition of no contracts with specified duration had come from the Western Federation, and persisted until changed in 1938 to permit each Industrial Union to make its own regulations on this matter. Some Industrial Unions have persistently forbidden such agreements. Provisions adopted in 1946 ended the requirement of GEB approval, but stipulated that no agreement should provide for a check-off or obligate members covered by it to do any work that would aid in breaking any union's strike.

A strike of inside fabricators at Hansel & Elcock Construction, Chicago, on May 8, 1910, won 8% increase and Saturday half holidays, after the crowd, first fed with speeches in Polish, Lithuanian and other languages, while AFL organizers looked on in bewilderment, turned down the AFL proposition to divide the 46 craftsmen away from the 246 lesser skilled that it was willing for the IWW to have. Trautman's report of the victory stated: "The strike-breakers that came back with the strikers dismissed themselves within 24 hours when direct action methods were applied by the victorious strikers."⁶

This is the earliest instance noted in IWW publications of the term "direct action." Its meaning here may have been either ostracism or fisticuffs, as no further details are given. About this time the terms "sabotage" and "passive resistance" appear in the IWW press for the first time, in reporting an IWW strike of 580 men and girls against Lamm & Co., Chicago clothiers. There the IWW had been asked to aid an unorganized strike, and when scabs were brought in, "workers in other firms where the material for the strike-bound firm was made, 'sabotaged' their work to such perfection," to quote *Solidarity* of June 4, 1910, that the company yielded to all demands except that for the reinstatement of the man whose discharge had led to the walkout in the first place. Trautman advised them to go

back to work and use "passive resistance" methods to get the man back too. Here this meant putting so little heart in the work, out of regret for the absence of this fellow worker, that the employer decided to cheer them up by re-instating him. (For subsequent twists given to these words, see below Chapter VI.)

In Pittsburgh the district council set out to organize the meat packing plants. First it won gains from the big outside packers who wished to avoid a strike there. Later a general walkout was forced on the union and it struck all plants in the area, winning a reduction to 10 hours with an 8% pay boost, and shop control for a while in six plants. A less successful strike of the period was its first venture into the auto industry with a walkout against Parish, auto frame makers, in Reading, Pa. The men went to work in other shops and the strike petered out.⁷

Out west the IWW grew chiefly among out-of-town construction workers and lumberjacks, men on whom the employment sharks preyed. They worked on jobs with "one gang coming, one gang working and one gang going," and the more rapid the turnover, speeded up by firings, the more fees there were for the shark to split with the boss-man who did the hiring and firing. The IWW urged that the men should collectively refuse to patronize the shark and thus force direct hiring by the employers or through agencies that charged no fee. There were 31 employment sharks operating in Spokane in 1909, and occasionally, against IWW advice, the fleeced men set out to wreck the employment shark's office for he sometimes took a man's last dollar for jobs that did not exist. The Spokesman-Review of Jan. 18, 1909, gives this picture:

"Hurling rocks and chunks of ice through the windows of the Red Cross Employment Agency, 224 Stevens St., several members of a noisy mob of between 2,000 and 3,000 idle men were about

to attempt to wreck the place about 6 o'clock last evening, when James H. Walsh, organizer of the IWW, mounted a chair in the street, stemmed the rising tide of riot and pacified the multitude. In the opinion of the police had it not been for the intervention of Walsh, a riot would surely have followed, as the rabble was worked up to such a pitch that its members would have readily attempted violence. Walsh discouraged violence and summoned all members of the IWW to their hall at the rear of 312 Front Ave. The police dispersed the rest. . . . At the hall Walsh warned the crowd against an outbreak. 'There were a lot of hired Pinkertons in that crowd,' he said. 'All they wanted you fellows to do was to start something and then they would have an excuse for shooting you down or smashing your heads in. . . . You can gain nothing by resorting to mob rule.' "8

Throughout that summer as employment picked up, IWW street meetings, with the songs that had been born for this special purpose, turned the fury of more and more fleeced men into the constructive channels of building One Big Union. The sharks got the City Council to forbid street meetings in the area they infested, despite the several occasions on which these meetings had prevented riots. The IWW approached the City Council and leading citizens, pointing out the unconstitutionality of this ordinance, and that it would mean worse operation by the sharks and possible riots. Still meetings were forbidden, and the Industrial Worker of October 28 sent out the call: "Wanted—Men to Fill the Jails of Spokane." A communication to all IWW locals stated: "Nov. 2, Free Speech Day—IWW locals will be notified by wire how many men to send if any. . . . Meetings will be orderly and no irregularities of any kind will be tolerated." The City Council arranged for a large rock pile on which to put the free speech fighters to work.⁹

The first day of the fight for free speech, man after man mounted the box to say, "Friends and Fellow Workers" and be yanked down, until 103 had

been arrested, beaten and lodged in jail. A legend runs that one man, unaccustomed to public speaking, uttered the customary salutation, and still unarrested, and with no police by the box, paused, with nothing more to say, and in all the horrors of stage fright, hollered: "Where are the cops?" In a month over 500 were in jail on bread and water. The Franklin School was used for overflow, and the War Department helped subvert the Constitution by letting the city use Fort Wright to imprison those upholding the First Amendment.

In succession, eight editors of the local Industrial Worker got out an issue and went to jail. The police tried to destroy all copies of the Dec. 10th issue in which Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who had delayed her arrest by chaining herself to a lamppost while she spoke, charged that the sheriff was using the women's section of the jail as a profitable brothel, with the police soliciting customers. The Industrial Worker was moved to the quieter city of Seattle, and published there until 1916.

The constant arrests; the police brutalities; the appearance of men in court matted with blood; the disrepute into which Spokane had fallen in the more enlightened portion of the nation's press; the widely-known evil practices of the employment sharks; the mounting cost to tax-payers; the boycott on Spokane merchants by men in many camps—all these made it harder for the city fathers to continue. Feeling was for the prisoners. On the rare occasion when they were marched through the streets to where they could get a bath, citizens showered them with Bull Durham, apples and oranges. On March 4 came victory—the release of the prisoners and the right to speak. Soon the licenses of 19 of the more offensive sharks were revoked, and the practice of direct hiring of men grew rapidly. IWW reputation boomed.

On the heels of this free-speech fight came another in Fresno, Calif. There the IWW was organizing agricultural workers, Frank Little in charge, and the police, to oppose the policy of holding out

for higher bidders, forbade three or more workers to talk together on the streets. Street meetings had not been part of the organizing campaign, but now there was a free speech fight. An influx of IWW's camped on land furnished by a friendly socialist—until the camp was burned one night by the vigilantes—and held surprise meetings to get some of their case to the public before each speaker was arrested. The jail was a forerunner of Hitlerian horrors, but this fight, too, was won.

Since IWW advocates frequently used the soapbox to spread their ideas, even where no definite organization campaign was afoot, these successes tended for a while to sidetrack the IWW into fighting for free speech on its own account. The 1912 fight in San Diego, where there was almost nothing to organize, is a case in point.¹⁰ Similar enthusiasm took many members into the army supporting Magon in the civil war in Mexico. On Jan. 29, 1912, what is described as "an IWW army" took Mexicali and later Tia Juana, opening the jails as first order of business. They lost the war, but in July a number of Mexican unions confederated and adopted the IWW preamble.¹¹

Elsewhere the IWW was trying to build up the global jurisdiction that its name implied; Tom Mann organized branches in South Africa; it was growing in Australia and New Zealand. James Roe, a one-armed telegrapher, attempted to launch it in Hawaii, but died or was killed in jail. In England a number of clubs, termed the Advocates of Industrial Unionism, formed a movement around the paper, *The Industrialist*. In the American melting pot, the IWW issued papers in various languages that were mailed to kindred spirits in mother-countries: *La Union Industriale* (Spanish) at Phoenix, Arizona; *Solidarnosc*, in Polish, at Buffalo; *Emancipation*, organ of the Franco-Belgian Federation which consisted chiefly of textile workers; and the friendly *Proletarian* in Japanese, in San Francisco. On the international field, the IWW had challenged the AFL as a body denying the basic union principle

of class struggle, indirectly at the International Socialist and Labor Congress at Stuttgart in 1907, and again through Wm. Z. Foster, its credentialed delegate, with the backing of the French CGT, at Budapest in 1910.

On Foster's return he urged a switch in policy to "boring from within" the AFL. The proposal was debated in the press and definitely turned down.¹² Arguments ran that the IWW could busy itself with the 9/10 of the working class that the AFL had not organized; that to bore was to get kicked out; that the rebels in the AFL stood a better chance if outside it, there was the IWW to point to, to get into if they got kicked out or left in disgust, and to maintain a press promoting their ideas; that vested interests and basic structure of the AFL would make the IWW impotent inside it; and that many of the IWW had occupations for which the AFL had no unions in which to bore. The few who supported Foster withdrew with him to found the Syndicalist League of North America, a very small propagandist society.

IWW relations with other unions formed a varied pattern. In San Diego, AFL carpenters refused to build a stockade to imprison free speech fighters. In Detroit the IWW did much of the work in the AFL's 8-Hour League and the McNamara Defense. In Philadelphia, where the AFL divided the men at the locomotive works into 17 different crafts, they struck, and the small IWW local, No. 11, went out with them, June 8, 1911. Through dual membership in other unions the IWW had a majority on the joint committee, had access to various unions to seek support, and wound up reporting: "Instead of driving the men to use different tactics, we were showing them how to finance their fight, and this will not win." In New York the IWW organized the Western Union messengers, then the local organizers turned them over to the AFL on the grounds they could provide better halls and more help, but that strike flopped. In Brooklyn the IWW organized a

number of shoe factories, enhanced their prestige after winning several victories by refusing to go back until the cutters, organized in a Knights of Labor local, had won too. This was a revolt against the policy of Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers, who peddled the union label to employers in return for a check-off even with wages lower than in non-union shops. In this fight many AFL bodies supported the IWW instead of the AFL affiliate. The IWW ended 1910 with a large number of shoe shops on strike, but settled these strikes one after another from Jan. 22 on, until at end of February only four plants were struck, involving 800, with 2,200 organized back at work. One reason for this was to use available funds for the defense of Buccafori, a striker who had killed his employer after the latter had knocked him down on the floor and kicked him. Bill Haywood, also returning from Europe at this time, renewed his interest in the IWW at this time and spoke for the Buccafori Defense. His talk, "The General Strike," was issued as a pamphlet.

These big fights of a little union 1909 to 1911 laid the foundation for its substantial growth and bigger battles of 1912.

1. From table furnished Brissenden, p. 70 op. cit.
2. List from Industrial Worker, Jan. 15, 1920.
3. Duchez in Int'l Socialist Review, October 1909. A more detailed account of McKees Rocks is given in Perlman & Taft, "History of Labor in U.S.," Chapter XXIII.
4. Solidarity, issue No. 52, Vol. I.
5. Solidarity, Jan. 29, 1910 et seq.
6. Solidarity, issue No. 25.
7. Solidarity, issue No. 51 et seq., and more detailed summary in series, "IWW Tells Own Story," Solidarity, May 26, 1931.
8. Quoted Industrial Union Bulletin, Feb. 7, 1909.
9. Story of Spokane free speech fight from IWW papers, Spokane papers and Int'l Socialist Review of the period.
10. See detailed series in Ind. Worker, July 26 - Aug. 9, 1947.
11. Lorwin: "Labor and Internationalism," chapter 12.
12. Discussion starts Solidarity, Nov. 4, 1911.

IV. The Textile Workers

Between January 1912 and the tough times that set in again toward the end of 1913, the IWW, with a series of good fights and substantial victories, won widespread recognition as the most forward thrust of the American labor movement. These were the years of victories in Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Little Falls and other textile centers, ending in the hopeless fight at Paterson; of lumber battles in Louisiana and Gray's Harbor, Washington; of railroad construction strikes with thousand mile picket lines; of expansion into auto and other metal working industries; of fighting for the Pittsburgh stogie makers and the rubber workers of Akron; of the accession of longshoremen and seamen to start its Marine Transport Workers; and of sensational trials arising from its fight in Lawrence, Louisiana and the hopfields of California—trials that added to its fame as much as did the strikes that generated them.

A persistent myth about the IWW is that it plunged into strikes without previous organization, bringing out contented workers with spell-binding oratory, won great victories, then deserted the workers to repeat the process elsewhere. The myth is groundless.

Prior to its fame at Lawrence the IWW had been organizing textile workers for seven years, and these constituted roughly half of its membership. It had followed up its initial victory in Skowhegan, Maine, with organization and a victorious three month strike at Mapleville, R. I., in 1907. By next year it had eight textile locals and these were formed into its first national industrial union with James P. Thompson as organizer. These withstood the depression, and in 1910 were all in good standing, and during the years in which strikes had been opportune, had added three more locals.¹

This stability and steady growth of the IWW textile workers is the more remarkable since few of these workers could bargain through their union, and nowhere did it have "union security" in any form. They were men and women who had been educated into unionism with lectures on the history of the labor movement, with study classes in economics, with union fundamentals handed them in leaflets and strike talks. Social activities and dramatic clubs, for most of their halls had stages, helped cement them. The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers of the IWW was held together by an understanding of what industrial unionism could accomplish, and its members were willing to transmit this vision to their fellow workers as volunteer organizers and leaflet peddlers. They aided various strikes of the small independent unions in their field and steadily built the reputation of the IWW.

Lawrence local 20 had been formed in 1906. It almost died in 1907 but was brought to life again with aid from the National Industrial Union formed in 1908 and from a more thriving local nine miles away in Lowell. By 1910 it owned its own hall, and there the third convention of the Industrial Union was held over Labor Day. In January 1911, on invitation, it joined a newly formed Alliance of Textile Workers Unions of Lawrence with the reservation that it would not be bound to any action contrary to IWW principles. That summer the companies started changing the production system from one in which weavers ran 7 looms at 79 cents a cut to one in which they ran 12 at 49 cents a cut, giving them an average boost in weekly wages from \$11.06 to \$11.76 for almost double production. The IWW called a strike of the weavers against Atlantic Mills. It won, and the independent Lawrence Weavers Protective Association brought its 500 members into Local 20 on October 1.² On November 2 organizer J. P. Thompson was brought back to Lawrence for a two month campaign, and throughout November expounded union fundamentals to enthusiastic

noon-day meetings. Stickers and circulars were issued in support of various small strikes called by other organizations, all urging a shorter workday and the One Big Union idea. Plainly the IWW was no flash in the pan when the big strike broke upon Lawrence in January 1912.³

Lawrence had a population of 85,892 of whom at least 60,000 depended upon mill wages. Almost everyone over 14 worked in its textile mills. The average wage was 16 cents an hour. About 15,000 got only 12 cents. With lost time the prevailing work week of 56 hours yielded an average pay of only about \$7. Their labor had yielded such profits that they had more than paid for the mills in which they worked: Pacific Mills inside ten years had paid dividends alone amounting to 148 per cent of its investment.⁴

Jan. 1, 1912 a state law became effective reducing the work week to 54 hours. Without a pay boost this meant 32 cents less a week for those working 56 hours, and 32 cents then bought 10 loaves of bread. For some with still longer hours it meant a still bigger reduction. Wages were so close to starvation that many expected the weekly pay would not be cut. When the first pay envelopes for the year were distributed on January 11, some workers in the Washington Mills went through the plant calling their fellow workers to walk out with them. The strike was on.

Local 20 had not planned for a strike until summer, but seeing how feeling ran it called the entire local textile industry on strike the following day, and sent for Haywood, Ettor, J. P. Thompson and others to come in. By the middle of January 16,000 were out, and by the 27th 25,000, headed by a strike committee of 60 elected from the ranks of the strikers to represent both each major occupational group and each of the 16 major languages spoken. From these 60 various detail committees were elected.

The first few unorganized days of the strike were disorderly. On the 15th militia and pickets clashed

at the Pacific Mills. Once the IWW organized the strike it amazed all observers by the orderliness with which it was conducted, the only violence that of the police and National Guard who were there at a cost of \$4,000 a day, or almost four times what it would have cost the companies not to have cut the weekly pay.

Golden of the United Textile Workers came at once to break the strike, but failed completely. The rather diminutive AFL Central Labor Council refused to recognize the 25,000 textile workers striking under the banner of the IWW, with the result that the Molders Union withdrew in disgust leaving that sedate body without a presiding officer.⁵

On Jan. 20 a plant of dynamite was discovered. Strikers were accused, but soon it was shown that it had been planted by a John A. Breen, member of the Board of Education. On conviction he was fined \$500. On Jan. 29 a peaceful parade of the strikers was charged by the militia, and officer Oscar Benoit ran his bayonet through striker Anna La Pizza, killing her. At once three organizers, Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso, were arrested as accessories to murder, and held without bail to keep them from strike activity. They were acquitted Nov. 26 after a three week trial. Nothing was done to Benoit or those who had ordered the vicious and needless attack on the parading strikers.

The view of the militia is disclosed by the remarks of an officer to a writer for Outlook: "Our company of militia went down to Lawrence during the first days of the strike. Most of them had to leave Harvard to do it; but they rather enjoyed going down there to have their fling at those people."⁶ Harry Emerson Fosdick quotes a Boston lawyer: "Any man who pays more for labor than the lowest sum he can get them for is robbing his stockholders. . . . The strike should have been stopped in the first 24 hours. The militia should have been instructed to shoot. That is the way Napoleon did it."⁷ During the nine week conflict 335 strikers were arrested,

of whom 320 were sentenced on minor charges most of their convictions being reversed on appeal.

Feeding these impoverished people for 9 weeks would have been an impossible task if it had not been for the help of the Franco-Belgian Co-operative that had its own bakery, and donated its services and also much material. Appeals to labor at large brought in donations totaling \$74,011.39, but this figures out to only 33 cents per week per striker. A cotton broker, James Prendergast, connived with a minister and judge to tie the strike relief up by alleging donations made without a name or address to which to send a receipt, and the contention that the strike funds were not properly handled. At the time the funds amounted to about \$8000, but these were withdrawn all but 48 cents to save them from seizure. Later an accountant appointed by the court certified that the IWW had spent some \$3000 more on strike relief than it had received, including donations from its own locals. The charge then shifted that some of this money had gone to buy railroad tickets for strikers' children sent out of town. This was dropped when the Boston Local of the Socialist Party testified that its donation of \$3000 was intended for whatever strike purpose it could best serve. The IWW was cleared in the courts, but the SLP, which, throughout this wave of textile strikes interfered, masquerading under the name IWW, issued a pamphlet again accusing the IWW of these exploded charges.

These railroad tickets had been bought to send strikers' children to sympathetic families away from hunger-and-militia-ridden Lawrence. This was a new strike tactic in America. The children liked it and were effective reminders of the strikers' needs in the communities to which they went. They traveled in guided groups, each child with an identification card signed by its parents. This went well until Feb. 24. That morning parents and friends assembled to see a group of children off on the seven o'clock train. When it pulled in, the militia

crossed bayonets across all doors. The children had their tickets clutched in their hands and some who tried to run to the train were clubbed down on the platform while police beat the strikers in the station. "There was a hideous struggle" reported Solidarity. "The women fought and kicked and scratched with the mad frenzy of mothers fighting for their young. The police choked them and clubbed them and knocked them down. Finally the officers pitched the women and children into a great arsenal wagon and drove them off, a screaming, fighting wagon load, to the police station where the little ones were booked as neglected children."⁸ Since this was interference with interstate commerce, the U. S. Senate investigated and brought forth two fat volumes on the strike.⁹

On March 13 a rank and file committee that could talk shop better than the company lawyers met with American Woolen that raised its previous best offer of a 5% flat increase to a 21% boost or 2 cents an hour for those getting 9½ cents, ranging down to 1 cent for those getting 20, along with other improvements in reckoning the pay and bonus. Next day a mass meeting on Lawrence Common accepted these terms. Eight companies that refused were still struck until they gave parallel gains. There were sympathetic increases in mills elsewhere.

The impact of this strike on thinking about American labor was expressed by Harry Fosdick in Outlook of that June: "Wages have been raised, work has been resumed, the militia has gone, and the whirring looms suggest industrial peace; but behind all this the most revolutionary organization in the history of American industry is building up an army of volunteers. The I.W.W. leaves behind as hopelessly passé, the methods of the American Federation of Labor."¹⁰ Others felt the same way about it.

Strike methods and oratory both contributed to this impression. Speakers talked of a day when the endless haggling with employers would be replaced

by an industrial democracy in which those who did the work made the industrial decisions. They explained that the solidarity in the strike and the solidarity of labor toward the strike were steps, not only to two cents more per hour, but to the organized competence of labor to run industry for use instead of profit. The exodus of children to sympathetic homes was part of the strategy of making the working class feel as one. The endless chain picketing, devised in this strike when regular picketing was stopped, so that strikers walked one after another around the entire mill section of town, made each worker in that line feel that however helpless he might be as an individual, as a link in that chain he tied up industry. The democracy that welded these workers of 16 tongues together, and that enabled them to determine strike policy, was a foretaste of what labor, rightly organized, could do.

The Lawrence strike was followed by other textile strikes.¹¹ In Lowell 18,000 textile workers struck immediately after it. In New Bedford in July 15,000 textile workers responded to the call of the IWW to support the independently organized weavers who had struck against the fining system. The various craft unions refused to act jointly with the IWW but the 15,000 stayed out until the weavers on their own account had returned. In Little Falls, N.Y., a major center for knit goods and underwear, the state law limiting female labor to 54 hours per week became effective Oct. 1, 1912 and produced an unorganized walkout at the Phoenix and Gilbert Mills on the 10th, much like that in Lawrence. The IWW organized the Polish, Austrian and Italian workers, but had less success with the \$6.40 a week "Americans." To hamper the strike, meeting places were denied and outdoor speaking prohibited. The socialists from Schenectady, including Mayor Lunn, furnished most of the force for the free speech end of the fight and won, not only their constitutional rights, but considerable support from the English-speaking workers. On Oct. 30, when a thug struck a girl picket, a fight broke out with the result that

organizers Legere (an actor) and Bochino got convicted of stabbing a detective "in the seat of the pants" and sojourned at Auburn until July, 1914. There were hundreds of individual arrests, and a mass arrest of strikers meeting in the Slovak Sokol Hall. On that occasion the police broke heads, musical instruments and furniture alike. Next day other strikers paraded, playing the Marsellaise and International on their broken instruments, and requested troops to curb the police. The request was denied. When, shortly after this, children were sent out of town, and truant officers attempted to stop them at the station, they had papers in proper legal form to assure their departure. On January 3 the strike was ended on terms arranged by state mediators, reinstatement for all, increases to range from 5 to 18%, no one to get less for the 54 hour week than for 60 hours.

A week later when the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers held its fourth convention, it was proud of its achievements. Then came Paterson.

Paterson was an old silk center, with some big firms and about 290 smaller ones. Its technology lagged behind that used in the newer silk towns, like Allentown, Scranton and other places where miners' wives and daughters worked on high speed looms. (Their wages averaged \$7.01 in 1912; male earnings were lower, only \$6.06) The industry was beginning to trustify. Haywood said: "The strike would undoubtedly have ended much sooner had it not been for the desire of the richer manufacturers to see the smaller ones starved out and driven into bankruptcy. . . . The competing Pennsylvania mills are largely owned by the same interests."¹² Under these circumstances victory required industry-wide solidarity; it could not be attained by lone action in the technologically backward center from which the industry was moving.

When the 4-loom system was introduced into the Doherty Mills in Paterson late in January 1913, the weavers, unorganized, came out spontaneously. In

Paterson the IWW had a substantial local, including such capable organizers as Ewald Koettgen and Adolph Lessig, silk workers themselves. The weavers asked their help, and they took the gamble of trying to make the strike industry-wide. On the last day of February the local struck the 1930 mills and dye-houses in Paterson, and, with the aid of socialist locals at or near the more modern silk centers, sent strikers and organizers to bring them into the fight too; but there had not been the necessary preparation, the fight was confined to Paterson. There 25,000 struck until September 24; 1473 were arrested; five were killed. Outside labor support brought in \$59,957.79 for strike relief, and this time to prevent rumors, the funds and expenses were checked by a public accountant. A pageant staged by John Reed, using the strikers to portray their struggle, toured eastern cities; the poster design was later used on many editions of songbooks and other pamphlets. But all this could not win in the old silk center against modern technology in other towns, with the better looms owned by the same large interests. By the time the strike was given up, hard times were on their way again, hitting, as they often do, the textile industries first. The IWW spent the last cent it could raise on this fight, and it almost did for the IWW as the Pullman strike of 1894 had done to Deb's ARU.

In April and May, 1913, while the Paterson strike was on, the union engaged in a struggle in Ipswich, a town where the previous fall the IWW had won prestige by action enabling workers to collect \$60,000 in back wages held from those who had quit without giving two weeks' notice. Arrests, police clubbings, and the impossibility of getting any place to meet except a churchyard, made the strike a dead issue when an ordinance was passed forbidding meetings in churchyards.

The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers persisted until March 11, 1916.¹³ Then the General Executive Board put its remaining members in

directly affiliated locals until it should have a membership of 5000 or more. Since then there has been only a scattered membership in that industry and a few minor efforts at organization. Already at its 1913 convention, full of success, the older members whose persistent plugging had built it up in the lean years of 1908-1911, refused to accept nominations. The GEB reported to the 10th convention that immediately following the Lawrence strike "a campaign of slander and insinuation was launched against the officers and most of the old active workers." That 1913 convention resolved that only those who had worked in the textile industry should serve it as organizers, though the organization had been built largely by organizers from other industries. But most important factor was the unemployment and hard times that set in late in 1913. The policies of the 1913 convention, the friendship of the socialists and these hard times all combined to undermine the newly grown union. Despite the arguments over "sabotage" and the unseating of Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in 1912,¹⁴ actual relations were friendly, and the harm done by the socialists was evidently done unwittingly, even though its policy right along had been and still was to favor the AFL. With hard times the socialist activities appeared to offer a better outlet for whatever aspirations for a new social order these workers had retained from their strikes and past experience. Dropping the old guard of organizers as strangers to the industry pushed them in this direction for they could have mapped out a program to make the union serviceable to its members no matter how hard the times, just as it had survived the bad years 1908-1909. While many had been organized for brief periods during the strikes, and while every effort, short of contracts, was made to hold them after the strike, post-strike locals were small. In Lawrence it was claimed that 10,000 out of the 25,000 strikers joined the IWW, but by the

fall of 1913 the Lawrence local had only 700 members.¹⁵

To some extent this decline of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers came from the difficulty of hitting the right balance between an industrial union program so different from prevailing thought that it struck most workers as alien, and a program so confined to job unionism that it lacked the spirit and vision necessary to hold workers together, as they had been held in 1908, when jobs disappeared and strikes were out of the picture.

Throughout the years since some of the old batlers and some younger textile workers who shared their vision have maintained Textile Workers Industrial Union 610 of the IWW, mindful of the need for industry-wide bargaining to cope with geographical shifts and persistently low wages even as in the days of Paterson. They may yet provide the union the textile workers need, for their need very plainly has not yet been met.

1. For general story of the period, see series "IWW Tells Its Own Story" for greater details, and articles by Chos. Miller who actively participated in these strikes, in *Industrial Worker*, July 1945.

2. *Solidarity*, Nov. 18, 1911.

3. Report of Organizer J. P. Thompson to 7th convention of IWW.

4. Chos. Miller, series July 1945, *Industrial Worker*.

5. *Solidarity*, No. 114.

6. Al Priddy in *Outlook*, Oct. 1912.

7. H. E. Fosdick in *Outlook*, June 15, 1912.

8. *Solidarity*, No. 114.

9. They are 62nd Congress, 2nd session, Senate document 870.

10. *Outlook*, June 15, 1912.

11. Details of these strikes are in papers of period and summarized in "IWW Tells Own Story," *Solidarity*, Sept. and Oct., 1931.

12. *International Socialist Review*, May 1913.

13. *Proceedings*, 10th Convention IWW, p. 73.

14. See below, Chapter VI, on ideological conflicts of period.

15. Levine, *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept. 1913. Winston Churchill's novel, "The Dwelling Place of Light" depicts the Lawrence strike fairly well.

V. The Pre-War Crest

(Period 1912-13: Union activities outside of textile industry)

While the IWW was building a name in the textile industry it fought some great battles among Canadian construction workers, Louisiana loggers, Washington saw mill workers, on the docks of Philadelphia and Duluth, in auto and other metal industries, in the Pittsburgh cigar industry, and for hop-pickers in California. Its rapid extension — much like that of the Knights in 1884-86 — was possible only because it developed the organizing abilities latent in its ranks. It had not yet developed the program of "every member an organizer," and the job delegate system that grew in 1915 out of its activities in agriculture, but had as organization staff all its General Executive Board members, four national organizers, and 16 organizers with "voluntary credentials," weekly listing them in its papers and warning that no others were accredited organizers for the IWW.

The prestige of Lawrence resulted in victories in other fields: a victorious one week strike of molders and others at National Malleable Casting in Indianapolis in March, 1912; the organization of a successful strike of piano and organ builders in New York in April and May. Again in May a two week strike against American Radiator in Buffalo won boosts and better hours there and brought other nearby plants to do likewise so that over 5000 benefitted. In June the IWW won increases at Warner Refining in Edgewater, N.Y., and at Corn Products Refining at Shadyside, N.J.¹ In Peoria in June occurred one of the few events that give some substance to the myth of the IWW blowing into town, fomenting a strike and pulling out again. Visiting organizer James P. Cannon there turned a socialist meeting into a local of workers at Avery Implement. A cou-

ple of the boys were fired, and the rest pulled the whistle without any preparation for strike or getting many organized. It took aggressive picketing to make the strike click, and pickets got arrested, including Cannon's fellow evangelist, Tom Moore, who sent out a call from jail for "jail material and lots of it." It threatened to turn into a free speech fight to rival San Diego, but, to prevent this, new organizers came to town and arranged a settlement including the release of all in jail, and the evangelists departed.

Along a five hundred mile stretch where the Canadian Northern was penetrating the mountains of British Columbia, six thousand "dynos and dirt-hands" struck on March 28, 1912.² They soon tied up everything from Hope to Kamloops, and before it was over the IWW had another strike of similar size on the construction of the Grand Trunk. Some organization had been built among these men in the summer of 1911 as they flocked into the area waiting for this work to open up. Those doing preliminary work for the sub-contractors, and others camping along the right of way waiting for work, sent for organizer J. S. Biscay to unionize them so they could start the big job with union demands. Their competition had brought down wages on this preliminary work to \$2.25 a day. By Sept. 6, 1911 over 900 had been organized into Local 327 and the men on a 160 mile section decided to hold out for higher pay. The contractors asked for the army to force the men to work, but didn't get it. Local business interests hoped for a wage boost and business men even donated funds for Local 327 to build its hall in Kamloops. Organization had reached over 2000 or a third of the men before the big strike began.

This was the first time the IWW had to establish its "thousand mile picket line," extending not only over 400 miles of construction, but much further to employment offices in Minneapolis and San Francisco. The IWW kept many from shipping, and sent its missionaries among those shipped to induce them

to quit en route, and the railroads were left holding many old suit-cases filled with bricks and newspapers by those taking the trip part way.

The contractors after finding that neither violence nor the remote recruiting of scabs could break the strike, hit on "station work," a form of subcontracting by small groups of "self-employed" workers, with "piece work" rates that appealed to many of the strikers. The strikers were now divided first over whether or not to accept station work at any rates, and secondly, if so, how those rates should be set. Solidarity weakened and the strike ended with minor improvements, and earnings at station-work were no doubt raised by the strike and the sense of unionism. (A similar use of the "gyppo" system of piece work had much to do later with the decline of the IWW in Washington forests; and in post-mortems many on the scene later argued that the effective tactic would have been to accept this payment-by-results system but at rates that gave the employer no advantage over day-work. In both instances, to introduce it, much higher earnings were permitted than men made by it once it was established.)

This and the strike on the Grand Trunk lasted until late fall. Both were well supported by the labor movement of western Canada. The British Columbia Federationist served it as a regular weekly strike bulletin.

It was at this time that the term "Wobbly" as nick-name for IWW came into use. Previously they had been called many things from International Wonder Workers to I Won't Works. The origin of the expression "Wobbly" is uncertain. Legend assigns it to the lingual difficulties of a Chinese restaurant keeper with whom arrangements had been made during this strike to feed members passing through his town. When he tried to ask "Are you I.W.W.?" it is said to have come out: "All loo eye wobble wobble?" The same situation, but in Vancouver, is given as the 1911 origin of the term by

Mortimer Downing in a letter quoted in *Nation*, Sept. 5, 1923 with the additional information: "Thereafter the laughing term among us was 'I Wobbly Wobbly,' and when Herman Suhr during the Wheatland strike³ wired for all foot-loose 'Wobblies' to hurry there, of course the prosecution made a mountain of mystery out of it, and the term has stuck ever since." Mencken in his *American Language* doubts this explanation. Some credit the term to Otis of the *Los Angeles Times*, an avid opponent of the IWW. Some lingual difficulty seems most likely to have been behind it, for in its sense of vacillating it fits no accusation ever made against IWW, and about the only meaning of wobbly that could conceivably fit is that of "wobble saw," a circular saw mounted askew to cut a groove wider than its own thickness.

In February 1912 the second national industrial union of the IWW was formed, the Forest and Lumber Workers. That summer the young Brotherhood of Timber Workers, centered in Louisiana joined it as an autonomous division. In contrast to the northwest, the Louisiana lumber worker was a "homeguard," often a "sod-buster."⁴ Previous efforts from the Knights on had failed to give them stable organization. In 1902 around Litcher they had formed a union, won, and dissolved. Again they had organized in 1907 to resist a wage cut, holding out longest around Lake Charles, and the union had died again. In 1910 the Brotherhood was formed, "swarming" around some 90 IWW's and "red" socialists—that is those who preferred Debs to Berger and Lee—and from the beginning was attacked by the lumber barons as IWW and alien. Its fights were lockouts, not strikes, and it was a revolt of the local people, including farmers and preachers and merchants and doctors, against the outside capital that was walking off with the riches of the area. (During its fights the lumber interests said they would deal with a respectable AFL union, yet in 1919 when AFL Carpenters tried to organize around Bogalusa, a mob of deputized thugs killed three at the union hall and

stopped it.) The Brotherhood organized black and white workers together. It sent fraternal delegates to the 1911 IWW convention; its convention in May, 1912 was addressed by Haywood, and by referendum it joined the IWW that summer and was duly installed at the 1912 IWW convention.

The lumber companies opposed the Brotherhood with off-and-on lockouts, discrimination and "tin-panning," or the raising of such a din by beating circular saws that speakers could not be heard at union meetings. On July 7, 1912 at the cross-roads in Grabow, A. L. Emerson, president of the Brotherhood, held his audience together through such a "tin-panning" until shots came from the office of the Galloway Lumber Company, killing three. In the ensuing fight several more were killed. No company thugs were arrested, but 58 union men were lodged in the "Black Hole of Calcasieu" until after a two month trial they were acquitted in December. The jury was much influenced by the frank admission of state witnesses that their story had been framed in the offices of Congressman Pujo. Their victory in court was greeted with general jubilation by all southern labor.

After the strike the American Lumber Company discharged all who had testified for the defense, and, expecting further discharges of union militants, Emerson asked the 1200 workers involved to line up on one side of the road, and those who wanted to risk a strike to cross the road. The 1200 Negro, Mexican, French, Italian and native white workers crossed in a body, and a seven month fight was on that the Brotherhood lost. It had one more skirmish at Sweet Home, in December 1913, also lost. The Brotherhood persisted until 1916, but had been virtually killed by the blacklisting of 5000 members. They went west and later helped organize the oil fields of Oklahoma.

On March 4, 1912 the Forest & Lumber Workers Union of IWW struck all the sawmills in Hoquiam, Washington, and within a few days the strike had

extended to Raymond, Cosmopolis and Aberdeen, tying up mill operations throughout the Gray's Harbor area. The demand was a wage boost from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per day. When the Mayor of Aberdeen tried to turn city laborers into deputies to break the strike, most of them quit. The Aberdeen Manufacturing Company turned out a load of heavy clubs to crack strikers' heads; the strikers went into the plant and seized them.⁵ A Citizens' Committee prevailed on the Aberdeen Trades Council not to endorse the strike. This Committee was headed by bourgeois direct actionists whose vigilantes raided the union hall, arrested strikers, clubbed many in town, and kidnapped hundreds more, whom they took into the surrounding swamps, clubbed and left there. At Hoquiam these vigilantes put 150 strikers into box-cars for deportation, but the Mayor and the railroad workers stopped them. There were mass deportations of Greek and Finnish workers in particular from Raymond. Hindus were brought in to scab, but refused. Finally the Citizen's Committee recommended a raise to \$2.25, but preference for native born American workers. The companies agreed, and the strike committee called a meeting and recommended that the men go back with this gain, and build organization for a further fight.

Next year, in May, the Forest and Lumber Workers, IWW, put out a ballot in all logging camps in that area on whether or not to strike for the following demands: a minimum of \$3 for 8 hours; "clean, sanitary bunkhouses without top bunks and having springs, mattresses and bedding furnished free of charge, all camps to be supplied with baths and dry rooms"; end of employment fees. Though the vote ran 85% to strike, the strike was called off July 3 for lack of pickets.⁶ A similar short-lived strike in the Missoula region also failed. The lumber worker was doomed to remain an unwashed timberbeast until 1917.

In August, 1912, Local 101 of IWW, tobacco workers, won short strikes in its old battlefields of

Pittsburgh and McKees Rocks, making the Penn, Zasloff and Webster companies revoke a cut. It followed up with a strike against Standard Cigar in both towns, precipitated by a fire in one of its factories that killed four girls and injured 17 others. The union had overcome a prejudice stirred up by the company between the McKees Rocks girls who were mostly Jewish and the Pittsburgh girls who were mostly Irish, and thereby won an 8 hour day, wage boosts ranging from \$3 to \$4 per week, and a clean-up of the shops and greater protection against further fires.⁷

The following summer the employers in the "hill district" of Pittsburgh, where the three for a nickel variety of stogies were made, locked out the IWW when it struck a member of their association, Dry Slitz Stogie. Twelve hundred were locked out, and the IWW called the remaining 800 stogie workers out. It was an unfavorable time, the beginning of the summer slack season, but the IWW held these workers, mostly girls, together to victory. The lack of organization in this field points up the craft viewpoint. In the nineties the stogie makers had organized, but been turned down as outcasts by the Cigar Makers, and for a time were part of the Knights. When the machine-made "four for a nickel" variety came in, this union turned these down too. The IWW welcomed them all. In the Labor Day Parade the IWW local entered a float depicting child workers and tuberculosis in the Dry Slitz factory. On Sept. 4 the agreement binding employers into an association ended, and many made separate offers. The IWW demand had been 12 to 15 cents for stogies, per hundred, and soon all settled at 11 to 14—all but Slitz. It had moved out of town.

In Akron on Feb. 10, 1913, 150 Firestone tire builders walked out when their piece rates were cut 35%. This led to a six week strike in which the local socialists and IWW with the aid of Haywood and other outside speakers competed with John L. Lewis, then an AFL organizer, and William Green,

then an Ohio State Senator, the one side to organize the rubber workers industrially, the other to stam-pede them back to work rather than see the IWW grow.⁸

It was an unorganized industry. Unionism had been held back by craft claims of Boot & Shoe Workers. When the Amalgamated Rubber Workers, AFL, was launched in 1902, Akron rubber workers welcomed it, while the companies launched an Employers' Association and fought it by discriminatory discharge, espionage through Corporations Auxiliary Company, "voluntary" increases, and company unionism. The Amalgamated had lost its push by 1904 in a major defeat in Trenton.

When these 150 tire-builders walked out, unorganized, they soon brought the rest of the Firestone tire-building department after them. There was an IWW local of 50 or 60 members, closely associated with the Socialist local, and the hall they jointly used was offered as strike headquarters. In a short time they brought out the entire local rubber industry, about 20,000 workers. It was a revolt against industrial poisoning, lack of sanitary facilities, and especially the speed-up and Taylor system of which Sieberling boasted. No one had expected this spontaneous revolt, yet it was orderly. The Akron Beacon-Journal of February 14 said: "It is safe to say that no strike was ever started so peacefully or with less excitement," and again on the 17th "With the factories depleted," it commented, "throughout Akron there is only praise for the very orderly way in which the strikers have behaved up to date."

The Mayor promptly asked for the National Guard. The Governor instead sent in the State Board of Arbitration, and Senator William Green, later president of the AFL, set up a committee to investigate, and the AFL sent in John L. Lewis and other organizers to take over. The AFL issued a statement explaining that it had intended to organize in Akron earlier, but had been delayed "on account of the enormous work devolving upon its organizers in

textiles and iron and steel, as the result of interference . . . by the people who have assumed control of the strike in the rubber industry."

It took the strike committee of 100 close to two weeks to iron out a wage scale acceptable to all occupations. The AFL drew up its own wage scale, but withdrew it as workers protested against the obvious inequities in it. Later, as in regular Mohawk Valley formula style the loyal citizens were equipped with badges and clubs to crush this "invasion of alien unionism," and with meetings and picketing stopped, a back to work movement was promoted to the tune of clubbings, then, says Roberts in his study of the Rubber Workers, "The AFL put it self in the unfortunate position of aiding the back-to-work movement, thereby helping defeat the strike."

The dirty work of the AFL went deeper than that. The issue was whether or not there was to be collective bargaining. Sieberling who had done much with his stop-watch to promote the strike, hurried back from his Pacific cruise to say he would deal with no union, and to denounce the strikers as anarchists. Organizer Bessemer replied that in the common usage of anarchist as an extreme individualist, Sieberling's refusal to deal with a union made him the leading anarchist in town. The entire managerial side in its dealing both with the State Board of Arbitration and with Senator Green's Committee, made it clear that there would be no collective bargaining. Yet the AFL forces, including Green's committee, made much of IWW aversion to contracts as though this could prolong the strike in an industry whose management refused contracts. On the contrary, the IWW proposals were workable ways to settle the strike and achieve some progress in industrial relations. Since the companies refused to deal with any union, the strike committee proposed instead:

"The right of employees to present grievances collectively by committees of their own selection,

composed of employees of each factory, to negotiate with each manufacturer, should be established for the adjustment of all grievances in the future. The right of workers to organize in labor organizations of their own choice should not be infringed upon."

This was a workable basis for unionism and collective bargaining without official union recognition. (In most instances the criticism of IWW for not making contracts in these years falls equally flat for almost identical reasons.) The language of the proposal, considering its adaptation to the specific circumstances, later acquired a familiar ring, in the proposal by which Gompers broke up Wilson's Industrial Conference of 1919, and later incorporated in section 7-a of NIRA to go on down into Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts. It appears to have originated in this proposal made by the executive committee in an IWW strike on March 7, 1913. The committee also proposed that the 8 hour day it demanded could be introduced gradually. Probably the greatest damage the AFL did to the rubber workers was their denunciation of the IWW as an impossible organization that could not carry on collective bargaining. This and the similar line of Green's Committee did much to ease the conscience of the Citizen's Police Association, and its recruitment in churches and YMCA. The employers refused to meet even with committees of their own employees insisting that strikers were not employees, and issued statements that made the local AFL inclined to pull a general strike. At that point the sheriff put the city under martial law, the more loyal AFL local leaders joined in the back-to-work movement, police clubbing grew, and on March 31 the IWW called off the strike by a vote of 140 to 58—a marked contrast from the thousands who had gathered in Perkins Park to hear Haywood say: "We are standing in the shadow of a monument of John Brown to discuss and fight a greater problem than he ever faced." The strike is usually called a defeat. It did not establish the collective bargaining it aimed at, but it

did stop the 35% cut that precipitated it, and so properly cannot be called a defeat.

The following January a startling disclosure was made by James W. Reed, secretary-treasurer of the Akron local in an affidavit that he had hired out as a spy in 1908 to look out for labor agitators at Diamond Rubber, and that during the years 1912-13 almost all officials of the local had also been in the pay of this Employers Auxiliary Corporation, an industrial espionage outfit.⁹ While few knew of this, several of those involved attended the Jan. 14 meeting, and a picture of all was taken first, and then the story disclosed. The incident shows the futility of such espionage in an organization of the IWW type, where the strikes are handled by committees of strikers and not by the secretaries or other officers. Thus there seems to have been no great harm done by the spies, and instead a rather good technical performance of the clerical duties to which they were elected.

In the auto industry of Detroit the IWW had a small local, No. 16, which for several years had sought members by speaking in parks about social evils or distributing occasional leaflets without much success. In the spring of 1913 it too began to concentrate on industrial unionism at factory gates, and it began to grow. An able speaker was Matilda Rabinowitz, one of the four national organizers, who had come to Detroit originally to raise funds for the Paterson strike. She was a little woman and after one noon-day meeting a police officer complained: "You take advantage of us because you are a woman." Within the one month of May Local 16 grew from a mere skeleton to a promising start of 200.

In June Studebaker changed from weekly to monthly pays. There was dissatisfaction over this and members of the local in the Delray or west end plant of the company sent in a committee to ask about it and to report to a meeting for all Studebaker workers that the Local had called for June 14.

All the committee got for an answer was the discharge of one of its members. The Sunday meeting elected another committee to see management; it got told that the company would give its answer in a week. The men feared that week would be used to thin out union ranks, and struck on the morning of the 18th at Delray. They all held a meeting in an adjacent vacant lot and marched in a body the seven miles to Plant No. 1, arriving there at noon and bringing out its 2000 workers. Next day the men from both plants brought out plant No. 5 bringing the total on strike to about 6,000 or a tenth of the local auto workers at that time. They accepted the police restriction of 30 pickets to a plant, but somehow the urge to soap-box turned the strike into a free speech fight, and it seems the entire strike evaporated into this evangelistic activity.¹⁰

Industrial unionists in the local then went to work on the three companies providing most of the wheels for the auto industry. First they won a short strike at Metal Wheel, gaining a 10% boost, a 9 hour day and better sanitation. This enabled them to get similar gains by strike threat next day at Toledo Metal Wheel, and on July 29 by a four hour strike at Foyer Brothers.¹¹

The IWW in Detroit must be distinguished from the still-born faction of De Leonites who left the IWW in 1908 and were known as the "Detroit faction." The factual Detroit IWW plugged along, but found it could not build a strong union in autos, though neither were AFL nor independent attempts successful either. This period should make plain that in all these fields—textiles, rubber, autos, out-of-town construction, and whatever the IWW hit—it was there simply because all those who disdainfully spoke of IWW instability, had proven even more unable to organize than were the Wobblies. The IWW did not leave Detroit, but has been there ever since, though many workers it has organized and won gains for have deserted it.

In 1911 the IWW had gone on record against "bor-ing from within." The urge, and often the need, to belong to whatever union one's fellow workers were in, led, of course, to many IWW members belonging to other unions in those fields where they had organization. In three fields this resulted in efforts to alter union programs: in the Western Federation of Miners, among the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of New York, and in the maritime industry. On the New Years Eve that ushered in 1913 a strike accredited by press to IWW started among the members of the Hotel & Restaurant Workers, AFL, first at the Astor, and soon extended to other leading hotels. The New York Times of the period makes much of accounts that Elizabeth G. Flynn urged an end to tipping and an exposure of food adulteration or that Ettor urged strikers to poison food of patrons, which he plainly did not advise. A running fight between AFL and IWW in that local field ran through the year.¹²

In the spring of 1913 the Marine Transport Workers of the IWW was launched. In February the Marine Oilers, Firemen and Watertenders moved to affiliate with the IWW.¹³ No such event occurred, but the desire for industrial organization led a number in this and other maritime crafts to build up an IWW organization that by 1916 was to have considerable to say about conditions aboard ship on the Atlantic coast.

In Philadelphia on the docks the IWW found a chance to build its first clear example of stability, a longshore organization that lasted from 1913 to 1925 and exercised job control through most of those twelve years.¹⁴ About May 10 the small Philadelphia local got wind that the unorganized longshoremen were in a mood to organize and favored the IWW. An organizer was assigned to the job, but he could not find those who had such ideas. George Speed of the IWW was addressing a meeting of sugar workers, and a group of longshoremen came in and asked would he organize

them. He said he would and got it settled that in this industry where Negro and white workers had regularly been pitted against each other, a union would have to unite them, and got them to formulate the demands they felt the union should go after. Word of these demands spread along the 20 miles of dock like prairie fire, and resulted in a strike which the IWW had not called. But the response to its appeal for Negro and white workers to stick together so took the company by surprise and so shattered its customary means for keeping these Negroes, Poles and Lithuanians apart — through threats to assign docks to men of another hue—that the strike was won in a short time. In the early stages of the strike, the strikers calmly deliberated on the proposals of both AFL and IWW and chose the Wobblies. After the strike the AFL with booze parties and a press accusing the IWW of mismanaging the strike, tried to recover but the MTW-IWW held the fort and grew.

An effort was made to build this Marine Transport Workers on the Great Lakes, where the AFL had just given up a three-year strike, but the only Lakes success was on the docks at Duluth and Superior, where an IWW strike put in the safety devices still used on the ore docks. On the Superior docks two workers were killed through what their fellow workers felt to be company negligence. Organizers Leo Laukki and J. P. Cannon were there and built up strike sentiment, and were soon joined by Frank Little. Many of the workers were Finnish and at this time the Finnish socialists were leaning toward IWW views, and had founded the daily paper *Socialisti*, made into an IWW paper in 1916, and still published as an IWW Finnish daily, *Industrialisti*, in Duluth. With this support they spread the strike to the ore docks of the upper end of the Lake. On August 8, GEB member Frank Little was kidnapped and taken to a farm 35 miles out in the country and held there until newspaper reporters caught the trail and rescued him. He got back in time to make a dramatic entry, haggard and unshaved, at

a strike mass meeting in the Duluth Armory. The demand for safety equipment was won, the strike called off and other concessions obtained in the settlement were spread by the Finnish socialists to other docks.

In this period of active industrial organization there were many smaller strikes not mentioned here. One strike of workers employed by Utah Construction near Soldier's Summit, Utah, resulted in a mass deportation from the camp, an incident that later became part of the background of the Joe Hill case.¹⁵

Another sortie that achieved fame out of its aftermath was the strike at Durst's hop ranch at Wheatland, between Marysville and Sacramento, Calif.¹⁶ Durst advertised for pickers to flood the market. Some 3000 camped on his land, whole families, waiting for a chance to work, though the earnings averaged only \$1.28 a day and tents were rented to them for 75 cents a day, and all groceries were to be bought at his "pluck 'em" store. The camp had no facilities for garbage, nine crude toilets, and five wells, garbage-contaminated and usually dry. To the thirsty pickers he sold a mixture of citric acid and water for five cents a glass. Dysentery and other sickness was common. Among them a few, perhaps a hundred, had IWW cards, for the IWW had been making repeated efforts among west coast agricultural workers. These called a meeting to consider strike action Sunday noon, Aug. 2, 1913, using a dance pavilion to speak from. On it Dick Ford took a sick baby from its mother's arms and said, "It's for the life of the kids that we're doing this." At that moment two cars filled with drunken deputies, brandishing their guns, broke into the peaceful meeting and proceeded to arrest Ford. The crowd hollered, and some drunken deputy started shooting. Before it was calmed down, two strikers and two of the sheriff's group lay dead. Hop-pickers believed that one of the wounded strikers, a Puerto Rican, had grabbed the gun of a deputy before he died and evened the score.

Hundreds of hop-pickers were arrested, "investigated" and put under pressure to turn state's evidence, but among all these 3000 starvelings not one such could be found. At the trial in 1914, Ford and Suhr were convicted of the murder of Deputy Sheriff Riordan. In 1928 Ford was released on parole and promptly re-arrested on orders of District Attorney Manwell for the murder of his father, the other officer killed in the scrimmage. The trial resulted in such an exposure of the previous miscarriage of justice that both Ford and Suhr were liberated—fifteen years too late.

Thus ends the story of the pre-war crest of the IWW. Focusing its attention on industrial activity, it had jumped from the approximate 4,000 members of its first six years to have an average membership, as reckoned by per capita of 18,387 for 1912, and 14,851 for 1913.¹⁷ A figure for all who were members at any time during those two years would be at least double, and probably quadruple these figures. In 1912 it had been almost consistently winner in its fights; it won some in 1913, but was progressively less successful. When hard times hit in the fall of 1913, they fell on an organization that had spent its resources on Paterson and Akron, on the trials arising from Paterson and Wheatland and Louisiana—a union in bad shape to face tough times and with many enemies, both in and out of the labor movement.

1. Solidarity of period, especially issues 122, 128 and 148.

2. British Columbia accounts from IWW Press and Int'l Socialist Review of period.

3. See Wheatland strike, end of this chapter.

4. For account of Louisiana lumber, see Jensen; Labor and Lumber (Farror & Rinehart, 1945), pp. 87-92, also Spero & Harris: The Black Worker (Columbia University Press, 1931), chapter 15. This account taken largely from writings of Covington Hall, including article in Int'l Socialist Review, Sept. 1912, reports in IWW press, 1912-1914, series on Louisiana in 1945 Industrial Worker, July 14, 21 and 28, and unpublished Ms, "Labor Struggles in the Deep South."

5. Solidarity, No. 119. For general account of strike, Jensen: "Labor and Lumber," p. 121, etc., and Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 349 (1924), though Jensen repeats confusion of 1913 woods strike with 1912 mill strike. Woehlke in Outlook, July 6, 1912, has a story of strikers scaling fences around Lytel Mill to pull out scabs that is not corroborated by accounts or memories of participants. Account of end of strike, Solidarity, No. 124.

6. Solidarity, No. 178.

7. Pittsburgh cigar: Solidarity, Sept. 7, 1912, and No. 198; extensive account by Cooper in Survey for Nov. 29, 1913.

8. For details of Akron read "The Rubber Workers" (Harper's, 1944) by Harold S. Roberts, senior economist National War Labor Board. Other data taken from Solidarity and ISR, April 1913.

9. Affidavit given in full, *Solidarity*, Jan. 17, 1914.
10. *Solidarity*, No. 127.
11. *Ibid* Nos. 184 and 192.
12. *Solidarity*, through Jan. 1913, and *N.Y. Times* 1913, see own index.
13. Grover Perry in *Int'l Socialist Review*, May 1913.
14. Spero & Harris, "The Black Worker," chapter 15, give the more commonly held account of IWW start on Philadelphia docks, based on reminiscences. This follows record in *Solidarity* by McKelvey, Oct. 4, 1913; also *N. Y. Times*, May 13, 1913, for May strike.
15. Soldier's Summit account, *N.Y. Times*, June 13, 1913, p. 13.
16. For details of Wheatland read Report of Executive Secretary of State Housing and Immigration Committee, by Carlton Parker, published as appendix to his book, "The Casual Laborer." (The rather Freudian analysis of migratory workers in this book has struck some of them as much like the distorted description of primitive peoples by well-meaning outsiders, including even anthropologists.) Both the story of Wheatland and a record of the failure of AFL attempts to organize agriculture in California is given in Williams "Factories in the Fields," Little Brown & Co., 1939.
17. Figures from table in Brissenden, p. 354.

VI. "Those Bomb-Throwing I Won't Works"

The hard times that set in toward the fall of 1913 cut down chances for job organization and strike activities and turned the attention of the IWW toward agitation, particularly among the unemployed. The first effect of the war in 1914 was to cut jobs further. Joblessness, this war for trade and dynastic ambitions, the breakdown of international socialism, the evils of militarism and conscript armies, the obvious need for world-wide working-class solidarity—all these gave soapboxers much to talk about, and audiences to talk to.

When the IWW again became effective in industry, it was in new fields: lumber, metal mining, oil fields, agriculture, construction projects, and its area of influence, outside of the Philadelphia waterfront and east coast shipping, was chiefly west of the Mississippi. The pre-war depression and early war years make a definite break in the story of the IWW, the more so because of a change in its reputation. Before this, it had been derided as being ahead of its time and had been called the "International Wonder Workers." After this break in its story, it was ridiculed instead as the "I Won't Works" and depicted as a bunch of bums with bombs in hip pockets, advocating violent sabotage.

This weird reputation has no relevance to the facts, but it became so widespread and such an influence on its subsequent history, that the history of the myth must be told alongside the history of

the actual organization. Perhaps the simplest answer to the myth is the finding of an extensive study issued by Johns Hopkins University in 1939:

"Although there are contradictory opinions as to whether the IWW practices sabotage or not, it is interesting to note that no case of an IWW saboteur caught practicing sabotage or convicted of its practice is available."¹

Brissenden, whose studies should have enabled him to know better, writes in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* that the Socialist Party was so deeply incensed by the sabotage propaganda of the IWW that its national convention in 1912 put a provision into its constitution excluding those who advocated sabotage. This is a widely accepted opinion. The facts indicate instead that IWW discussion of the subject developed as a consequence, not as an antecedent, of this Socialist Party action, and that the roots of the entire hullabaloo lie not in any American situation at all, but were transoceanic migrations of earlier quarrels between socialists and other theorists in Europe.

Prior to the May 1912 convention of the Socialist Party, the only reference to sabotage or kindred ideas appearing in any IWW publication is to sabotage and direct action in Chicago strikes in 1910 mentioned in Chapter 3. The connotation of sabotage there is that of malingering or inefficient work. The currently accepted sense of malicious destruction is a later development, attaching itself to an absurd etymology. As Veblen in his "Engineers and the Price System" and other scholars have pointed out, the relation of sabots or wooden shoes to sabotage is this: the use of wooden shoes persisted among French peasants after industrial workers had shifted to leather shoes; the clumsiness of peasants, particularly when they entered industry as strikebreakers, led to their being called saboteurs, in much the sense that "hayseed" was once current here; and defeated strikers going back to work and expressing their discontent by work as bungling as the strikebreakers had done, referred

to this imitation of the sabot-wearers as sabotage. The alternative derivation, to support the connotation of destruction, alleges a practice of kicking a wooden shoe into a loom, and thus involves the unlikely picture of the culprit with one shoe off, one on, standing by the damaged loom trying to deny his depredation.

The entire story of these disputes about violence, physical force, sabotage and direct action is a tale of strange fantasies told in words that keep changing their meaning. Not only has "sabotage" shifted in meaning from malingering to malicious destruction, but "violence" in the earlier discussions was an accusation against unionists that they violated the social concord of democracy by refusing arbitration; "physical forcism," dead as a social program since the decline of Johann Most's influence after 1886, was a DeLeonite epithet used to imply that any radical movement lacking an electioneering program must therefore anticipate the overthrow of government by force of arms; and "direct action," used originally to contrast action by workers for themselves with action for them by legislative or other representatives, has been contorted to cover all the implications of mayhem and destruction implied in these other terms.

The background of the IWW myth lies in France. (The background of the actual IWW is American industry.)² A class-struggle unionism had grown in France whose leaders, as Lewis Lorwin says, were "annoyed and hampered by the overshadowing prestige of the political socialist groups and by the disruptive competitive bidding of these groups for the loyalties of the workers."³ Their Confederation Generale du Travail developed as antidote a philosophy hinging on the doctrine of union self-sufficiency: that whatever workers needed done for them, they could do for themselves through their unions by union action. This CGT philosophy was one of world labor solidarity, and thus anti-patriot, anti-militarist and distrustful of all government. It projected an increasing competence of or-

ganized workers to determine what should be produced, with union quality-control, and where it should go, and pictured the final showdown with the old order as a social general strike, with folded arms, that would so demoralize the old order that soon all or almost all sections of society would be happy to see the resumption of the work necessary for social survival by union workers producing for use under their own direction.

There was no scope in this program for the politician. All parties seeking the labor vote felt the urge to attack it, and the more so because then, even more than now, mid-19th century Utopianism had left as a hangover the notion that every program should be a complete procedure for performance in some social vacuum where nothing but the specified program itself went forward.

Liberals and reformist socialists, believing that the role of government is to settle all conflicts in the general interest, urged arbitration of industrial disputes and assured workers that they could get a better settlement that way than by striking, and without any trouble, if only they would elect friends of labor to office. French liberals argued that even the most peaceful strike, if it stopped work the community needed done, or stopped income that the shop-keepers needed, did violence to the social concord and was a crime of "lèse démocratie." In 1906, Sorel answered these arguments with a series of essays, "Reflections on Violence," emphasizing the demoralizing influence of compulsory arbitration or of statism in general, and urging that the will of the working class to create the good world could develop only from daily practice of a class struggle ethic. This was the content of the term "violence" in this dispute between French radicals, and it continued as the content in British discussions, such as Ramsay MacDonald's articles on syndicalism; but when this discussion moved to America where labor disputes had often become pitched battles, "violence" was taken to mean Most's "physical force."

The more Marxian wing of the socialists used a different attack. It conceded that in times of business activity, strikes could be effective but argued the final battle might come instead when masses already unemployed could not effectively strike. To counteract this argument, the syndicalist movement elaborated various forms of possible sabotage: that of the "open mouth" by which workers let out trade secrets or disclosed the wrong-doing of employers, particularly in the foodstuff industries; that of "misdirection" of shipments; that of giving employers the services of "hands" only, if workers were to be treated and hired and paid only as "hands"—and sundry other forms of the "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency." There was disagreement among syndicalists as to the effect of these practices on proletarian morale and the development of labor's ability to create a good world, but the syndicalist consensus was that by the discriminating choice and adaptation of these means, the morale of capitalism could be shattered and organized labor emerge as a constructive force. This became official CGT doctrine in 1897.

In the socialist movement of pre-war years, particularly throughout Europe, there were internal power disputes presented as conflicts of theory as to the nature of the state, the relation of politics to unionism, the determinants of historic development, the choice of programs of reform or programs for the simple abolition of capitalism, acceptance of posts in capitalist governments, attitudes toward nationalism and war, and whether to oppose war by a general strike or by parliamentary action. While there was no neat polarization on these issues, in a general way all socialists denounced syndicalists as sinners, and the gradualist-reformist socialists denounced the doctrinaire—"impossibilists" as sharing the sins of the syndicalists.⁴

In America, the fact that many of the "doctrinaires" were out of the Socialist Party and in the SLP delayed the breaking out of this dispute until 1912. Then the IWW replaced the CGT as the goat.

Those who hoped to catch support by catering to the AFL pushed through the new Article II Section 6 by a vote of 191 to 90, which read: "Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled. . . ." In consequence of this, Haywood was recalled from the National Executive Committee of the SPA in February 1913. On local levels, IWW and Socialists remained as friendly as ever, often sharing halls. In 1917 the Socialist Party rescinded Section 6.⁵

The argument over violence led to a resolution adopted at the 7th Convention of the IWW, September 1913:

"At all times it is the rulers who, being in power, are in a position to determine in great measure just how and when the struggle will be fought. . . . It is the employing class and their agencies who provoke violence and then cry out the loudest against it. . . . The program of the IWW offers the only possible solution of the wage question whereby violence can be avoided, or, at the very worst, reduced to a minimum. If the ruling class of today may decide, as their prototypes in the past have decided, that violence will be the arbiter of the question, then we shall cheerfully accept their decision and meet them to the best of our ability—and we do not fear the result."

The weird reputation that the IWW acquired in this period is the outcome of this right-left quarrel inside the socialist movement, combined with a depression situation that led to "sensational soap-boxing." Although many writing in the IWW press were familiar with the European labor press, the only portion of CGT philosophy prior to the 1912 convention in IWW publications were statements by Vincent St. John supporting the doctrine of union self-sufficiency. In other literature a reference exists to a pamphlet issued by Trautman in Pittsburgh in 1912, entitled "Direct Action and Sabo-

him to his death in San Quentin with tobacco money.

Before the IWW got back to substantial organizing, war came. The IWW stuck to the position that had been typical of the labor movement in peace. When Gompers wrote his "Labor in Europe" in 1910, he did not hesitate to concur with the CGT slogan "the workingman has no country" or to assert that "workers will forever refuse to kill one another merely because authority has put them in different uniforms."⁷ Because the IWW did not change its tune with the new winds of war, it became the wartime bogey of the propaganda press, which picked up all the canards that had developed about the IWW and broadcast the cartoon conception of the Wobbly as a bomb-toting "I Won't Work."

1. History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States, by Eldrige Foster Dowell, Ph.D., John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1939, Series LVII, No. 1, p. 36.

2. Bath Levine, in 1913 article cited next page, and Brissenden in both his books on IWW and in article in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, point out the native American origins of IWW, and its industrialist program a response to the more developed American industry.

3. In article "Direct Action," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

4. Socialist background of this period given in W. E. Walling, "The Socialists and the War," *Halt*, 1915, or L. L. Larwin, "Labor and Internationalism," McMillan, 1929.

5. James O'Neal and C. A. Werner, "American Communism," Dutton, pp. 29 and 37. Theoretical differences in SPA given in John Macy's "Socialism in America," Doubleday, 1916 (very readable with considerable information bearing on IWW).

6. For a positive presentation of IWW philosophy, see Frank Tannenbaum: "The Labor Movement," Putnam, 1921, or the section on Syndicalism in Bertrand Russell, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," or pamphlet "IWW in Theory and Practice" by Justus Ebert.

7. Gompers: "Labor in Europe," esp. p. 274 et seq.

The date and place of publication of the following material is significant of the migration of the content of the questions discussed in this chapter: Sarel, "Reflexions sur Violence," Paris, 1906; Raller, "Die Direkte Aktion," Berlin, 1910; R. A. MacDonald, "Syndicalism," London, Constable, May 1912; Arthur D. Lewis, "Syndicalism and the General Strike," London, Unwin, 1912; Levine, "Syndicalism in France," Columbia University Press, 1912; A. W. Kirkaldy, "Economics and Syndicalism," University Press, Cambridge, 1914; in America the following, in 1913: John G. Braaks, "American Syndicalism"; Spargo, "Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism"; Hunter, "Violence and the Labor Movement"; Tridan, "The New Unionism," and the following scholarly accounts; Levine, Sept. in Political Science Quarterly, and Brissenden, "The Launching of the IWW," University of Berkeley Press, and in 1914, Hoxie, "Truth about IWW," in Journal of Political Economy.

Fictional treatment of IWW follows similar diversity later, ranging from Zane Grey's poisonous "Desert of Wheat," Harper, 1919, which helped send many Wabblers to jail, to such sympathetic treatment as Upton Sinclair's "Oil," Bani, 1927. Winston Churchill's novel "The Dwelling Place of Light" uses the Lawrence strike of 1912 as general situation with a rather neutral treatment. Eugene O'Neil's "Hairy Ape" has a scene in IWW maritime workers' hall that realistically dramatizes the conflict of myth and reality; Stavis' "The Man Who Never Died" is a somewhat Stalinoid drama of Joe Hill, with very informative preface. Probably favorite IWW fiction has been Jack London's "Iran Heel," 1907, and "Dream of Debs."

VII. Hard Times — 1914-1915

When the pre-war depression hit in 1913, IWW members were as jobless as any. Inclined toward collective action, they felt their chances for food and a place to sleep were better if they went after these necessities organized. First notes of their activity among the unemployed are in the various organizations that grew spontaneously in different cities. In some instances the IWW substantially directed these. In other instances it formed unemployed auxiliaries with dues usually at a nickel a month. Soon these began the collection of food and the provision of lodging for their members, not only to meet creature needs, but to escape the demoralizing influences of the soup lines and missions, and to provide a sociability and sense of solidarity that was needed as much as soup. By September 1914 when the 9th Convention met, it was agreed that it was folly to join parades to City Halls where there was nothing to eat anyway, but that the unemployed should be organized to give them union principles, to enable them to go after what they needed, and to prevent their being used to batter down wages.

There were various outcomes: free speech fights; fire-hoses turned on "unemployed armies"; a bus-boy became a college professor; "Solidarity Forever," marching song later of millions of American strikers, came to its author, Ralph Chaplin, out of an unemployed demonstration in Chicago;¹ Henry Ford announced \$5.00 a day minimum; the hall of Butte Mine Workers Union No. 1 got blown up; in Sioux City a group of jobless men descended upon a banquet at which the Chamber of Commerce was considering their plight, and relieved their plight by eating the banquet. Probably the chief consequence for the IWW was that their activities laid the foundation for building a substantial organization of agricultural workers, and thus later for substantial victories in western lumber and other industries.

Early in March 1914 a big snow storm hit New York City. The IWW agitated that the unemployed should not shovel the snow for less than 30 cents an hour. Shelter from the cold was important for the penniless. A bus-boy, Frank Tannenbaum, led a number of jobless men to the Church of St. Alphonsus on West Broadway, to sit there for the night; but a fight developed and Tannenbaum was sentenced to a year on Blackwell's Island. Agitation for his release merged with protests against the Rockefeller Ludlow Massacre and the brutal treatment of the striking Michigan copper miners as major issues at the unemployed demonstrations, including the Union Square riots of April 6. (Tannenbaum went ahead with his education, and his early book "The Labor Movement," especially in its opening chapters, is an outstanding constructive statement of basic IWW attitudes.)

In Detroit on February 12, 1914, the IWW staged an unemployed demonstration in front of the Employers' Association to demand a municipal lodging house; about 3000 jobless gathered before the police started cracking skulls.² In December Organizer John F. Leheney formed the Unemployed League as an IWW auxiliary which set up kitchen in a former church building donated by the Unitarians. There it combined public forums with mulligan stew and found that even with a shortage of Wobly speakers, the IWW points could be made by systematic Socratic questioning of invited orators. This IWW effort managed also to maintain close cooperation with the AFL.³ With street meetings and leaflets the Unemployed League steadily argued that to get rid of depression it was necessary to cut the hours and boost the pay; Ford's policy of \$5.00 minimum has been attributed to this pressure.

On West Coast the trend was to participate in other organizations of the unemployed. There were frequent arrests at the daily mass meetings held in 1914 at 5th and Howard, then a vacant lot, in San Francisco. Kelly's Army was starting its parade

eastward and at Sacramento got chased off the sandlots with fire-hoses.⁴ When the millionaire hobo Eads Howe obtained the San Francisco Civic Auditorium for an Unemployed Convention (February 18th to 23rd, 1915) the IWW participants took substantial control from the big names, on the grounds that the term unemployed meant workers seeking work, and not the habitually idle, rich or poor.⁵ Taking it over yielded nothing much but resolutions on behalf of various imprisoned workers, as the McNamaras, Niles, Ford and Suhr, and Pancner.⁶

In Butte hard times brought the automatic blacklist system to a head. It had been started in December 1912 by connivance between the companies and the copper clique, as those in Butte Miners' Union who sought to propitiate the companies were called.⁷ Under the new scheme all miners had first to go to the Butte Mutual Labor Bureau, maintained by the companies, and get a rustling card without which they could not apply for work at the mines. The militant and especially the pro-IWW element which up to 1912 had exerted a healthy influence in the Butte WFM local could readily be deprived of employment by this scheme—an objective common to some of the local labor union leaders and management. However so many of the more competent miners were in the red-tagged group that it had not been practicable to try to get rid of them until slack times had set in. The separation of the WFM from the IWW in 1908 had set it out on the futile path of trying to imitate the union-company collaboration of various AFL unions in a field where management was not inclined to collaborate with even the most supine of unions. In 1913 the Moyer faction had brought it back into the AFL where it was to be the International Mine Mill & Smelter Workers. The rustling card, the affiliation with the craft-separationists, the futility of discarding militancy as shown at Hearst's Homestake and elsewhere, and distrust over handling funds for the Michigan copper strike, all produced dissension and

a substantial decline in members in Butte Miners Union. When the latter insisted that all miners show their cards to go to work, dissidents launched a new organization, the Butte Mine Workers' Union, often called "Muckie McDonald's union." The IWW forces supported the new venture, and the Socialists, who administered Butte in 1914, were also friendly. The dispute between the two organizations was used by company provocateurs to rid Butte of miner unionism—and it stayed that way until the spontaneous rebirth of unionism after the Speculator disaster of 1917. In the dispute, against the instructions of the new union, a mob was led against the old union hall; shooting broke out evidently from inside the hall; dynamite was obtained from the mines and the old hall was blown up with 26 separate blasts, Miners Day, June 13, 1914. Many accused the IWW of this, but even the editor of the Western Federation Miners' Magazine wrote that he had reliable information that the dynamiters were gunmen of the Waddell-Mahon agency.⁸

In Sioux City the IWW opened up a hall in October 1914 as it was a strategic point for new plans to organize the wheat hands. IWW activity on behalf of the unemployed led to a series of skirmishes and free speech fights, in which IWW had the backing of a substantial local Socialist movement. The Sioux City free speech fight was "good stage." Every night crowds of about a thousand witnessed a Wobbly mount his box and talk until arrested; 82 were in the stockade by mid-April. The police started a rock-pile and led the prisoners there. They sat down in passive disobedience. A fight developed with police over this refusal to work and over the burning of lousy blankets issued to the prisoners; three cops got laid out with a pop-bottle. Public sentiment grew for the Wobs, and as more free speech fighters arrived, the City sought terms, proposing that the men would be freed if they would promise to leave town. The men insisted that whether they went or stayed was up to the individual preference of each. They were released and, as a final

gesture of contempt for the rock-pile, they gathered the ingredients for a mammoth mulligan stew, built fires there, cooked the stew in Standard Oil cans, and ate their "victory banquet" on top the rockpile.⁹

More significant was the beginning of organization among the wheat hands. Kansas City Local 61 set out in earnest in the spring of 1914, aiming at \$4.00 a day, but pushed the going wage only to \$3.00 from a previous \$2.50. Organization of agricultural workers had been attempted by AFL and other unions without success except for an independent local of sheep-shearers.¹⁰ The 1914 experience showed how the problem shaped up, and what structural changes would be needed in the IWW to handle it. Reduced to bare elements, building unionism in a factory or on a construction project amounts to getting men together, agreeing on terms of employment, and enforcing the terms by collective refusal to work on lower terms. Here the job was the vast wheat belt of America, running up into Canada. The job seekers gathered in box cars, rode empty gondolas, huddled in hobo jungles, idled around the one Main Street of a thousand towns and villages. But hardly any lived in the wheat belt; they came into it from outside. It was too big a job for Kansas City Local 61. It would require the coordinated effort of IWW members all around the wheat belt, organizing the job-seekers as they came in, and proceeding inward with the new recruits to maintain wages and enforce union terms.

The 1914 convention arranged for a spring convention of the locals directly concerned with such a campaign for Kansas City, April 16, 1915. This led to several new developments which soon became the general plan of operations throughout the IWW. Up to this point IWW members had been members of locals, with these locals occasionally, as among the Textile Workers, banded together into a National Industrial Union. Membership cards were issued by the secretaries of the locals, but no secretary of Local 61 could write cards all over Kansas and the

Dakotas, nor was there reason for forming local unions scattered through this area. Thus one organization was set up—the Agricultural Workers Organization 400 (later changed to Agricultural Workers Industrial Union 110) with a national secretary issuing blank cards and dues stamps to job delegates, and an organization committee to be responsible for operations everywhere in that industry. This system of industrial union secretaries issuing organization supplies to local secretaries and even more to job delegates, soon became the regular IWW pattern in all industries.

The new organization was tempted into free speech fights, but soon learned to avoid these as distractions from its main job, organizing, raising the pay and cutting the hours. It did find it was necessary to clear the jungles and freight trains of hi-jacks and card-sharps. At first the policy was to get the job-seekers to withhold their labor waiting for farmers to meet the union demands. Soon they found this meant that the work got done by “wicks” below union scale. Policy then changed to going on the jobs at the going wage, then pulling a quickie strike at an opportune moment for their demands.¹¹ This often resulted in benefits to their successors rather than themselves, but, if acted upon generally, as later it was in the lumbering industry, it became of mutual benefit to all workers.

To achieve better conditions, it was necessary to deter those who would not co-operate with the union from reaching the harvest fields. Since they rode box-cars, this meant keeping them off unless they joined or talked like union material. Soon many train crews aided them by asking all free riders for their red cards, or else, get off. This speeded up initiations, so that for quite a few years, up to 1925, the dues collected by the Agricultural Workers ran to about half of the total dues collected while initiation fees were an even more disproportionate share of the total. A further consequence was that the process of sifting out the non-unionists or “wicks”

was the more complete, the further one penetrated the wheat belt. This difference gives some measure of the union's effectiveness. In the interior of the wheat belt a 10 hour day prevailed, and on the fringes the day was sun-up to sun-down, and wages in the center of the wheat belt were usually double those on the fringe. This sort of organization remained effective to about 1926, when the wide use of the combine, previously restricted to Kansas, cut down the labor market, and the cheap second hand car brought in the wicks on rubber tires in a manner difficult to organize. The net effect of the IWW on agriculture is perhaps most clearly shown in the statistics in Louis J. Ducoff's "Wages in Agriculture in the United States" issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1944. These figures show that if farm wages in 1943 bore the same ratio to industrial wages that they had during World War I, they would need to have been 80 to 85% higher. That difference is attributable to the fact that the Wobs were there in World War I, but not in World War II and largely because union demands had made it pay to mechanize agriculture.

Looking backward in 1945 one of the IWW organizers active during the First World War period, Joe Ettor, wrote in a series of articles "The Light of the Past"¹² that this relatively easy way of obtaining about 15,000 initiation fees per year had sidetracked the IWW from other fields of industry that might have yielded more permanent results. Others point to the fact that many of those recruited in the harvest field became active for the IWW elsewhere, and that the large amount of literature circulated in these harvest drives resulted in an understanding of IWW unionism that both made for a readiness to respond to organizing efforts elsewhere and for some insistence that other unions come closer to IWW ideals.

The most popular piece of IWW literature was the little red song book. In box car, jungles and on the job, its songs were sung, until even the farmers

tage," but no mention of it occurs in the IWW press. In February of 1913, *Solidarity* ran a series of articles on the CGT by Leon Jouhaux, with editorial comment that it was necessary to get a clear picture because of misrepresentation in socialist and capitalist press, and pointing out that the IWW was not anti-parliamentary but non-parliamentary, asking the politicians only to leave the labor movement alone. Later that year as Andre Tridon's "New Unionism" came out, the IWW press promoted its circulation, and took note of translations from the French being issued of Pouget's "Sabotage" and Pataud and Pouget's fictional description of the general strike, "Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth". In Spokane, on his own account, an IWW speaker, Walker C. Smith, issued a booklet on sabotage and it was advertised in the IWW papers in 1913; this was followed by another booklet describing sabotage by Elizabeth G. Flynn issued in Cleveland in 1915. For neither of these could the IWW be properly held responsible. It was this irresponsibility of the Cleveland autonomous "IWW Publishing Bureau" that led to its dissolution next year and the consequent move of *Solidarity* to Chicago. For a while a few internal critics of the IWW in Los Angeles, who attacked IWW policy as "centralist" issued a paper "The Wooden Shoe."

Soapboxers found that talk of sabotage gave their audiences a thrill, and since the dispensers of the above publications were happy to send them for sale on commission to all who would handle them, there was nothing to stop spielers, whether they were IWW members or not, from procuring these booklets, mounting a box, talking about the IWW, taking up a collection and selling the literature. The actual effect on IWW practices was evidently nil, as shown by the Johns Hopkins study given at the start of this chapter; but its effect on the popular conception of the IWW was definitely damaging. There are curious consequences of this disparity of practice and reputation: in one IWW strike after another local papers commented on the amazing

orderliness and peacefulness of the strike despite the "known fact" that the IWW was notoriously violent everywhere else; the imprisonment of hundreds of exceptionally non-violent men for allegedly aiming at the violent overthrow of organized society; or the confusion of the North Dakota farmer who regularly hired IWW help and who made the distinction: "The IWW's I know are swell fellows, but them alleged IWW's I read about in the papers are holy terrors."⁶

IWW ideas on violence have been shaped by practicality. Organizers regularly pointed out to strikers that if they used violence or induced violence toward themselves, they handicapped their strike by putting the police openly on the side of the scabherders; and that the violent strikes of labor history are almost regularly the lost ones; that violence was often found to be the work of employer agents. At all times their concept of the "social revolution" in an industrial society was that of industrial action, not violence. In February of 1913 when a mysterious explosion in a New York roominghouse occupied by radicals (incidentally not Wobblies) led to much talk of dynamite in the local press, Joe Ettor wrote in the *Call*: "The IWW has neither advocated nor participated in violence against the social order. The general strike is the method we favor for overthrowing the capitalist system, and that is the only kind of force we are in favor of." E. G. Flynn took exception to this stand; Ettor and others replied with arguments that there was too much talk of violence and it would be best to stop it. But there was no puzzle why strikers felt like punching scabs in the nose; and when McNamara of the Structural Iron Workers, which had systematically blown up scab-erected bridges, always with certainty that no lives would be lost, was induced by the promise that his fellow workers would be let off, to "confess" to blowing up the Los Angeles Times Building (which evidently went up from a defective boiler), the IWW frankly called him a victim of the class war and, with all his friends deserting him, provided

and their boys were singing them too. Many of the more favorite songs were written by Joe Hill. When it became known that he faced death on flimsy and unconvincing evidence, public concern developed into international proportions comparable only to that shown in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. A grocer (an ex-policeman) had been shot along with his son by masked men who, according to the remaining son, had entered his store at closing time crying out "We've got you now." Since no theft was attempted, the obvious motive appeared to be revenge. However Joe Hill was arrested and convicted on the grounds that he had been wounded about the same time. Conceiving that the grocer may have shot, the lower and finally the Supreme Court of Utah proceeded on the strange logic that to have a bullet wound for which no explanation was offered by the defendant was as damaging evidence in this murder trial as the possession of goods from his store had it been a charge of burglary. However it is very doubtful whether the grocer shot at his assailants. Had he hit Hill, since Hill's wound went through his body and clothing, the bullet would have been in the store; but it wasn't. Further the bullet hole was high in Hill's chest but low in his coat, showing that he had been shot with his hands up. Also the bullets that killed the grocer and his son had not been fired from Hill's revolver.

To the IWW—and to many outsiders who investigated the case—there was no doubt that Hill was prosecuted because he was considered a dangerous agitator, a writer of rebel songs that growing thousands sang, and out of vindictiveness for previous skirmishes in the mines of Utah, free speech fights in Salt Lake City, and particularly for winning a victory at Tucker against the Utah Construction Co. On November 19, 1915, Hill was executed, despite the protests of the AFL and the labor bodies of other countries, the objections of the Swedish government and the intervention of President Wilson. His funeral in Chicago was attended by an unex-

pected 30,000 mourners who blocked traffic for their long parade to the cemetery in an amazing demonstration of concern for a framed-up working stiff.

1. R. Chaplin, "Wobbly," University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 168.
2. Detroit News, Feb. 12, 1914, quoted in Solidarity, No. 215.
3. Solidarity, No. 272.
4. Account of Kelley's Army at Sacramento with good photos, in Int'l Socialist Review, May 1914.
5. Solidarity, No. 269.
6. Niles was in San Quentin on trumped-up charge of horse-stealing and subjected to brutalities described in Jack London's novel, "The Star-Raver." John Pancner: Public Service Workers Local 111 had won the 8-hour day in all miner boarding houses in Tonapah, Nevada, except two, which it boycotted. Drunken thugs raided its hall July 11, 1914, tore down the boycott signs, and seized a member, threatening to lynch him. Pancner shot one thug in the leg and they fled; he was convicted on charge of assault with intent to kill.
7. Brissenden: Butte Miners and the Rustling Card, in American Economic Review, Dec. 1920, and Perlman & Taft, History of Labor in U.S., p. 257 (good summary).
8. Miner's Magazine, July 2, 1914, quoted in Jensen's "Heritage of Conflict," Cornell University Press, 1950, p. 336. Jensen gives detailed account, marred however by a bias that leads him to imply on page 347 that the IWW had an impossible three-month advance knowledge of this occurrence, on the basis of a letter from Leheney to Dan Liston, sent in care of Bradley, subsequently secretary of the new union, containing the statement, "Fearing that the hall may have been lost, am addressing this letter in care of him." The reference in letter is plainly to IWW hall, for Wobblies at that time might as well have used the Anaconda as a mailing address as the Butte Miners' Union. The dispute ended with martial law, despite objections of the Mayor, and the imprisonment of McDonald and Bradley on charges of deporting objectionables, i.e. requiring that they leave town. See also P. F. Brissenden's pamphlet "Labor Conditions in Butte," and Solidarity, Nos. 233, 254 and 255.
9. Sioux City affairs described quite fully by Wallace Short in Survey, Oct. 15, 1915; see also Solidarity, Nos. 263-264 and 273-277.
10. AFL lack of success in attempts to organize agricultural workers, detailed in Williams "Factories in the Fields," Little Brown and Co., 1939, and in Jamieson "Labor Unionism in American Agriculture," Monthly Labor Review, Jan. 1946.
11. The role of the IWW in devising and developing union techniques is roughly indicated in chapter 16 of Taft's "Economics and Problems of Labor," Stackpole, 1942.
12. Series in summer of 1945, especially issue of July 21.
13. Most complete account of Joe Hill available is the non-fiction half of Barrie Stavis "The Man Who Never Died," Haven Press, New York 1954. (The other half of the book is a fictional drama about Hill.) A summary of the evidence is given in special Hill edition of Industrial Worker, Nov. 13, 1948, answering attack on Hill by Wallace Stegner. A bailed-down version of same article is in New Republic, Nov. 15, 1948. In Swedish there is Ture Nerman's "Joe Hill," Federativs Forlag, Stockholm, 1951, giving his original name as Joel Haaglund, born Gavle, Sweden, July 12, 1887. Detailed account of funeral is given in Chaplin's "Wobbly."

VIII. Events of 1916

In 1916 the IWW became involved in an inter-union dispute in the Baltimore Garment industry. It had started a local for clothing workers there on May 1, 1911 which remained small until the spring of 1913 when the independent Lithuanian Tailors' Union joined it, followed a little later by a body of Italian clothing workers. By September 1913 it had control of some of the largest shops in the city, among them Schless Brothers four big shops. A fourteen week strike against Schless ended dismally when the United Garment Workers furnished scabs. For nearly two years the IWW remained ineffective in the Baltimore garment industry but began to grow rapidly again in 1915. The United Garment Workers (AFL) relied less upon the organization of workers and putting up a battle against employers than it did on the demand for union label clothing by other workers who did not question under what conditions or for what wages the clothing had been made. Consequent dissatisfaction led to a split and the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers after the 1914 convention of the UGW.¹ During the early part of this split the IWW was the largest union in the industry in Baltimore. IWW policy forbade time agreements with employers and it sought no closed shop. The pattern of unionism throughout the local industry was less like the current "sole collective bargaining agency" device and more like the pattern that until recently prevailed in Europe, with workers in the same unit acting through whichever union tendency they individually preferred. The IWW was the majority in some shops, the minority in others; in either case, though it competed with both ACW and UGW for members, it took action to defend members of either union. For this "it got about the same thing as the neutral Belgians" observed organizer E. F. Doree.²

Grief & Company had five plants one of which in

the Coca Cola Building was three quarters IWW, the rest UGW with a few members of the Amalgamated. In 1916 the UGW and ACW began demanding closed shop and wanted the IWW to pull this plant in support of their respective demands. The IWW issued a circular stating:

"The IWW always has and always will work in conjunction and strike with any group of workers anywhere, whether organized or unorganized when they have a grievance against any boss, but will not permit itself to be used as a club by any organization to fight another union."

The Amalgamated sent pickets with clubs and knives to bring out the Coca Cola Building; other members rallied to the free-for-all to even up the odds with the result that ACW left them alone there.

Soon after this the pocket makers at Strouse—20 of them IWW and ACW—decided to strike for the abolition of the sub-contract system and a straight price of 15 cents a pocket. The ACW tried to settle for less, proposing to replace any who struck against its settlement. The cutters in the plant were UGW and decided to strike in support of the original pocket makers whether IWW or not. A long strike of 700 AFL and IWW followed with 300 ACW recruits inside working. The clothing industry in Baltimore went to the unions that bid against each other for collective bargaining agreements and the IWW faded out of the picture.

Organizer Doree pointed out to the 10th Convention that the IWW was handicapped by its provision that no time agreements could be made and that as a result the IWW organizes, fights and lets other unions derive the benefits. However the reluctance to let agreements prevent sympathetic action continued this constitutional ban to 1938 when the constitution was amended to permit industrial unions to adopt their own regulations for agreements provided that nothing in the agreement obligated the

workers covered by it to undertake any work that would aid in breaking any strike.

In contrast on the Philadelphia waterfront similar IWW policies achieved substantial union stability. The Marine Transport Workers there had a branch of 3000 members in the spring of 1916 and on May 20 with a parade of all 3000 members—and a band—to the three non-union docks, won union recognition (without any written agreement) and the same condition as prevailed on the docks previously organized. In June, with all docks now acting jointly, it struck and raised the scale to 40 cents for day work, 60 cents for night work and 80 cents for Sundays, holidays, Saturday afternoons and meal hours. The union branched out to other industries. Shoe Workers Local 162 won a strike in 23 shops. A local of coopers was organized, and a Spanish language local with a paper *Cultura Obrera*. An AFL local of lumber handlers left the ILA even though it meant leaving their treasury behind to join the IWW. In 1917 it began the organization of the sugar refineries.³

In Detroit workers at the Solvay Process plant struck without organization for a nickel pay boost, showers and lockers. A couple came to organizer Weber who arranged a meeting attended by 700 strikers. There was some difficulty over forming a committee, so it was decided to get the manager, Mr. Greene, to come to the meeting and negotiate with all. Mr. Greene said that only the back east directors could grant their demands and urged the men to return to work while he saw what he could do for them. Weber pointed out that the long distance lines were open to New York and said the men would continue their meeting while Mr. Greene talked to the Directors. Soon he reported that they had been considering a one cent raise but agreed to the demands. Weber insisted this meant that penny plus the five cents just granted, showers and lockers. On these terms the men returned, but no permanent organization resulted. The local Auto Work-

ers of IWW did better with a strike of 3000 against Kelsey Wheel, adding a tenth of them to its local.⁴

The most novel of IWW organizing campaigns was that of Jane Street among the housemaids of Denver. By persistent contact with them she compiled a card index by employer giving the "salaries paid in each of these positions, the number of people in each of the homes, the kind of work, the hours, and the characteristics of the mistresses," later adding a turnover record. The list soon grew to cover 2500 homes hiring servants with the pay going up largely because each time a girl managed an increase her successor would know of it and insist upon starting in at that figure. Both the Post and News in Denver ran cartoon-illustrated articles about the new union, implying it sabotaged the soup with too much pepper and won raises by putting too much starch in shirts. The union provided job information, employment service and social gatherings for the girls on their days off. It planned on having its own clubhouse in the residential area where girls could also stay between jobs, but it fell flat when its index list was stolen from its office. Unsuccessful efforts to imitate it were made in Seattle, Chicago and Duluth.⁵

In May 1916 the IWW began organization efforts on the Mesaba Iron Range on the urging of the Finnish Socialists who were strongly entrenched in that area. In Duluth they had a daily paper, the Socialisti, a residential labor college and a fine hall. Through the Iron Ranges they were responsible for the election of scattered Socialist administrations. They favored the IWW; some had participated in the IWW strike at Gray's Harbor in 1912 and others in the Duluth and Superior dock strike of 1913; they had earlier been staunch supporters of the Western Federation, but had been alienated by its futile efforts at company collaboration and in particular its rustling card deal in Butte which first victimized several hundred Finnish Socialists over a Socialist proposal to tax mine tonnage for the

benefit of the city.⁶ Though enthusiastic socialists their ties with the Socialist Party also had been loosened ever since Article 6 had been born over disappointment with the effect of the McNamara confession on the Los Angeles mayoralty campaign, and now they saw a chance to help build a union that would give them socialism on the job. In April the staff of Socialisti advised Walter Neff, secretary of the IWW Agricultural Workers in Minneapolis, that there was unrest on the range, and that if the IWW could provide organizers speaking English, Italian and the various Slavic tongues, it could assure the support of the Finns and Swedes. There were already Finnish speaking delegates, including Geo. Humon on the Range.

Before organization had proceeded far, a strike broke out at Aurora on June 2. It spread rapidly for the strikers paraded to nearby mining towns and when miners there struck, they did likewise. By June 14 the entire Mesaba range was out, 16,000 strong and 4,000 IWW cards had been issued. Demands had been formulated into one program: "\$3.50 per day for wet places; \$3.00 per day for dry places; \$1.75 for surface work; 8 hours to constitute a day in and around the mines; miners to enter and come out on company time; pay twice a month; Saturday night shift to be abolished and miners receive full pay; abolition of all contract work; all miners to be paid as soon as they quit work for a company." They had been working 10 to 12 hours per day and getting from \$1.38 to \$2.50.

The IWW tried to run a peaceful strike, but the companies recruited over a thousand thugs from various cities, often with the aid of police chiefs who had "something on them," to break up meetings and to prevent even small groups of miners meeting on the streets. On June 9 as the miners were parading from Aurora to Biwabik, eight organizers were nabbed from their ranks by the company police. An Oliver Mining Company gunman shot a miner, John Allar, as he and some other min-

ers stood talking to each other on a street in Virginia. There a Citizens Committee ordered all IWW's out of town. The Duluth Herald held that resistance to this illegal vigilante group which represented about two percent of the citizens of Virginia was a defiance of law and order. Company lawlessness overruled local administrations that allowed civil liberties. On July 6 a posse of deputies, led by one who had recently been a bouncer in a roadhouse, entered the home of Phillip Masonovich to arrest him and a miner who boarded with him, Joe Hercigonovich. Mrs. Masonovich objected, and was knocked down on the floor. Somehow two of the deputies got shot. According to a boy in the house they were shot by the previously mentioned roadhouse bouncer. The two Montenegrin miners already mentioned, and another, Joe Nicich, and others were arrested as directly participating and also a group of organizers who were not in the vicinity, Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett, Joseph Ahlgren, Joe Schmidt, Frank Little and James Gilday, on the theory that their speeches had led to the deaths of the deputies. No trial was held; though the coroner's verdict had been "death at the hands of persons unknown," Judge O. N. Hilton, who had been called in as defense attorney, arranged for the three Montenegrin miners mentioned to plead guilty to manslaughter and for the others to go free. It soon developed that this arrangement had been proposed by Elizebeth Gurley Flynn who was handling publicity, and that she had sacrificed these miners to secure the release of her friends among the organizers. Her connections with the IWW were promptly terminated.

In mid-August a meeting at Crosby brought out the Cayuna Range. Organizers were busy in the Michigan iron mining country. At Ironwood the vigilantes drove eight organizers out of town. On August 16, Frank Little was arrested at Iron River, Michigan, taken out of jail, beaten, and threatened with lynching—with a rope around his neck—in a

futile effort to make him lead his persecutors to the organizers speaking Italian and other languages. They knocked him in the head and he woke up dazed in a ditch near Watersmeet.

The labor movement felt obliged to support the strike. The Duluth Labor Herald, AFL, commented: "In 1907 there was a similar strike on the Iron Range. At that time there was a responsible labor organization supporting the strike. . . . Were not the same arguments being used in 1907 as are being used in 1916? Did not the press condemn the WFM as it condemns the IWW today?" On July 17 the Minnesota Federation of Labor convened in the strike town of Hibbing and promised support to the strike. The official organ of the Western Federation attacked the strike but its locals sent donations. Following the strike the State Federation attempted to organize the miners, but they wanted the IWW.

With mine production crippled, stock piles were shipped and then lower grade material. In Two Harbors the dock workers struck and stopped shipment; in Duluth a dock strike was broken by police; on the Allouez dock a 15% increase was promised if the men would stay at work. In Superior the coal dock workers struck for a 60% boost; Mayor Conklin told them he would help if they would join the AFL; instead they joined IWW.

There were tips that the companies were less reluctant to grant improvements to the miners than to grant them formally to the IWW; so in September with the Mesaba, Cayuna and Vermilion ranges out, the central strike committee discussed the proposal of going back to work with a strong organization, a market hungry for ore, and winning their points by action on the job. The proposal was referred to all locals; all voted in favor, and on September 19 the central committee called the strike off. A week later it reported: "The men are returning to work and thus far there has been no evidence of any discrimination against them and none is expected as

the mining companies confess themselves exceedingly hard up for help." On April 1 next year Metal Mine Workers held its first conference in the Socialist Opera House in Virginia. Reports submitted showed that the gains anticipated when the strike was called off were being won; there was a 10% increase and a promise of the eight hour day May 1. To make sure of it the miners decided on a 24-hour strike that day—but meanwhile America was taken into the war.⁷

At the same time the IWW was recruiting miners on a smaller scale in the copper country of Arizona and in the Joplin lead district. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania it had a dozen locals who held a conference at Old Forge, Feb. 6, 1916. They established a district organization committee, uniform dues and initiation fees and formulated uniform demands: abolition of the contract system; an 8 hour day with Saturday a half-day; \$4.00 for miners, carpenters, engineers and motor runners; \$3.50 for laborers; \$2.50 for mule leaders and \$2.00 for breakerboys. A strike in the Lackawanna region to enforce these demands was broken by the State Constabulary, and of course hampered by the fact that the miners were under a 4-year UMWA contract against which they were chafing.⁸ On June 14 a meeting of 268 members at Old Forge was raided by mounted troopers in a combination cowboy-and-Indian-and-Keystone-Cop manner. All were lugged off to jail and released by October for lack of any evidence against them, but the Scranton Republican on October 4 complained "The sheriff's opera bouffe at Old Forge has cost this county several thousand dollars."⁹ This terrorism prevented further IWW organization in the field, but IWW influence still had one effect: while bituminous miners were kept tied during the war years to their contracts, the anthracite field permitted upward adjustments.

The Agricultural Workers had a successful year. Their policy had taken the form of announcing in the IWW press what wages it demanded for differ-

ent operations and areas, and where these terms were met the farmers had no labor trouble. The more intelligent farmers realized that no gain came to them from beating down labor, so long as they were not put at a differential disadvantage with other farmers, and the experience of 1916 led the farm organization, the Non-Partisan League, to propose all-over collective bargaining for the next year, an outcome prevented only by the anti-IWW war hysteria. This fact is far afield from the bogeytales of sabotage. Harvest over, the AWO sent its members into organization efforts in the woods of Minnesota and the West Coast and the Western fruit area. In Yakima, Washington, the IWW was organizing among the apple pickers and opened up a hall. A few hours later the police closed it. The members started an open air meeting to discuss their grievance, and 60 of them were thrown into the city jail. This was lousy; they held a meeting, condemned it and proceeded to demolish it from the inside out. Police and fire department turned the fire hose on them, then marched them soaked to iced refrigerator cars and told a train crew to take them out of town. The train crew refused and told the vigilantes to get going. The men were released from the refrigerator cars and taken to the county jail, for the city jail was a relic. Protests from union officials resulted in permission to open an IWW hall and the release of the men.

A similar effort to drive the IWW out of Everett, Washington became a tragedy. The lumber barons ran the town through the Commercial Club and their lackey Sheriff McRae. They wanted no union IWW or AFL. On August 19 the striking Shingle Weavers were beaten by company thugs who waylaid them as they went over a trestle 30 feet above the water. When an IWW hall was opened, McRae closed it. On September 11th his thugs, sworn in at the Commercial Club, took IWW organizer James Rowan to the woods and beat him severely. During October various groups of IWW members, totalling

altogether about 400, were driven out of town by these organized hoodlums.

On October 30, forty-one members arriving from the wheat fields were taken to Beverly Park, beaten, forced to run a gauntlet over a cattle guard at a railroad crossing while the Commercial Club thugs beat them. A church committee investigated and found men's hair and skin still sticking to the cattle guard and the ground soaked with blood. On the advice of these ministers, the IWW issued a circular to the people of Everett announcing an open meeting for Sunday, November 5 at 2:30 and urging them to "come and help defend your and our constitutional rights." Wobs took passage on the steamer Verona, and the overflow came on the Calista. As the Verona drew in to the dock, the free speech fighters were on the side facing it. One lad, Hugo Gerlot, had climbed the mast and all were singing. At a signal from McRae his thugs on the dock and others hidden in a warehouse opened fire. Gerlot fell dead to the deck. At least five more whose bodies were recovered were shot. The pilot house was riddled with bullets, and without a pilot the engineer backed the vessel away through the bloody water, the Commercial Club thugs shooting at it until it was out of range of their highpower rifles.

As the vessels returned to Seattle, the men were arrested, and 74 held on the charge of having killed two deputies who were among those hidden in the warehouse where the men could not have even seen them. All demanded separate trials. During the trial of the first, Thomas Tracy, the lawlessness of the sheriff's thugs became a matter of record, and their plans to murder the free speech fighters; also that the two deputies had been killed by ricochet of bullets inside the warehouse; that the bullet holes in the boards of the warehouse all showed that the firing had been from inside it toward the Verona. Tracy was acquitted May 5, 1917. The others were released. But the bloodthirsty Commercial Club and its murderous hirelings were not even indicted.¹¹

Organization in the woods went ahead despite this terrorism.

The Duluth District is a winter logging area. On December 24th a meeting of 1500 sawmill workers in Virginia voted to demand a pay boost and the 8-hour day, and struck on Dec. 28th. They were soon followed by the lumberjacks who demanded a minimum of \$40 per month, free hospital treatment, and to go to and from work in daylight. In Idaho, a spring drive country, the men went to work at the going rate of \$3.50 for 12 hours, struck at the opportune moment, and won \$5.00 for 8 hours. The Seattle district was busy laying foundation for the history-making strike of 1917.¹²

Although the country had re-elected Wilson on the slogan "He kept us out of war," pressures were growing to bring America into the war. Through the British Empire, where the IWW had some degree of organization in England, South Africa and Australia, the IWW was already being victimized. The general viewpoint of its members was that the primary purpose of unionism is to prevent workers from being used against each other, and that a sense of their common interests should prevent them from shooting each other just as it should prevent them from scabbing on each other. The frank expression of this attitude in Australia led to the trial of its more active spokesmen for treason. They had been arrested in a raid on their headquarters by the militia on September 30, 1916. On December 3 seven were sentenced to 15 years, and others to 10 and 5 years. A press account states that one of them, Beatty, aged 30 when sentenced to 15 years "startled the assembly by saying that he had been sentenced thirty years ago to penal servitude for life, and that any sentence the court could pass would not trouble him." In contrast to America, these men were released promptly the war was over.¹³

The 10th Convention—the last before 1919—met in November 1916 with an organization well recov-

ered from the slump of 1914, and, as shown in the reaction to the Mesaba strike and the Everett tragedy, winning recognition from most labor unionists as a significant part of the labor movement. The two chief outcomes of the convention were the reorganization of its forces, and its stand on war. Out of the former grew substantial industrial unions: Agricultural Workers 400, Lumber Workers 500, Construction Workers 573, Metal Mine Workers 480, Metal and Machinery Workers 300 and a General Recruiting Union to administer both mixed and industrial locals that lacked an industrial union on a national scale, and to encourage the formation of industrial locals until enough of them existed to warrant the formation of an industrial union structure for them. (These were renumbered in a decimal system in 1919.) This was a swing from the decentralist tendencies manifest in 1913 and not to crop up again until 1923, and reflected the need to coordinate recent gains. To make its publicity more responsible, the IWW Publishing Bureau was moved to Chicago and the GEB held responsible for publications, with Solidarity as the official organ. On the west coast the Industrial Worker had been resumed; the Finnish Socialisti of Duluth, a daily paper, had changed its name and become an IWW daily, which continues to this day; for non-English readers there were the following: *Il Proletario*, *A Bermunkas*, *Pruslovy Delnik*, *Solidarnosc*, *Conscience Industrial*, *L'Emancipation* and *El Obrero Industrial*.

The IWW stand on war took form in the following resolution:

"We, the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby re-affirm our adherence to the principles of industrial unionism, and re-dedicate ourselves to the unflinching, unfaltering prosecution of the struggle for the abolition of wage slavery and the realization of our ideals in Industrial Democracy.

"With the European war for conquest and exploitation raging and destroying our lives, class

consciousness and unity of the workers, and the ever-growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim with patriotic and therefore capitalistic aspirations, we openly declared ourselves the determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism, or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class.

"We condemn all wars, and for the prevention of such, we proclaim the anti-militaristic propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and, in time of war, the general strike, in all industries.

"We extend assurances of both moral and material support to all workers who suffer at the hands of the capitalist class for their adherence to these principles, and call on all workers to unite themselves with us, that the reign of the exploiters may cease, and this earth be made fair through the establishment of Industrial democracy." ¹⁴

1. Perlman & Toft: History of Labor in the United States, McMillan Co., 1935, being the 4th volume of the History of Labor by Commons and Associates, p. 312 et seq.

2. Doree's report on Baltimore in Proceedings of 10th Convention. Budish and Soule in their New Unionism give a very garbled account.

3. Philadelphia account taken from Solidarity, Nos. 330, 333, 340 and 348. The 10th Convention proceedings indicate friction between the MTW and the centralizing tendencies of 1916.

4. Solvay account, Solidarity, No. 329; Kelsey Wheel, No. 331.

5. Denver housemaids account, Solidarity 328; cartoons reproduced in Solidarity, No. 342.

6. A clear account of the victimization of Finnish Socialists by the copper trust unopposed by WFM is given in Perlman and Toft History cited above, page 258.

7. The account of the Mesabo strike is taken from Solidarity, and Survey of the period, Proceedings of 10th Convention, Industrial Commission and conversations with participants.

8. The two four-year contracts accounted Perlman & Toft, pp. 342 and 470.

9. The Old Forge arrest vividly described in Scranton Times of June 15, 1916, as quoted in Solidarity, No. 350.

10. Yakimo account in Solidarity, Nos. 353-354.

11. Everett most fully described in book "The Everett Massacre"; also Survey, Jan. and May 1917, in two articles by Anna Louise Strong, and 30th memorial issue of Industrial Worker, Nov. 2, 1946, with detailed memoirs of Jack Leonard, one of the participants. For general background see Jensen "Lumber and Labor," Forrer & Rinehart, 1945.

12. Lumber strikes: Solidarity No. 364, and article by C. E. Payne in International Socialist Review, June 1917.

13. Full account of Australian arrests in pamphlet "Guilty or Not Guilty," by H. E. Boote, published by the Committee Appointed by the Labor Council of New South Wales to Secure a Royal Commission to Investigate the IWW Cases.

14. Minutes 10th Convention, 1916, page 138.

IX. The Fight with the War Profiteers

From the summer of 1916 through the summer of 1920 IWW efforts to improve job conditions met with an unparalled campaign of terrorism. During this period the IWW won some of its most enduring victories and built up its strength to what is probably its peak membership of about 40,000 in 1923.¹

The campaign of terrorism was directed by employers anxious to resist unionism of any sort. At first these employers relied on their own plug-uglies and local vigilante movements; throughout this period this was the chief force the IWW had to fight. They were soon abetted by the local politicians and judiciary, all covered by the smokescreen of a subservient press. In March 1917 the Idaho and Minnesota legislatures passed the first Criminal Syndicalism laws, and the first victim of these was James Dunning, a Minnesota lumberjack convicted Sept. 29, 1917. From the spring of 1917 federal troops began herding off pickets, and in June several hundred sailors from the Bremerton Yards were given special leave and wrecked the IWW hall in Seattle; it was quite unofficial, yet before the event the Roseburg, Ore. News announced that these men had been given a few hours leave to drive the IWW out of the city. The Washington end of the government acted with at least outward propriety until September 5, 1917, and in August had assured the editors of Survey that Washington had receive no information on which to take action against the IWW despite horrendous stories in the press depicting the IWW as a gang of arsonists in the pay of the Kaiser.

That this campaign, masked with the patriotism that Johnson called the last refuge of scoundrels, was the work of corporations fevered with high profits, is plain from the geography of the struggle and the acts and assertions of the corporations them-

selves. Where the IWW had already made employers take unionism for granted, as in Philadelphia, no campaign against it developed; the impetus to destroy the IWW came from the non-union fields it was invading: lumber, copper, iron mining and oil. Federal prosecutions were based on opposition to the war and interference with conscription; where the IWW had small propaganda locals there was evident sentiment against registration but where it was engaged in substantial union activities it avoided being sidetracked from the struggle with the employer by such issues; yet the men arrested were those engaged in practical union effort, and of them, all but one of draft age, had registered. The copper corporations fought the IWW with thugs, deportations and lynching, all on the pretext that the IWW interfered with war production; yet these companies were selling the government copper at 30 to 34 cents a pound which it cost 7 to 10 cents to produce, and to maintain the scarcity had to store away over three billion pounds of the essential metal;² moreover to fight the unions Phelps-Dodge kept the ablest miners out of the mines, thus restricting production.³ In the oil industry when the Tulsa tar-and-feather outrage, the federal raiding, the closing of halls by force, and the Wichita indictment had not stopped organization and a strike started in January 1918, the oil companies told the federal investigators that they would close down their wells rather than permit government interference with their labor relations.⁴ Or, as a large lumber operator told Robert Bruere: "We have fought the IWW as we would have fought any attempt of the AFL unions to control the workers in our camps, and of course we have taken advantage of the general prejudice against them as an unpatriotic organization to beat their strike."⁵

In these war years profits soared to where they equalled capitalization, but the average real wage, which had climbed from its 1914 base of 100 to 125 in 1916, fell to 116 in 1917 and did not get up to its pre-war level until after the war. Yet in those in-

dustries where the embattled Wobblies fought, substantial gains were won.

The foundations laid in 1916 enabled the IWW through 1917 to organize rapidly on several fronts. Efforts that had been made in the southwest oil fields now blossomed into an Oil Workers Industrial Union chartered January 1. When the Metal Mine Workers were chartered on January 29th they already predominated over the AFL Mine-Mill in the Globe and Miami districts of Arizona, and the Miami scale became the standard for bargaining in other areas. On the east coast the IWW was rapidly organizing seamen and a major chore for its MTW secretary in Boston was to make up menus for all vessels on the Atlantic run; these were stamped with the IWW seal, posted in every mess hall, and the stewards were instructed to abide by them.⁶ The U.S. Shipping Adjustment Board recognized the IWW as the bargaining agency for the Philadelphia longshoremen and on February 7th, 1918 asked that it provide a member for its three-man adjustment commission empowered to settle wage disputes. The General Executive Board wired that this was autocratic and the Shipping Board made an exception for IWW democracy and accepted the MTW representative on the understanding that he was at all times under the instruction of the union.⁷ As a result no strikes were necessary on the Philadelphia waterfront until 1920. At the same time on the Great Lakes where AFL unionism had been wiped out in the long strike of 1909-13 a fair start at organization was made, but with entrapment into war, arrests and hysteria stopped it.

A new national Industrial Union for General Construction Workers was launched at a conference in Omaha April 29th 1917. It conducted a strike on an irrigation project at Exeter, Calif. in April. On May 14 a short strike won complete job control on all grading jobs around Seattle, including the arrangement that all workers be hired through the IWW hall. At Rockford, Illinois, an active construction

local won a strike about the same time; here there was also a budding Furniture Workers' local, but both got strangled in the anti-draft activities that made Rockford briefly famous. Throughout the Inland Empire as construction work opened up in the spring, job delegates got busy recruiting. It was the age of the mule team and fresno for most of this work and the Wobbly mule-skinning clan was known to hold tightly enough together so that without formal agreements, their announcement of wage rates enabled the contractors to reckon their labor costs with certainty. Through most of 1917 the organization efforts of this Industrial Union 573 went ahead relatively unmolested, until Guthrie, Grant and similar large operators turned loose the same campaign of terrorism as had been loosed on their fellow workers in lumber, copper mining and the oil fields; yet their organization survived to be a major part of the IWW in post-war years as Industrial Union 310.

During the early months of 1917 there was wide apprehension that America would be taken into the war and that conscription would follow. A division of opinion grew as to how to apply the 1916 resolution on war. A minority that included many of the Finnish and Irish members in Butte and on the Iron Range, and GEB member Frank Little, and Clyde Hough, secretary of the Rockford Furniture Workers, and a number of propaganda locals, felt the IWW should concentrate on open opposition to the war and defiance of the draft. The majority felt this would sidetrack the class struggle into futile channels and be playing the very game that the war-profiteers would want the IWW to play. They contended that the monstrous stupidity by which the governments of different lands could put their workers into uniforms and make them go forth and shoot each other was something that could be stopped only if the workers of the world were organized together; then they could put a stop to this being used against themselves; and that consequently the thing to be done under the actual circumstances

was to proceed with organizing workers to fight their steady enemy, the employing class, for better wages, shorter hours, safer and more sanitary working conditions, keeping in mind the ultimate ideal of world labor solidarity. There was no opportunity for referendum, but the more active locals took this attitude, instructing speakers to confine their remarks to industrial union issues, circulating only those pamphlets that made a constructive case for the IWW, and avoiding alliance with the Peoples Council and similar anti-war movements.⁸

Lumber Workers Industrial Union set out at its initial convention in Spokane, March 5, 1917 with the set of demands they aimed to achieve in lumber camp and sawmill. The lumber worker of that day was still the victim of the employment shark. He was a "timberbeast" set off from the rest of his fellow workers; he had to furnish his own blankets, and these with his working gear were enough to carry without ordinary dress clothes; as a result when he came to town he was permitted entry only to the dives that lived off him and so tolerated the caulk shoes his work required and that would soon tear up a floor; camps lacked shower baths or facilities for washing clothes, and the timberbeast was often a smelly, scratching specimen of humanity in town; at camp he spent his little leisure after a 10 hour day in a bunkhouse of double deck bunks, redolent with the acrid odor of sweaty work clothes drying. The Wobbly demands ran:

1. 8 hours with no work on Sundays or holidays;
2. Minimum wage of \$60 per month and board;
3. Wholesome food in porcelain dishes, no overcrowding; sufficient help to keep kitchen clean and sanitary;
4. Sanitary sleeping quarters, not more than 12 men in each bunkhouse; single spring beds and mattresses with good clean bedding to be furnished free by company; bunkhouse to be well lit and furnished with reading tables; dry room, laundry room and shower baths;

5. Free hospital service;
6. \$5.00 per day minimum for river drivers;
7. Two pay days per month by bank check without discount;
8. All men to be hired on job or from union hall; free transportation from place of hiring to job;
9. No discrimination.

Quick victories were won on the river drives in the short log country during last part of April. The 12 hour day was cut to 8 and the pay raised to \$5.00 from \$3.50. Militia raided the hall at Whitefish, Mont.; men were arrested for refusing to work, but the river drive strikes were complete victories. IWW plans for the woods had been for a July strike in the short log country, then later a strike on the coast, but events moved faster. Scattered victories along the hump between the two areas were won in May and "in camp after camp the union was moving from the hall to the bunkhouse." Spontaneous action started the wave of short log strikes on June 20th, general by July 16, on which date, in response to strike calls by both AFL and IWW the long log country came out solid too.

The use of federal troops in the lumber and other strikes lacked legal sanction. The National Guard had been called into federal service as soon as America was taken into the war, and so only federal troops were available. No record seems available that any governor or state legislature certified that insurrection or disorder beyond the capacity of the state to suppress required such intervention—though such certification is required by law. To the contrary "prosecuting attorneys in Montana and Washington and special agents of the Bureau of Investigation testified to the peacefulness of the lumber strike and the lack of violence and intimidation by the I.W.W." Though the law of 1878 provided that federal troops may not be used as a posse comitatus to federal law officers, War Department Authorizations to local army officers passed down the line of authority to platoon level, in effect pro-

vided for such service to sheriffs and district attorneys. Arrests could be made to protect public utilities essential to the war or for "acts in pursuance of prearranged plans contemplating violence." These pretexts were used to arrest strikers committing no offence. Those arrested were not subject to habeas corpus, as the local Councils of Defense agreed that the sheriffs should answer any such petition that "the prisoners are held by military power."

Concurrent with this general northwest lumber strike was the copper strike in Montana and Arizona. The repressive measures urged by the copper barons and behind the scenes moves in Washington shaped the novel and successful process of carrying the strike of the lumber workers back to the job. A correct depiction requires a switch of attention here to these copper miners, then a return to the lumber strike.

By June 1917 the IWW in Arizona had edged ahead of the old Western Federation, then known as AFL Mine Mill & Smelter Workers, but neither organization was in position to engage in effective bargaining. The Mine-Mill members often carried two cards and favored joint action by the two unions; most local officials didn't, yet were opposed enough to Moyer policy to want statewide autonomy. At Globe and Miami the two forces working together had pushed wages up to the highest in the industry. Early in June the IWW won a 12½% pay boost at the Humboldt smelter at Prescott and in the mines at Mayer with a short strike. Mine-Mill had given notice to the Clarke interests that it wanted a wage boost at Jerome and a contract with check-off. The IWW called a mass meeting there, explained that it would support any strike for improved conditions, but opposed the check-off and contract, proposing instead that where two unions were involved a policy of no discrimination and a grievance committee elected by all workers would protect all miners. The men were solid for this policy, and the company promptly met these de-

mands, including the Miami scale. At Swansea the same company granted the same demands after the IWW had staged a strike for one half shift.¹⁰

At this point things began to move in Butte where there had been no miner unionism since the turmoil of 1914. On June 5 many Irish and a number of Finns were arrested for demonstrating against the draft. On the 8th came the Speculator Mine disaster. With flames blocking the shafts men rushed to the bulkheads that separate the level of one mine from adjoining levels of the next mine. To save a few dollars for iron manholes in them required by safety law, they had been concreted solid, and 190 miners were burned to death. Indignation resulted in a strike on June 11 and a new union, the Metal Mine Workers, formed to ensure mine safety, end the rustling card and espionage system, and bring wages up with the high cost of living. The new union was unaffiliated; the miners would have none of Moyer's Mine-Mill, nor of the handful still liquidating the assets of old Butte Miners' Union No. 1, and the IWW avoided any action that would jeopardize their solidarity. The AFL however would not let them use the Carpenters' Hall, so they met in the hall of the Finnish Socialists. On the 18th the AFL electrical workers, as the result of a long standing dispute, walked out and soon were followed by other AFL crafts. The miners and electrical workers cooperated and to July 20th issued a joint strike bulletin. Arizona miners quickly saw that with Butte struck, a strike throughout Arizona was the best help they could give to restore unionism to the Butte mines and to settle their own grievances, particularly their safety demand of two men on all piston and Leyner machines, two men in all raises and stopes, and no blasting in raises, stopes or drifts during shifts. By June 26th IWW organizer Grover Perry could wire: "Bisbee, Jerome, Miami and Swansea strike in support of Butte; other camps await call." On the 27th the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council resolved 44-28 that the new mine union was "in the best interests of organized labor"

though the AFL crafts still disowned it. There was some talk of getting an AFL charter, but Mine-Mill's jurisdiction prevented that and the miners were told they would have to join Moyer's union as individuals—which they didn't.

With Arizona mines tied up tight, the federal government sought a settlement by its Conciliation Service, to which it appointed former Governor Hunt, who had been re-elected but had been temporarily counted out by the copper companies for his friendliness to unions. The IWW insisted that settlement should be nationwide so as not to leave the Butte miners holding the bag, and proposed that the government could save a lot of money by granting union demands and taking over the mines. Since the government was paying Phelps-Dodge three times the production cost of copper it was horrified and denounced the IWW as working for the German government. Then working on a plan laid out by a German army captain for him, Walter Douglas, head of the Phelps-Dodge Copper Queen Division, set out to rid Arizona of Wobblies. On July 10 at Jerome, the company officials with a posse of business men and a handful of Mine-Mill members, rounded up those they considered IWW agitators and jailed them. A Mine-Mill organizer secured the release of 37 of the 104 on his assurance that they weren't IWW's and the rest were shipped to Needles, sent back and released. At Bisbee before dawn on July 12 a similar posse rounded up the strikers as they prepared for break-of-day picketing, and searched homes until they had a total of 1164, not counting the three they killed, marched them to Warren, held them in a ball park until they could be put into cattle cars and shipped to the desert. They were packed tight standing up, parched with thirst, and many had been clubbed in the round-up. After 36 hours of this torture they were put into a detention camp at Columbus, N. M. All was carried out under the direction of Mr. Douglas of Phelps-Dodge.

Scattered strikes continued in Arizona, but with many of the more experienced Wobs at Columbus or in jail at Prescott and Tombstone (for protesting these outrages), settlements were made for wage increases and other improvements, leaving the Copper Queen run with imported scabs, and the Butte miners fighting the copper trust alone. There on August 1, again in the dark early hours, a gang came to the boardinghouse next to the Finn Hall where Frank Little lay in bed, his leg recently broken, and dragged him to the Milwaukee railroad trestle where he or his already dead body was hanged. Instead of intimidating the miners, it put them the more solidly behind the IWW whose spokesman Frank Little was. His funeral was the largest Butte had ever seen, even the AFL unions joining the procession with their banners. On August 11, Federal troops began to patrol the streets. Phelps-Dodge stirred up additional wrath when, upon taking over a coal mine at Gallup, N.M. it declared open shop, and subsequently deported the UMWA coal miners. William Green of UMWA threatened a national strike of coal miners unless these men were protected in their right to return. The fight between labor and the war profiteers everywhere (the AFL had of course far more strikes than the IWW) was threatening to demolish the fabric of lies against the IWW woven by the press and to lead to recognition of the IWW as spearheading this fight with the profiteers in the areas where it was most competent to do so. On August 25 the new union in Butte, by this time thought of usually as pro-IWW, by a picket line closed the Anaconda smelter and the Anaconda shut down what mines it had been able to operate and its smelter at Great Falls. On September 5th federal authorities abruptly changed face and raided IWW offices and halls across the country all at 2 p.m. central standard time and seized all records—over five tons of them.

This was the situation that led the lumber workers to switch tactics. By September 1 the short log

country had been out from eight to ten weeks in different sections and the west coast six weeks. On the coast the IWW had been hesitant about calling the strike because most of the workers had gone back nearly broke after the July 4 holiday. In the short log country in particular repression had been rough. At Troy, Mont., Frank Thornton had been put in a wooden jail and the jailed burned down. All halls had been closed, Spokane being the last to remain open; as it was being closed and the authorities at one end were taking possession, at the other jacks were still lining up to have their cards written out. In Klamath Falls strikers had been kangarooed, local lawyers refused to defend them, while lawyers from out of town were told to travel. In Portland when strikers were arrested, the MTW answered by tying up river transportation. Arrests for vagrancy and other charges grew on the coast, and in its issue of August 15, the Industrial Worker pointed out that if this continued the strikers would be compelled to shift to a new kind of strike—one on the job where the police would not be so handy to club them. On August 31 the District Organization Committee for the Seattle District carried the following motion: "That we ask all branches and picket camps to call a meeting for September 7th to determine the sentiment in regard to transferring the strike to the job for the purpose of enforcing the eight hour day. We wish to impress on the minds of the membership the importance of understanding this motion clearly. The meaning of the motion is that if we did transfer the strike to the job we would only work eight hours and quit. Kindly inform the District Office of the results of your meeting of Sept. 7."

The nationwide raids of Sept. 5 ended any doubts about the proposed tactic. To the employers it seemed that the men were accepting defeat; the lumber workers who had discussed their tactics, and agreed upon them almost unanimously, went to the camps as they opened up. Some took their own whistles with them, blew them at the end of eight hours and

went in to camp. If they were fired, the next crew did the same. In some they soldiered on the job; in others they played "dumb"—but whatever their form of the new tactic, they were eating and sleeping on company territory, away from the police, and the employers did not know what to do. Senator Borah explained: "The IWW is about as elusive a proposition as you ever ran up against. . . . It is intangible. . . . You cannot reach it . . . it is simply an understanding between men."—and it could not be jailed."

The case of the lumber workers was clear. The President sent Carlton Parker as a peace envoy and he said they should have their demands. Secretary of War Baker and the Governor of Washington urged the 8 hour day. But the west coast operators said no. As the strike on the job tactic was enforcing the 8-hour day in camp after camp, the operators of the Inland Empire passed a resolution calling on the government to establish the 8-hour day for industrial peace. The Spruce Division headed by Colonel Disque of 4-L fame announced it officially May 1, 1918—but the lumberjacks knew that they themselves had got it. They had celebrated May 1 1917 with a big parade to strew Joe Hill's ashes. They observed May 1, 1918 with a bigger celebration in camp after camp, burning the old bedding rolls so that the companies had to furnish bedding or have no workers. Where double deck bunks persisted, the top sections got thrown out. By a continuous battle, intermittent but never lost sight of, the process of "conditioning the job" went on to the transformation of the shunned timberbeast of 1916 into the respected lumber worker of 1919, eating the best and dressed the best of any worker in the country, and also sobered up. The IWW had changed not only the conditions of the timberbeast, but also his wants and habits. A wage boost can at times be taken away—but not the habits and standards of an entire occupational area; the gains of 1918 have

withstood depressions, wars and complete disorganization to this day.

In the copper strike no such permanent victory was achieved. Following the raids of Sept. 5, 1917, it seems that the higher brackets of labor leadership effectively clamped down on sentiment in their ranks favorable or even tolerant toward the IWW, though to that date its prestige in the labor movement had been gaining. In the Butte, Anaconda situation, on Sept. 11 the AFL staged a meeting to urge the return to work; the Butte miners were left out, and their strike and their new union faded out by December 28th. Once the new union had given up, the IWW job delegate system felt free without imperilling solidarity to build for itself, and achieved sufficient strength by September 1918 to pull short strikes protesting the convictions in the IWW and Socialist cases, and by March 1919 there were over 5000 in the Butte IWW local. In Arizona the Mediation Commission set up machinery for union representation, but with the proviso that those belonging to organizations refusing to make contracts or disloyal to the government be excluded. Thus the commission by excluding the IWW slapped the war-profiteers on the wrist for their lawless interference with production, and gave them exactly what they wanted.

The espionage charges, to support which the nation wide raids were made, had nothing to do with espionage, and were an improvisation hit upon after other plots to wreck the good work of the IWW had proved ineffective. The first scheme was to rely upon the new deportation provisions enacted in 1917, which allowed deportation for beliefs acquired by the foreigner during his stay here. Deportation procedure was felt to have the stealthy advantage of permitting no "snail-paced court trial," little or no publicity, and putting the burden of argument on the deportee. It was felt that extensive deportation arrests would intimidate enough to prevent the IWW from using the war to establish decent working

conditions. This snagged on three facts: the Wobs didn't get scared; most of them were native born; and the employers didn't want them removed from the labor market, but only wanted to stop them from having any voice in that market. Use of federal troops got snagged on the same facts. Western governors proposed that all IWW agitators, without any bother about court procedures, be apprehended and secretly interned somewhere so as to "mystify and frighten" the remaining members. This plan was considered and then given up for the program said to have been formulated by former governor John Lind of Minnesota for the state Commission of Public Safety—arrest all officers, editors, etc., under the wartime provisions of the Espionage Act.¹² IWW membership lists secured from the raids were given to Samuel Gompers to arrange for general blacklisting.

On the basis of the five tons of "evidence" seized in the September raids, indictments in Chicago, Sacramento and Wichita were issued against those whom the advisers to the federal government considered the back bone of the IWW.¹³ These were charged in many pages that the IWW was interfering with the war by strikes, sabotage and discouragement of conscription. The strikes were legitimate disputes not with the government but with the profiteers who were milking the government. The evidence of hostility to conscription dated from pre-war days when it too was not unlawful. The alleged sabotage consisted of unsupported tales as far back as 1911 by company henchmen. The defense objected that if charges were to be based on these tales, the accused should be tried in the district where the offense was alleged so that witnesses could be secured and cross-examined, and all this within a reasonable time of the commission of the alleged offenses. But this and the old literature were admitted by the court as evidence of the "frame of mind" of the IWW, and the court conceding that these alleged acts were not within federal jurisdiction, let them go before the jury without

any requirement thus that they be proved. Most of this trash got thrown out by the higher courts, but the conviction was sustained. On August 17, 1918, the Chicago jury in less than an hour reached a decision on the tons of evidence—which the court conceded had been illegally seized—and the evidence it had been hearing since April 1, and the fate of over a hundred men. Judge Landis gave fifteen men 20 years, thirty-five 10 years, thirty-three 5 years, twelve a year and a day and the rest nominal sentences.

In Sacramento the men did not go to trial until after the war was over—when Australia was already releasing its IWW prisoners. In the long delay five of the 51 had died under bad jail conditions. The defendants decided to treat the proceedings frankly as a kangaroo court and remained silent. The results were the same as if they had lawyers to interpose overruled objections. The Wichita proceedings were even further delayed with the novelty by a new 1918 indictment, of adding to the alleged offense committed prior to the passage of the act on which they were tried and prior to the membership of many in the IWW, new offenses allegedly committed by the IWW while the defendants were in jail. They finally got convicted in December 1919.

On these federal indictments, on Criminal Syndicalism charges and on various other pretexts arising largely out of strike activities, probably close to two thousand IWW's were arrested during this time. Further IWW stationary delegates, branch secretaries and job delegates were chased from home or job by plug-uglies and vigilantes, often with beatings and tar-and-feather parties. The arrests required an almost complete change in official personnel of the union, and a concentration on legal defense that led to the formation in October 1917 of a General Defense Committee to coordinate defense work nationally. It was handicapped by a general reluctance of lawyers to serve, not only because of the prejudice built by press against IWW

but because of such instances as the deportation of lawyers from Klamath Falls, Ore., or from Bisbee, or Stanton, Illinois where defense counsel Metzen was tarred and feathered along with the IWW he went there to defend.¹⁴ On October 30, Solidarity was denied the mails; a Defense News Bulletin was issued instead. Its mailing was interfered with so that distribution had to be by small bundles mailed from various places in other publications as wrapping.

In retrospect sober judgment has looked upon this period as one in which the IWW was engaged in activities that were not only legal, but positively praiseworthy, and that the lawlessness was that of the war-profiteers and of their political and judicial henchmen. The positive results were improved job conditions and a growing IWW with its attention focused on "conditioning the job."

1. Average annual membership calculated by dividing dues stamps sold in calendar year by 12; probably peak membership for any month may have been in August 1917 and comes close to 100,000.

2. For war profits, see Senate Document 259, 65th Congress, and Chapter 17 of Seldes, "Iron, Blood and Profits."

3. Jensen, "Heritage of Conflict," pp. 480 and 422. Jensen has a detailed account of the copper strike, biased by Mine-Mill contentions that IWW was imported by the mine companies!

4. Defense News Bulletin No. 17.

5. As quoted in Gamb's "Decline," p. 44.

6. Correspondence with Jas. Phillips, MTW sec'y, Boston, at time.

7. Exchange of wires in Defense News Bulletin No. 16.

8. Foregoing paragraph digests many letters, minutes, etc., used as evidence in the Chicago trial, gathered from briefs filed with U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 7th District, October term 1919, docket 2721.

9. This paragraph is based on information in a manuscript by William Preston of History Department, Denison University, on "The Ideology and Techniques of Repression." This author had access to Washington files for his study.

10. Account of copper strike is compiled from IWW papers of the time, Jensen's "Heritage" and correspondence with A. S. Embree and report of President's Commission.

11. Account of lumber strike from IWW papers of the time and reminiscences in later IWW publications, discussion with participants. Fairly good accounts by others are given in Jensen, "Labor and Lumber" and Perlman & Taft with considerable documentation. An ironic epilog to Disque's Spruce Division and its efforts to get the lumber workers to work horder occurred through the 1950's as Hoover's economizers tried to get the Spruce Division abolished on the grounds it had been collecting its pay and doing nothing since November 1918. Borah Quotation in Congressional Record, Mar. 3, 1918.

12. Sources same as Footnote 9 above.

13. There is extensive literature on these cases by American Civil Liberties Unions and others. All three summarized in N.Y. Nation, 1919, XVIII, p. 383. The cases are Haywood v. U.S. Fed. 795 (1920), Anderson v. U.S. 273 Fed. (1921) and 269 Fed. 65 (1920). W. D. Lane described Kansas City jail conditions in Survey, 1919, XLII, 807. Cases are summarized also by Gambs and Perlman & Taft. While Dowell's book previously cited concentrates on the Criminal Syndicalism cases, it is the best study so far of the psychological and economic processes involved in this effort to get the IWW. It is still hoped that some thorough Ph.D. thesis will be written on the role of the federal government and how it was induced to take that role.

14. Defense News Bulletin 16—the mob was led by the District Attorney.

X. Revolution Around the Corner

The First World War ended in a wave of revolutions that brought great hopes for those who wanted the world to be different, great fears for those who wanted it to remain the same, and great problems for those who wanted it not only different but better. These are the hopes, fears, and problems that characterize the age in which we still live.

News of the March and November revolutions in Russia was welcome to the IWW. Revolts in Austria and Germany brought the war to a halt; in January workers in the Ruhr seized the industries in which they worked; in March Karolyi peacefully handed Hungary over to a Communist regime; Britain and France had strikes for workers' control and for "Hands Off Russia"; with all this the term "revolution" lost its customary overtone of distance. Capitalists believed revolution imminent, feared it, legislated against it and bought books on how to keep workers happy. Workers too favored change, but most held hopes in the vague promises of wartime politicians for a "world fit for heroes to live in." A minority in the labor movement believed world social revolution a possibility that needed only some nurturing, with a bit of conspiracy and the properly formulated theses. This minority consisted typically of those who conversed (or debated) mostly with other members of the same minority and who thus lived "in a miasmata of their own effulgences." Those whose manner of living kept them in steady contact with the general run of workers were not so prone to let hopes distort their perceptions. This was the situation with most of the IWW, but a few managed to acquire the view of the self-appointed "militant minority" and to do such harm as the forces of repression had not been able to do, with results not fully apparent until 1923-24.¹

No major consequence of the revolutionary upheaval in Europe appeared in America until 1919.

Not until late summer was the divisive effect of the Russian revolution upon the general anti-capitalist movement evident. A new bogeyman was replacing the IWW as a newspaper stereotype, and the left wing was playing with Soviet terms, running strikes under Workers' Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils in Seattle, Butte and Toledo—or trying to.

The Seattle General Strike of February 6th to 11th, 1919 was an AFL strike, but many held it showed IWW influence, the more so as under wartime conditions many IWW's had become "two-card men" active in Seattle AFL circles. The purpose of the strike was to back up the 25,000 metal trades workers in the shipyards against a Macy award that cut wages. It was a marvel of orderliness, with the Central Labor Council officially responsible, but in the background this Workmen's Soldiers and Sailors' Council. (The business group later boasted it had its man there too, drafting a constitution fit to send any man to jail who signed it.) It was abruptly ended by threat of invading international officers to revoke the charters of the participating unions. In the open shop reaction that followed, both the Socialist Party and the Equity Press where the Industrial Worker was printed, were raided; also 31 members of the IWW were arrested charged with trying to overthrow the government by participating in the strike. That the rank and file of the unions favored the strike was shown by its orderliness, its completeness and the fact that all local officials were re-elected.²

Butte followed with a general strike two days later, February 8th. It was precipitated by announcement of a dollar a day cut on the 7th. To cope with craft disunity that had wrecked the 1917 strike, it was necessary to create some inter-union body. In the Soviet fad this was called a Workers' and Soldiers' Council; its veteran members wore part of their military uniform. The IWW Metal Mine Workers furnished a large part of the strikers and also delegates to this Council. To give the crafts an excuse to stay home, for lack of transportation,

they picketed the streetcar barns. When the strike was on for a few days the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council ordered all members to join the strike, but international officers were soon on hand to threaten revocation of charters. This broke the strike. The paycut was put across temporarily, but soon put back to the \$5.85 rate again by resistance action on the job.³

(In 1919 Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 800 had an average annual membership of 8000 roughly divided into 2500 in the Great Lakes iron district and 5500 in the copper district; there was considerable turnover for with about the same membership through the year, there were about 6000 initiations. It struck again in August in Butte in support of the AFL crafts, and at Oatman, Arizona for a 6-hour day and a dollar an hour. They had the mines tight, but the Moyer union signed an agreement for a 50 cent increase with the proviso that no member of the IWW be hired.⁴)

Another "soviet" formed in Toledo gave the IWW its first disillusionment with this phenomenon. Early in May workers at the Ford plate glass factory walked out and joined the IWW. Overland workers followed, and soon the Autolite, bringing the total on strike to 13,000. To unify it all the left wing formed a Soldiers and Sailors' Council. The IWW learned that the funds raised for this body for strike relief went instead to pay for printing its revolutionary propaganda. The IWW didn't object so much to the lurid phrases, but it did object to the tapping of the strike funds, and the strike appears to have fallen apart.⁵

The 11th Convention of the IWW met May 5th to 16th, 1919. It was the first convention since 1916. The financial statement for the intervening 31 months showed per capita income of \$77,968.18, which, at 7½ cents per dues stamp, indicates an average membership during those 31 hectic months of about 33,500. The current membership was figured at 35,000. Defense activities had required ma-

jor expenditures: \$101,808.54 for lawyers' fees; \$29,603.43 for relief of prisoners and their families; and \$8,985.13 for witness fees. The IWW press had two English weeklies and an English language monthly magazine; seven weeklies and two monthlies in other languages, and the Finnish daily. About this time there was considerable recruitment in Chicago and cities east, "language branches" formed for propaganda and social activities and pride in "redness" rather than for conditioning the job. In an effort to insure an industrial focus this 11th Convention eliminated the Recruiting Unions. Soon however it was found necessary to make other provisions for the membership of those who wanted One Big Union but for whom local industrial unions did not exist. Subsequent constitutional changes set up a General Recruiting Union with the intent of generating industrial locals and eventually new national industrial unions.

Through the summer of 1919 the IWW carried on in harvest field and lumber camp despite the additional harassment of the anti-red frenzy of 1919. The Agricultural Workers had an average annual membership for the year of about 4,000 but recruited about twice that number, 3,039 of them in August alone. Its techniques made it the most unstable part of the IWW, engaged in the selling of union cards rather than in the organization of men. Its spring and fall conventions were newsworthy. Mayor Short of Sioux City announced he would open the spring convention with an address of welcome; citizens met to protest and he read them the constitution. The Mayor and other citizens, including a government agent and his stenographer attended; after the Mayor's speech all outsiders left except the agent and his steno, and for two days the 103 members conducted their affairs in peace. Then the sheriff closed the hall. The convention moved to the corner of 4th and Jennings and completed their convention in front of a large and interested audience who joined in closing it with the singing of "Solidarity Forever," the government agent and his steno not

participating. The boys found Sioux City such an interesting place they set their fall convention for it too. Haywood was out on bond and was scheduled to attend it and speak on the street. Permission was denied, so he addressed a largely hostile crowd of about 5000 from the windows of the hall, and soon had them with him. The indignant editor of the Tribune ran his car back and forth through the crowd until the Chief of Police arrested him. (This was about the only instance in the year of the law favoring the IWW; arrests were as numerous as in 1918, with the Criminal Syndicalism laws providing the new technique.)⁶

The lumber workers were the sturdiest industrial union in the IWW with an average annual membership of close to 20,000 through 1919. During the year they initiated 8,800 new members, but about half of this represented growth, not replacement of others dropping out. In the northwest it had from a third to a half of the lumberjacks organized and about a sixth of the mill workers. It had no competition except the dying 4 L's which retained some membership in the mill towns. A spring strike on the river drives got the same bedding gains for this work as had been won already in the camps. In October a generalized wave of strikes in the short logs against adding the cost of blankets to the board bill ended with return to work and winning again by job action. The strike had two novel demands: release of all class war prisoners and withdrawal of troops from Russia. In the Great Lakes area, small walkouts and job action won some minor improvements in camp conditions and maintained a fair degree of organization. When a mob attacked the district office of the lumber workers in Superior, Wisconsin, those inside let the mob see that they were armed, and there was no further trouble. In Centralia, Washington, the lynching fever of the business class was not stopped by similar action, but following these two examples of resistance, raiding of halls was checked.

When the Armistice Day parade, November 11, 1919, stopped in front of the IWW hall in Centralia, there was no doubt what the intent was. Once before on April 20, 1918 a parade had stopped at the IWW hall and demolished it, the banker taking the secretary's desk. In June of 1919 a Citizens' Protective League was talking of driving the IWW out of town, and the blind IWW newsboy had been kidnaped, taken out of town and told not to come back at the risk of his life. A ways and means committee of the Citizens' Protective League was elected to attend to the details of driving the IWW out of Centralia, and it was common talk that the Armistice Day parade would be used for this purpose. IWW lumberjacks consulted a local attorney, Elmer Smith, who told them they had a legal right to protect their hall by arms. On November 7 it was announced that the parade would march to Third and Turner and return—that is, march to the corner past the IWW hall, turn and march past it again. That left no doubts. When the parade came, the postmaster and ex-Mayor McCleary were each carrying a coil of rope, conspicuously prepared for a lynching bee. Paraders after the turn of the line of march broke out and when they broke through the door of the IWW hall, IWW members shot and killed three of the attackers. Then the mob surged in, beat and arrested the defendants, except one, Wesley Everest, a returned soldier, who went out the back of the hall, holding the mob at a distance with his automatic as he retreated toward the Chehalis River. There he offered to surrender to any officer of the law, but not to the mob. Dale Hubbard, son of the banker who had taken the IWW desk in the 1918 raid, stepped out to take him; Everest shot and killed. Then his revolver jammed and the mob had him. They beat him, rammed a rifle butt down his throat, and threw his bleeding body in the center of the jail where his fellow workers, locked in cells, could see him but do nothing for him. That night the mayor and city electrician shut off all lights in the city and the businessmen opened the jail, took

Everest out to lynch him, cutting off his genitals before they did so.⁷

A reign of terror followed in the region. It was open season on Wobblies. When the defenders of the hall were brought to trial on a charge of conspiracy to murder, troops surrounded the courthouse at Montesano. The evidence clearly established that the conspiracy was that of the businessmen to drive out the IWW with a threat of lynching and with the probability of an actual lynching such as they did indisputably perpetrate, and that the first shot was fired after the invasion of the hall. A Seattle labor jury, sent by the AFL to witness the trial, judged the men completely innocent. The jurors found them guilty of the impossible charge of second degree murder on a conspiracy indictment. Later affidavits from the jurors declare that this verdict was wrung from them by intimidation, and fear what the business class could do to them in the community where they had their homes. Elmer Smith, the lawyer who had advised them, was acquitted and spent most of his time until his death in 1930 in efforts to obtain their release, but his efforts and the findings of church and other bodies left the governors unmoved; probably because to recognize the men's innocence was to recognize the guilt of the American Legion and the business men. Lumber Workers Industrial Union survived the terrorism and remained a sturdy organization until 1925 when it was rendered ineffective by dissension and the "gyppo" system.

At this period the program of revolutionary industrial unionism was growing internationally by extensions of the IWW and the birth of similar movements with which the IWW had friendly relations. In Canada, where the rather small IWW had been repressed during the war by orders-in-council, a similar movement, the One Big Union swept the western area largely because the conservative leaders refused to join the western bodies in protests against these order-in-council which suspended civil rights for radicals.⁸ They proposed a reorganiza-

tion of the Canadian labor movement on an industrial basis, were turned down, and formed the OBU originally representing substantially all labor from Port Arthur west. The Winnipeg General Strike, though arising out of disputes antecedent to the OBU, brought it great publicity as it was headed by the active spirits in the new movement. These men were convicted of trying to overthrow the government on the grounds that permitting milk deliveries was assuming governmental powers. The loss of their chief spokesmen occurred at a time when AFL officials were threatening that bodies with the old treasuries would take over existing contracts and would bar OBU men from their jobs, and the OBU was reduced to a few occupational groups, in mining, streetcar transportation, lumber and the railroad shops. In the lumber industries of the Great Lakes and coast areas, an interchange of IWW and OBU cards was arranged, and these lumber workers eventually joined the IWW in 1924 after the OBU had further declined with pro-communists shifting it from an industrial to a geographical or mass basis. The Canadian OBU persisted for years in Winnipeg, and even had branches in the United States trying in San Francisco to build an industrial union in the building trades and also in eastern textiles; its paper the OBU Bulletin for years was a sort of Reader's Digest of the left wing and liberal press sustained by a betting pool rather popular because of its honest conduct, but eventually declared illegal.

In Latin America the Marine Transport Workers had established a branch in Buenos Aires with its own paper in November of 1919, and in December IWW administrations were started in Mexico and Chile. Through the summer of 1920 the Chilean union conducted a three month strike to prevent the export of cereals from the country at a time when this export was producing famine, and famine prices and profits. The profiteers retaliated on July 22 with a raid at Santiago, starting a reign of terror against the IWW and other unions that lasted for years, the favorite punishment being to send the

men to stony islands off the coast where not a blade of grass grew, and tell them to build their Utopia there. On June 2, 1921 the IWW hall at Tampico, Mexico, was raided, and the IWW called a general strike in the area which won them the right to have their hall.⁹

In Great Britain wartime attacks on union standards had resulted in a militant Shop Steward movement; in January 1920 this body resolved to link itself to the IWW, and at the 12th IWW Convention, May, 1920, arrangements were made for the interchange of cards. But the major international question was Moscow. The IWW had been invited to join the Third International and to send a delegation to its Second Congress in the Kremlin, July 19 to August 7, 1920. The IWW did not attend, but its General Executive Board, very friendly to the general idea, had set up a committee to arrange for contact with the various revolutionary movements around the world. The Second Congress adopted the 21 points as conditions of affiliation, and set up a provisional body to found an international of red trade unions, to convene January 1921. To this the IWW was again invited and sent delegates. A preliminary caucus of syndicalist bodies was held in Berlin in December 1920 and it aimed at a union international based on the class struggle and free from political party domination. When the Red Trade Union international met eventually in Moscow in 1921, both the IWW delegate and the delegate from the Canadian OBU reported that it was a body to manipulate unions at Kremlin dictates and not a union body at all. By referendum the IWW turned down all of the various proposals, though with a remarkably small vote that gave only slight negative majorities. The three questions were a bit confusing and the entire ballot later declared void. It appears to indicate a refusal to be dominated by Communists and at the same time a reluctance not to participate in a gesture of left-wing unity.

IWW relations with the communists slowly but

steadily shifted from an original comradely disagreement to open hostility. When the American Communist and Communist Labor parties were born out of the splintering of the Socialist Party Convention in Chicago 1919, the IWW, though friendly to the Socialists too, allowed them temporary use of one of their local halls. In the eyes of reaction IWW and anarchist and communist were all alike, and in the mass arrests especially around New Years 1920 in the deportation delirium, hundreds of IWWs were included in the round-ups in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and elsewhere.¹⁰ The Wobs ridiculed the early spouting about "mass action" especially in the sense of armed insurrection, pointing out that if military superiority was to be achieved, those looking for dimes to keep their organizations alive might take a peek at the combined federal, state, municipal and private corporation arms budgets before adopting that policy in place of the sure bet of workers' industrial solidarity. Lenin's doctrine of scrapping the left wing unions to facilitate capture of the trade unions was not acceptable to the IWW, nor the Communist demand that it appoint the editors for IWW publications. Their maneuvers inside the IWW eventually ended Wobbly tolerance for them. Philadelphia became the end of any brotherly love.

There the Marine Transport Workers struck on May 26 for a 20 cents an hour increase. They had good support from other unions, Marine Firemen refusing to provide steam for scabs, but the strike continued through all of June 1920 to July 10. The stevedores wanted to settle on foreign trade only; the shipping board wanted the men to go back on the promise of whatever terms the ILA negotiated in New York, but the IWW insisted on settling for all, and on July 10 marched back to all docks, including some that had previously escaped organization, with all workers wearing the button to assure complete job control. It was a union the communists could not maneuver, but early in August they spread talk that the IWW in Philadelphia was loading arms for Wrangel to use against the Soviet Gov-

ernment. In August the General Executive Board ordered the Philadelphia local suspended. The local insisted no arms were loaded for Wrangel and asked for some proof, some record of the shipment, but none was forthcoming, though the rumor persisted. This charge dismissed, the local was kept suspended on the grounds that it charged a \$25.00 assessment actually as initiation fee in disguise. (The constitution of the time required universal rates for all industrial unions, with initiation fee of \$1.00, but this active local needed a strike treasury.) It was not until a new General Executive Board was elected, less sensitive to communist approval, that the Philadelphia local was reinstated. Actually on all coasts the IWW was stopping shipments to the interventionists, even where it did not have job control.¹¹

Other events moved the IWW in the same direction. The repression of the Kronstad revolt in Russia, the role of the communists during the seizure of industries by Italian workers in September 1920, and their division of the Italian labor movement the following winter and spring into two sections fighting on the streets against each other—all such events made the IWW realize that no matter how “left” the Communists might be, they were still politicians, primarily concerned with getting and holding the power to rule.¹² In April 1921 those out on bail on the Espionage indictments had to start serving their sentences. The Court of Appeals had thrown out the first and second counts of the indictment (interfering with the execution of the Espionage Act and Selective Service Acts, and injuring those employers who were supplying the government) but sustaining the charges of conspiring to deter men from registering and to bring about insubordination in the army. This did not reduce sentences. Of the 46 out on bond, Haywood and eight others did not show up; they had been spirited away to Russia. The communists said they would make good the bond losses, but never did, though publicly announcing that Haywood went to Russia on orders of the Communist Party.¹³ It soon became plain that the

communists in the IWW were operating under instructions to wreck it.

The discussion did help clarify IWW thinking. It became recognized that putches and insurrections cannot achieve industrial democracy in a complexly industrialized country. IWW periodicals began to put their emphasis on technical articles and descriptions of industrial processes and avoidable wastes. The chief damage done by the Communists to the IWW was the cultivation of the notion of a militant minority, priding itself on its revolutionary consciousness and holding in contempt the mere "union consciousness" of the majority of members. This was to show itself in the lumber strike of September 1923 and later, and do irreparable harm.

1. For events of time, see Borkenau "World Communism."
2. Seattle General Strike: see Crook "The General Strike" for accounts of this and other major general strikes, and W. I. Fisher in *New Solidarity*, No. 16. Perlman & Taft v. IV, p. 440 et seq. *Nation*, 108:487.
3. Butte strike: see *New Solidarity*, issues 15 and 16, and for a record of the scheming on the employer side, a stenographic record published in *Industrial Pioneer*, August 1926. Another bitter strike was fought by the IWW in Butte in April 1920, turned into a job-action strike by the massacre of pickets on Anaconda Road, April 21. (See *OBU Monthly*, June 1920.)
4. Oatman strike: *New Solidarity*, No. 45.
5. Toledo strike: *New Solidarity*, No. 29.
6. Spring AWO Convention. *New Solidarity*, No. 5.
7. Most complete account is Chaplin's "Centralia Conspiracy." See also Jensen, "Labor and Lumber" for affidavits of jurors given in mid-thirties.
8. For circumstances giving rise to OBU, see Logan: "History of Trade Union Organization in Canada," University of Chicago Press.
9. *Solidarity*, No. 137.
10. Fully described by Louis F. Post (Assistant Secretary of Labor) in "The Deportation Delirium of 1920," Kerr & Co.
11. Facts on Philadelphia most clearly given in pamphlet issued by MTW No. 8. It was not reinstated until October 1921.
12. Communist maneuvering most thoroughly documented in Borkenau's "World Communism."
13. Chaplin's "Wobbly" gives details of efforts to induce communists to pay for the loss on bond-jumping.

XI. Peak, Split and Recovery (1922-1929)

In the early twenties, the Marine Transport Workers progressed steadily. It had a firm basis on Philadelphia waterfront, reinstated in October 1921, and among seamen, engine crews and stewards department on Atlantic Coast and Gulf, particularly among the Spanish-speaking personnel.¹ Its expansion into Latin America and its alliance in Britain and elsewhere added to its prestige and to the service it could render its members. The AFL crafts grew increasingly disserviceable. In New York the ILA in the fall of 1920 had struck to keep up with the high cost of living, and its officials, lauded by the press, had broken their own strike.² In 1921 the seamen fought cuts in base rate and overtime that took about half their pay, but the dictatorial action of the President of the Marine Engineers pulled out his craft and broke the strike.³ After that strike an effort was made on West Coast to form a federation of the various crafts, but Furuseth, head of the Seamen's Union fought it from fear that landside workers would have too much to say, and even accused the editor of his Journal of being pro-Wobbly for supporting such an idea. Furuseth developed an anti-IWW mania, charged in Congress that the shipowners were coddling the IWW to disrupt the AFL.⁴ He induced the AFL Convention in Portland, 1923, to authorize an investigation of the IWW on these charges. The IWW wired the convention it would help it investigate, but the challenge was not accepted.⁵

Back of all this was the actual growth of the MTW. The IWW actively participated in all maritime strikes as good union men and won increasing esteem from their fellow workers. Where it could not aim at job control, it recruited the staunchest unionists in all classifications, so that MTW membership became a mark of prestige. Its Maritime

Worker published news of the industry and propaganda for its immediate needs.

In Portland, Ore. the ILA and MTW struck jointly on April 23, 1922 when employers announced that hiring would be through their new "Fink Hall," instead of by the union list system which had worked fairly. The Shipping Board induced the ILA to work its vessels, though this meant going through their own picket line. MTW held a meeting for all strikers and the decision was that all would go through unless ILA quit doing so. The ILA settled for the right to have their man stationed in the Fink Hall. The IWW began a program of job action that brought it considerable growth. In October there was talk of a joint MTW and ILA strike, voted down at ILA meeting by narrow margin of 215 to 200. The employer association tried to bribe the ILA with an agreement providing that no IWW would be hired; the ILA did not sign it, and the strike was on. Some scabs were obtained, but the vessels they loaded made more trouble for their owners when Australian workers refused to unload them. The right to be a Wobbly was thus safeguarded in Portland.⁶

During that same month unsuccessful efforts were made to drive the MTW from Philadelphia and Hoboken. In the former the issues were a blacklist imposed by leading shipping companies and the 44 hour week. The MTW tied up the port from October 27 to November 19, winning its point and remaining solid on the Philadelphia waterfront until 1925. (Its disappearance then seems to have come from the dissatisfaction of its chief personnel over interference by the general organization, though there was little of this after its reinstatement in 1921, and disappointment with the 1924 split in the IWW; this situation, coupled with a threat that vessels would be unloaded at nearby ports where ILA was in control, induced the secretary, Baker, and others to take their following into the ILA.) In Hoboken, October 1922, repeated attacks by thugs, who MTW

said were hired by ILA, also failed to drive them out. In February 1923, the Mobile, Ala., police ordered IWW to take their sign down; the 14 members in the hall held a meeting, decided not to, and went to jail. Others opened up and soon joined them, until they won out. But this sort of fight was eclipsed by the May Day strike.

The General Executive Board had recommended that where members felt they could strike effectively on May 1, 1923, they should do so, primarily to demand the release of all class war prisoners, but also for appropriate economic demands. Many were still in jail on wartime indictments; the number convicted under Criminal Syndicalism laws particularly in California was growing; the Centralia victims were in jail, and a number, such as Mooney and McNamara out of labor trials not connected with IWW. Protest strikes occurred in northwest lumber, on many construction jobs and elsewhere, but nowhere with such effectiveness as in the maritime industry. San Pedro, port of Los Angeles, was tied up tight, as was Aberdeen, and on east coast, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Mobile and Galveston. In most of these ports it was a short protest strike but won pay boosts of 15%. In San Pedro it developed into a lengthy free speech fight on Liberty Hill. It broke out again July 12 when 27 members, many of them seamen, were convicted of Criminal Syndicalism after a long trial in which they defended themselves to enjoy the freedom of saying what they wanted to. This was a five day protest strike in which all shipping in the port was tied up.

The free speech fight in San Pedro was the last such large scale effort by IWW. Various liberals joined the fight, and Upton Sinclair got arrested for reading the Declaration of Independence. Stockades were built and filled with speakers; it was hopeless to arrest the hundreds who joined in mass singing of IWW songs. Young fellows on roof tops made speeches while cops chased them as in movie comedies.⁷ In June of the following year, the morale

of the upper crust was shown by a raid on the San Pedro IWW hall during a social evening; men and women were beaten; young children were scalded in a coffee cauldron; the place was demolished, and five members were taken out into the desert and tarred and feathered.⁸ Light on all this was given by Captain Plummer of the police in the following statement:

"Somebody has been making holy asses of us policemen. Last summer at the time of the harbor strike I went to see old man Hammond. He told me to take a bunch of my men, arm them with clubs, go up on Liberty Hill and break the heads of the Wobblies. I replied that if we did that, they would burn down his lumber piles. 'They will do it anyhow,' he answered. But they didn't. Not an overt act have they committed. The police who raided the IWW hall in San Pedro recently did commit an overt act however. In fact we policemen have been made the tools of the big business interests who want to run things. I'm ashamed of myself for consenting to do their dirty work. The big fellows in this town can do anything they like and get away with it, but the workers can't even think what they want to think without being thrown in jail." ⁹

The Marine Transport Workers reached their peak of influence in 1923. In such a field organization can grow to a sizeable minority on the conviction that there should be the better unionism that it offers; after a certain point it must forge ahead to replace the unionism it has criticized, or its new adherents lose hope and drop out. The MTW could not cross the gap; it was left once more a small minority championing the cause of direct action and industrial solidarity, but completely unable by 1926 to give any support to the British General Strike, or to prevent the shipments of American coal that broke the miner's strike. (Coal from Europe was effectively stopped by unionists.) Its solid core continued and was able in 1934 to put up a good fight once more.

In railroad transportation the IWW has had similar ups and downs, recruiting significant minorities of "two card men" from time to time in the hopes of building the industrial solidarity that all railroad workers realize they have needed. One such wave was in the years following World War I. Their activity prompted Attorney General Daugherty during the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike¹⁰ to charge that the IWW was preparing to take over transportation and the government. Secretary Carlson of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union issued a statement that IWW members in all crafts were backing the shopmen, and that the IWW was quite willing to run railroads or any other industry, but didn't want to bother with the government because they could not see that it was in any way useful.¹¹ Up to the 1924 split there was considerable growth of this Industrial Union particularly among the shopmen in western divisions, though also among train crews.

Despite the persistent strike demand for release of class war prisoners, the IWW of this period aimed deliberately at practicality. A favorite cartoon of the time depicted the sundry radicalisms as pointing at the stars, while the IWW was pointing to the industries, shouting "Organize." A pamphlet of the Construction Workers Industrial Union 310 centered on "Immediate Demands and Ultimate Aims," its argument that only by the unionism that could win immediate demands could workers develop the capacity to achieve the ultimate aim of Industrial Democracy. The outstanding orator of the IWW, James P. Thompson, persistently argued against the theory that a working class beaten down enough would some day turn to revolt with these contentions: the worse off the workers were, the more docile, and the more likely to settle for a bowl of soup; the workingclass was changing from the lot of the man with the hoe, to the man with education, technical training, organization and self-respect; and a workingclass lacking the organized competence to maintain decent job conditions certainly lacked the power to take over industry or the com-

petence to run it. The IWW press emphasized similar teachings; its magazines were given largely to articles on industrial techniques; it started an Industrial Encyclopedia of booklets each giving the history of a major industry, and emphasizing its capital integration and the need for modernized unionism in it.

The Construction Workers of this period were especially engaged in a campaign to improve job conditions, for safety and better living. The large construction projects of the time were built mostly by single men, housed in camp until they made their "stake," then back to a sojourn on the skidroad, and another job. The IWW had largely established free fee or hire on the job, and in many places the job-seeker could stay overnight and clean up before rustling the next camp. Perhaps more effective than the numerous strikes was the less publicized practice of systematizing the quitting. Three weeks was about average stay; if some quit from one to five days earlier than they had planned, and other a few days later, this meant a sizeable number would quit at the same time; without strike, their complaints about job conditions were effective, and usually a job delegate recruited new members out of these men practicing painless unionism. But to raise wages took the consent of absentee management and usually required a strike.

In April 1922 camps of Guthrie and Grant Smith along the Great Northern were struck for pay boost, better conditions and uniform 8 hour day. The men returned May 28 with subcontractors still working their men 10 hours. Mess halls were induced to refuse meals at the hours this schedule required, and soon the general contractor posted notices of a nickel pay boost and 8-hour day for all subcontractors. Strike victories on the Cazadero power project in Oregon and on the Skaggit Tunnel job in Washington soon followed, winning a 50 cent minimum, free blankets and waterproof clothing.

In November two large projects were struck in California, the Hetch Hetchy which was to furnish water for San Francisco, and the Edison power and irrigation project at Big Creek, up in the mountains from Fresno. The Hetch Hetchy strike grew out of organization in some of the camps; the men walked out almost 100 %, but scattered so that non-strikers were needed for picketing, and picketing was important because of the large number of, operations under various subcontractors and various names, and it was the time of year when many of America's most ragged and rugged individualists were heading for "sunny Cal" with "wrinkles in their bellies and flat broke." Because of difficulties maintaining a picket line, the strike was called off December 2nd, with no direct gains; the union had to operate on the job with new faces after the strike, and even mail got opened in company offices.

On the Edison job a major grievance was the cold "nose-bag" at mid-shift in the tunnels when the men wanted a hot lunch. On November 13 a job delegate was fired, and the men in his camp walked out with him. Meeting other IWW's, some of them from Agricultural Workers 110, in Fresno, resulted in a call to strike all camps on the project. All the lower camps came out by the 18th and 3500 strikers staged the largest meeting Fresno had seen in the Opera House. News got to the upper camps, snowbound, through the press, and the men had to improvise skis and snowshoes to get out. The demands were \$6 per day in tunnels and \$7 for shaft men; 50 cents increase for all other labor; 8 hours portal to portal; two men on all machines; hot meals and other improvements. The strike petered out like the one on Hetch-Hetchy. Calling it actually deprived the former strike of manpower necessary to make it effective. The late arrivals from the upper camps were indignant about how it had been called. It was called off Dec. 22, a total loss. Some of the 310 members claimed it would not have been called if it hadn't been for the irresponsibility of the 110 "strawcats" in the valley; that such strikes should

be called only by a conference of delegates from the various camps.

Many of the strikers from both jobs, no longer likely to be hired on these major projects, went to work for the Warren Construction Co. on a job out of Fresno. On January 3, 1923, they struck for reinstatement of a discharged IWW cook, enforcement of sanitary laws, \$4.00 for 8 hours and no discrimination. The company settled, posting a notice of agreement to these terms. A second strike followed January 21 on complaint that company did not live up to its agreement, and additional demands were made, including the right to hold an Open Forum every Wednesday night in camp. There was some dissatisfaction by those who preferred fewer strikes to interfere with the process of making a stake, and this second strike was never definitely settled. The various protest strikes on construction jobs May 1, 1923 increased this apprehension of many construction hands. The problem was actually to enforce IWW teachings of rank and file control against the maneuvers of a professed militant minority.

The major demonstration of this injudiciousness of the "jawsmiths" occurred in the northwest woods. Lumber Workers' Industrial Union had been strong enough to prevent any appreciable reduction of standards in the Harding "return to normalcy" depression, and the extensive construction work of the era made a firm market for lumber. The IWW had the field to itself: the AFL Timberworkers' last battle had been fought at Klamath Falls in 1922, and is surrendered its charter in March 1923.¹² These standards had been kept by innumerable small job actions. The employers now found a divisive force: the gyppo system, or piece work. They brought it in with a sugar coating, letting men earn three and four times as much as they would make at hourly rates, but wiser heads knew this was to get it going: the need to settle prices for each operation would bring individual bargaining, and eventually less pay for more work. It worked out that way in the later

twenties after the union had lost its strength. Opinions among IWW members how to cope with this differed. The general sentiment was that no Wobbly would work gyppo. Many, who took little part except to pay dues and strike with the rest, felt it foolish to pass up big money. A few who knew their economics suggested that given these circumstances of a money-hungry majority, and the current high rates offered for piece-work, the judicious thing was for the union to allow it on the proviso that rates be set for each operation by collective bargaining and kept so high that unit costs would exceed those resulting from hourly rate. Outcome was that those who worked gyppo dropped out of the union. Even more critical was the difference of opinion on the rather haphazard strike policy that had been developing in other industries. May 1, 1923 brought an orderly 4-day protest strike; a longer strike might have broken ranks. There was talk of a September strike but delegates from the camps in conference warned against it, that it might play into the employers' hands. However the "militant minority" who seemed to have talked to each other more than to the men on the job, felt it must be called, to demand release of class war prisoners and had a strike call distributed by airplane, the leaflets fluttering down into one surprised camp after another. The men came out solidly and later made an orderly return to work; but confidence in the union as their instrument was greatly weakened.

This strike was memorable for a side-line activity: the "dehorn squad." This was the prohibition era; but there were bootleggers, and in the Seattle area in particular the "smilo joints," usually operated by Japanese. Knowing that alcohol and strikes don't mix well, that "you can't fight booze and the boss at the same time," the dehorn squads told the smilo joints to close up for the duration of the strike. Those that didn't were closed by Carrie Nation direct action or the threat of it. The daily papers felt they must approve the resultant sobriety of the strike, and could hardly object to union enforcement of the

prohibition law, but felt obliged to denounce such lawlessness just the same, and many of the dehorn squads were thrown in the clink by police who had been tolerating and perhaps profiting from the smilo joints. The IWW was concerned only that booze should not disrupt the strike; it did not champion prohibition, but ridiculed intemperance and did induce most of its members, recruited from a hard-drinking lot, to maintain customary sobriety.¹³

Metal Mine Workers won a strike in Bingham Canyon in September 1922 and at the same time in Butte, getting a 50 cents increase. This was the last IWW strike there, though a skeleton membership was maintained in Butte into the fifties, and considerable organizing effort was made in Butte during the twenties. Company intimidation and the rustling card system make a partial explanation; but since these cards could be obtained easily enough for soapboxers to ridicule the system by tossing them out to the crowd beneath the nose of company gunmen who were the most assured audience, it seems that failure to maintain a union came chiefly because somehow those who favored it figured it hopeless.

An effort was made to organize the oil fields of the southwest early in 1922. Organizers Erwin and Hickey were given 90-day vag sentences. Attorney Mulkes went to Shreveport to defend them, was kidnaped from his hotel and so badly beaten he had to go to hospital. American Civil Liberties Union finding it could not secure an attorney asked American Bar Association to provide one, but none accepted the challenge. Oil Workers Industrial Union sent in more delegates. A number were arrested at Eldorado, Arkansas and Attorney Julian went to their defense. He was jailed with his clients. In court he won freedom for them and himself. Outside the courthouse they were met by a Ku Klux Klan mob; Julian drew his revolver and he and his clients left unmolested.¹⁴

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 without strikes or attempting to bargain, kept

up a steady growth in the early twenties in Chicago, Detroit and other eastern areas, working chiefly on a propaganda and social activity basis. In the harvest fields I.U. 110 kept selling "red ducats": 15,217 in 1923; 9,219 in 1924, and 8,507 in 1925, though the average annual membership for these same years was 6,483, 4,503, and 4,175.

Apart from MTW activities in eastern ports, IWW efforts were largely concentrated in the areas of greatest repression, particularly California where CS prosecutions came in a steady flow. To speed up the effort to jail the whole IWW, Judge Busick issued an injunction against all members so that they could be prosecuted without offering evidence to show that the IWW was in any way unlawful. To prosecute under Criminal Syndicalism statute it was necessary to show membership—regularly stipulated by the defendants—and to make some showing that the IWW practiced or preached sabotage, overthrow of government or other unlawful divertissements. This requirement was filled by two professional witnesses whose credibility could not have been high with any jury; their evidence was a formality to warrant convictions obtained by appeal to prejudice. Judge Busick became notorious also for his practice of arresting the defense witnesses who established their membership in order to qualify their competence to testify. The continued prosecutions, frequently appealed, resulted in stricter requirements for the prosecution and in a growing community perception that the IWW was a commendable rather than a vicious organization. By 1924 in California alone 317 members had been indicted under Criminal Syndicalism and 140 convicted. Sentences were 1-14 years, with prison board handing out a customary 4 year sentence, which with good time off made three calendar years. Over a hundred of the 140 were in San Quentin at one time and they continued their habit of collective action. If one was thrown in the dungeon for some breach of discipline, all struck and were thrown there too. Since the San Quentin bunch consisted

largely of the job conditioning members, they soon set up machinery for reaching such decisions by majority vote instead of being precipitated into them by a minority. Many used their time for education, reviewing and going beyond their school work and taking correspondence courses, several for the mathematics of navigation; they also all bought books on social and labor issues and had a library of their own of close to a thousand volumes, which they kept circulating even though this, like decisions on organization issues, had to be done under guards' eyes during line-ups for meals, etc. Even though the big split of 1924 occurred during this time, and some prisoners were on one side or the other, goodwill and friendliness resulted from these organized procedures, and as they came out they sought to heal the breach. In contrast the men in Leavenworth were largely top officers, speakers, writers whom the job delegates often considered somewhat like *prima donnas*; the enmities that developed among them are generally considered the major source of the disastrous split of 1924. The fact that the IWW grew from the war years to the 1924 split, and that this disaster occurred when these leaders were released, does not fit in with the conclusion of Perlman and Taft and other historians that the decline of the IWW was due to the loss of its leadership by imprisonment. The collective action of the IWW's in San Quentin, by attracting attention to routine bad conditions resulted in a great improvement in the diet.¹⁵

The IWW split wide open in 1924. On the surface the issue was over the degree of centralization, but its causes lay deeper; personal rancors developed in Leavenworth, especially over the issue of accepting conditional pardons, found vent in it; dissatisfaction with the haphazard strike policy and the associated fear of lumber and construction workers that the "strawcats" were trying to lead them around by the nose, also underlay it. The immediate circumstance leading to it was the reorganization of the general administration in 1923, so that it consisted of gen-

eral secretary, general organizer and the chairman of the general organization committee of each industrial union. A rule that GEB sessions could be called by a two-thirds vote led to a situation where some said a two-thirds vote had called one and others said no and both had arguable cases. Two IWW's as a result competed for survival, one getting its name Four Trey because it moved from 1001 Madison Street to 3333 W. Belmont, Chicago (this being the body that exists to the present day), and the other body because of its "Emergency Program," dubbed the EP's. The EP was the smaller, but most members dropped out the middle.¹⁶ Whatever its explanation, most IWW oldtimers consider this 1924 split the definitely worst thing that ever happened to it. Considering how the IWW had gone ahead to this event in years when the AFL was declining, it seems possible that if it had been avoided, and even more had the underlying factors been avoided, the IWW might have retained stability in the lumber industry and achieved it at least in general construction, metal mining and marine transport. As it was the woods went unorganized and gyppo; the only construction strike in the 20's after the split was one at Natron cut-off. It showed its vitality only in new fields, particularly coal mining.

The first large IWW coal strike was in Alberta, Canada, where the miners, fighting UMW check-off since it did not actually represent them, had gone into the Canadian One Big Union. In 1924 the lumber workers and coal miners of the OBU switched affiliation to the IWW. They struck in November 1925 for abolition of this taxation without representation; companies offered a 10% increase if they would continue to accept the checkoff; this was refused as a bribe.¹⁶

In Colorado the coal miners were unorganized. A. S. Embree who had formerly been an active organizer among metal miners, settled in southern Colorado after his release from a criminal syndicalism sentence in Idaho, and slowly built the skeleton

of a coal miners' union among the veterans of the fight of 1914 and their sons. Progress was inconspicuous up to the Sacco-Vanzetti protest demonstrations of August 1927. The IWW had joined in the world-wide protest, and pulled one day protest strikes where it could, but the outstanding response was among the miners of southern Colorado. Of the 12,000 miners in Colorado, of whom about half were employed by Colorado Fuel & Iron, the 6000 in the south struck almost to a man on August 21, and stayed out three days to assure no discrimination. Organization grew faster, and on September 8 a conference was held at Aguilar to formulate economic demands. Colorado law required 30-day notice before a strike and this notice was given at that time. The State Industrial Commission said the notice must be given by the miners, not by the IWW. The IWW suggested that the Commission check on whether it represented the men by holding meetings at each mine and taking a vote. The commission declined the proposal, and though the strike was postponed to October 18 in efforts to meet the requirements of legality, the Commission held the strike outlaw, and the strikers fair prey for the mounted police who could harass any gathering of them as unlawful. Demands were a daily wage of \$7.50, checkweighmen, payment for "dead work" and recognition of pit committees and the miners' organization. Technically this was not the IWW, but the organization of all miners who would agree to stand by these demands whether IWW or not.

There are three coal fields in Colorado; this was the first time all three had been struck together. To assure completeness a caravan of singing miners left Lafayette in the north and trekked to Walsenburg by November 4th, leaving the habit of singing "Solidarity Forever" behind them. The open enemy was the state police. Strike meetings were harassed by them and by low-flying planes zooming close to the heads of the miners and their families who also attended. This hazard was least if the meeting were held near a mine tipple, and various mine owners

were not as ferocious as their uniformed watchdogs. One such customary spot for meetings was the Columbine Mine of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. There on November 21 the state police turned machine guns on the miners, killing six and wounding many. On January 12 the hall at Walsenburg was raided and Chavez and Martinez killed. But these were only the murders in a campaign of terrorism.

Companies eventually offered a dollar a day increase in the south and 50 cents in the north, bringing the scale to the second highest, and on February 19 the miners voted to return to work. Following the strike came elections of pit committees and checkweighmen and procedure for grievances. White cards of the striking miners had been issued during the dispute with IWW cards only to a minority. It was a significant victory and all considered it an IWW strike, for UMWA did not participate, but little unionism came out of it, though efforts continued into the early thirties and a number of locals were maintained which assured election of checkweighmen and pit committees. This situation seems to have grown out of the strike arrangements with little actual union recruiting. It was later found that some officers of the union were planning during the strike to form a new miners body out of the Colorado miners, the Kansas followers of Howatt and dissatisfied miners elsewhere as those who followed the communist line in Pennsylvania and those who were to step over the traces in Illinois a few years later. Suits against Governor Adams and Louis Scherf, head of the police and who personally gave the order to shoot at Columbine, were lodged and dragged along to 1932 to claim damages for the widow of George Eastenes and other victims; but the court turned thumbs down.

A major organizing drive followed in 1929 in the Illinois coal fields where miners were under UMWA check-off, but chafing under it and divided as Fishwick men, Lewis-men and what not. The communists, who had switched from their no left wing

union program, attempted to horn in also. The IWW secured a considerable two-card membership around Benld and Collinsville. When the communist National Miners union announced a statewide strike for Dec. 9, 1929, it had no following among the Illinois miners, but precipitated a strike at Taylorville by putting out a picket line which brought in the militia. The miners there struck only to demand removal of the troops. The National Miners then picked out a mine where the IWW had about a third of the miners as two-card men, and picketed there, saying it was part of a statewide strike. The miners struck for the day to ascertain what the facts were, and voted with only one dissenting vote to return to work next day. This led to communist accusations of scabbing by the IWW. Batteries of speakers were brought by IWW into the Illinois coal fields and a sizeable membership built up. In the many cornered fight in 1932 the IWW withdrew its organizers to avoid a situation where no matter what they did they would be cats-paws for one or another of the warring factions. They left the miners with ideals how a union should be run and advised them to try to make whatever union they found themselves in live as close as possible to those ideals.

Temporary success came among the gypsum miners employed by U. S. Gypsum Company in the vicinity of Oakfield, N. Y. They struck in February against a cut from 51 to 45 cents a ton and settled on April 26 for an increase to 75 cents a ton. A local of I.U. 210 was established, but despite the victory and repeated efforts to maintain organization, the local died. The crutch of a contract might have made for stability, but the IWW expected grown-up men, as their columnist T-Bone Slim said, to be big enough to pay their own dues without a check-off. The repeated allegation that the IWW did not try to maintain organization after a strike is certainly not true of any of its strikes during the twenties, if it is true of its strikes at anytime.

1. For this reason, activities are more fully chronicled in *Solidaridad* and *Cultura Obrera* than in English language publications.

2. Perlman & Taft, Vol. IV, p. 452. 3. Ibid, p. 495.
4. Gambs, op. cit., p. 138: Congressional Record, Vol. 62, pp. 2124 and 4500, and West in "Survey," Oct. 14, 1923.
5. Wire given in Solidarity, Nov. 8, 1923.
6. Solidarity, Nos. 218-9, and pamphlet containing affidavits issued by Portland Branch MTW.
7. From accounts of the time, Solidarity, No. 238 et seq. Descriptions are given by Upton Sinclair in his novel "Oil" and his play "Singing Jailbirds"; another outstanding novel, Poole's "The Harbor," relates to MTW activities in the New York harbor strike of 1919.
8. Ind. Worker, June 25, 1924; detailed account and photos in pamphlet "The Blood-Stained Trail," issued by Industrial Worker, but not officially approved by IWW because of various inaccuracies; it does however contain much valuable material supplementary to this history.
9. Quoted in letter from Clinton J. Taft of ACLU who heard the statement in Gambs, op. cit. pp. 49-50.
11. Given in Solidarity, 1930; for strike situation see Perlman & Taft, 519.
12. Jensen: "Labor and Lumber."
13. This "de-horn" activity written in various papers at time; Seattle Star, Sept. 7, 1923, Union Record, Sept. 6, and denounced by Mencken at time as puritanism.
14. Solidarity, Nos. 168-177.
15. Most complete account of Criminal Syndicalism is in Dowell's scholarly "History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation," Johns Hopkins University, 1939. Much of the Wobbly library in San Quentin was sent to Work Peoples College, Duluth, and used there as it was a residential labor school controlled by IWW, chiefly supported by its Finnish members; some is still in circulation, dog-eared, in San Quentin.
16. The EP started publication Industrial Unionist in Portland in April 1925, ceased publication June 1926; later issued the New Unionist in Los Angeles, which appeared off and on to 1931 as last gesture of a union that had died.

Other sources for items not given: IWW press of the time and personal knowledge of events; Colorado strike described in "25 Years of Industrial Unionism" and fairly adequately in Gambs.

XII. The Stimulus of Depression (1930-'40)

The stock market crashed in October 1929 as accurately predicted by the Industrial Worker. Constriction of business activity, lay-offs, wage-cuts and the Big Depression followed, just as the IWW right along had been saying was the certain consequence of the increasing exploitation of labor. The IWW had no doubt what labor should do: resist all wage cuts to make them expensive; organize the jobless so that they would no longer menace those who still had jobs, while these fought to cut the workday and raise real hourly rates; back all demands with the determination that if employers did not employ, the working class could dispense with their disservices and establish planned abundance.

The IWW made a tremendous propaganda effort. Its effects cannot be measured, but the outstanding fact of the thirties remains this: For the first time a labor movement instead of shrinking in a depression, grew as never before. This turn from abjectness preceded Roosevelt and the Blue Eagle. AFL propaganda of the early thirties was craft union echoing of the assurance that business was sound. The various radical propagandas focused on political issues. The healthy change in labor attitudes can thus largely be attributed to the millions of pieces of IWW literature, straight to the point, issued at factories or where the unemployed gathered, and to the IWW soapboxers who held meetings daily at factory gates and at streetcorners in the evening, establishing regular schedules in even out-of-the-way places that they had to reach by box-cars or hitch-hiking.

This propaganda effort was constructive, educational, and put on by flat-broke members of a flat-broke union. The IWW had never recovered from the 1924 split. It lost its building and printing plant into which it sunk all its resources. To economize in 1929 it replaced its various Industrial Union of-

fices with a Clearing House run by its general secretary. Even so the general secretary taking office in November 1932 found \$29.00 cash all told with which to pay back wages, run the office, pay accumulated printing bills, and the industrial union funds that had been loaned to the General Office. Within a year it was all in the black again, but with less than a thousand dollars to run on. The campaign among miners in Illinois had like that in Colorado, meant expenses instead of income, and in May 1930 it was thrust willy-nilly into the Harlan, Kentucky fight.

Harlan had been UMWA territory to 1924; after that a faithful few held the charter. Some IWW literature falling by chance among these miners as they faced 10% cuts led them to write the IWW for information, and to organize themselves into I.U. 220. Their local charter was in the mail when headlines told of the battle of Harlan and of the arrest of over a score of miners charged with murder. The IWW General Defense Committee undertook impartially the defense of members and non-members. Its field representatives were beaten up, and so were visiting journalists. Communists nosed in but got no following. Illinois miners and Colorado miners responded to appeals for help. The picture developed in the courts was very different from that originally given in the papers; many were acquitted, all saved from the death penalty, and the last were released in 1941.¹

In February 1931 the IWW stirred up its own members and sympathizers to greater activity with a leaflet "Bread Lines or Picket Lines," very widely distributed. This urged that the unemployed organize either in IWW or out of it, so that they could assure those still working that they would not scab; and then by demonstrations outside plants that cut pay or worked longer than normal days, promote action to abate the depression. In execution the program became much modified: the unemployed helped picket in strikes called independently of this

program; it was approximated among job-seekers at out-of-town construction jobs, for example Cle Ellum, and the Portland Unemployed Union did assure success to a small loggers' strike. These Unemployed Unions were formed to provide housing and food for footloose jobless members while they carried on IWW agitation. The UU at 2005 W. Harrison, Chicago held meetings outdoors nightly throughout the city, sold over a thousand IWW papers a week and many pamphlets, solicited their own food in the large markets, defrayed rent etc. from proceeds of social affairs. A similar venture in New York made publicity even out of its move from E. 10th St. to larger quarters at 133 W. 14th, and accommodated personnel for an organization drive in eastern industrial centers that did much educational work though it secured few members. In Seattle the less spectacular 6 Hour Committee did its most effective work through influence in other unions to demand shorter workdays. The Portland UU beside housing soapboxers and leaflet peddlers, managed to provide the food for the unorganized lumber workers at Biex Logging when they struck and won them a 25% pay boost. The chief result of this agitation everywhere was that the morale of the unemployed became such that workers dared to strike.

Construction Workers Industrial Union 310 was active through these "threadbare thirties." It set out to organize among the jobseekers at Boulder Dam in April 1931. Those who were union minded were welcome at the Wobbly jungles just outside the reservation while they waited to rustle jobs. On the reservation 11 were arrested for promoting the union on July 15. On August 7 a wage cut of a dollar a day was announced. IWW speakers rallied the men as they came off shift and got 1400 to assemble at the cookhouse. On the 9th the Bix Six Companies tried to deport the strike committee in locked trucks, but the Federal Marshall set them free. Jobseekers and local merchants favored the strike, and even its 6 hour day demand. On the 12th

Young of the Reclamation Bureau ordered all strikers off the reservation. The IWW called the strike off so they could remain, but insisted their demands still stood.

Boulder Dam was a speed-up job, rushed ahead of schedule, where state safety laws were daily violated and where men collapsed from gas. By October 1932 when I.U. 310 held its convention in Las Vegas, 127 workers on the job had been killed. By that time a prolonged free press fight had convinced the Bureau that it might as well abide by the Bill of Rights, after repeated arrests and deportations of men selling the Industrial Worker. The final effort of the IWW on the job was made August 16, 1933 in desperation as all suspected of IWW sympathy were being fired. Those not yet fired passed handbills in the mess hall; those already fired tried to rally the men to demand safety, 6-hour day and no discrimination, but the majority went to work and there was no strike. This is the only instance known of the IWW attempting a strike and none developing. It occurred on a government project among bulldozed workers fearful of the loss of a job, in the daze of the New Deal, and working for a dollar a day less than the low of the Hoover era.

Near Cle Ellum, Washington 250 men were working for the Lahar Construction Co. on an irrigation dam for 30 cents an hour. As many again waited around town or in the jungles for a job—these were the days when any freight train might have 300 free riders. IWW members sounded out men on the job, in the jungles and the merchants in the towns nearby; there was agreement that if the men struck for a dime more an hour, the unemployed would not take their jobs, and the merchants would provide beans and bacon. The company saw the situation and granted the dime boost, in a short strike May 11, 1932. The job was 100% organized. A second strike in October raised the rate to 45 cents with walk to work on the company time instead of on one's own.

Other major efforts by this I. U. 310 were made to organize the Mississippi Bridge job near New Orleans (summer of 1933); on the Los Angeles Aqueduct, where organizers had to demand jury trials to stop arrests for vagrancy; on the Fort Peck job in Montana, where it won a \$15 boost for commissary workers, on the New York Water Tunnel and among WPA workers. Only on the WPA jobs did it win managerial recognition, but on all these it recruited men and agitated for better conditions and achieved them.

The days of the old harvest drives were over, but Agricultural Workers I. U. 110 fought battles for families of "fruit glommers" in Yakima in 1933 and in Watsonville, Calif. in 1939. The Yakima skirmish started with a strike of 200 hop pickers in May. Some had been earning as little as 75 cents for 10 hours. Picket lines were crashed by ranchers' cars; one picket was run over and many arrested. On June 3 the strike ended with a 50% increase in piece rates. The IWW stayed active in Yakima, solidifying "homeguards" and migratories for action in successive crops. Strikes were on again in August; on the 25th over a hundred were put in a stockade. Mike Capelik, disabled veteran who represented the General Defense Committee, visited the jail, was held for the convenience of a vigilante mob who drove him 40 miles away, beat him and covered him with glue. The trial of arrested pickets was postponed to December. The Yakima Central Labor Council elected its own labor jury to keep an eye on proceedings; all were released on the 17th of December. The IWW local organization in Yakima persisted for several years without further strikes, but holding socials and lectures through winter months.

The major IWW efforts of this period were made in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and particularly Cleveland. In New York the Marine Transport Workers at a time when seamen's unionism was at ebb tide, started off the decade with a spectacular

meeting of the 1700 crew members aboard the *Leviathan*, then the world's largest vessel, April 9, 1930. No major waterfront action occurred, despite steady organizing, until the strike of 1934, though there was a victorious fight for the right to speak at Coenties Slip and repeated squabbles with the Muscovite Marine Workers League. A branch of the MTW had been started at Stettin, Germany, in 1929, and it became part of the anti-Hitler underground, with the MTW getting its supplies of the thinnest paper, ink, etc. ashore to it; eventually contact was lost. A local of Building Workers I.U. 330 was started in New York in 1930; agitation among cafeteria workers was stepped up when an attractive hall noted for its class struggle murals was opened on Fifth Avenue; the good start in this field was undone by conniving between AFL and Communist racketeers.² Also a local of Municipal Transport Workers for bus and subway employees, was launched and later a campaign among apartment house janitors, called superintendents in New York's provincial dialect.

In Philadelphia as the ILA agreement neared expiration in September 1930, Wobbly speakers addressed longshoremen from Richmond to Point Breeze on the grievances endured since they had left IWW in 1925, but the ILA won. During the Cuban general strike of 1933, IWW picketed to stop the unloading of scab-loaded sugar. That year a drive started among stonemasons, largely Italian, building suburban homes. Rates were far below AFL building trade scale, and competition so keen among the petty employers that rates could be raised only a trifle at a time by repeated short strikes progressing into 1936, by which time I.U. 330 had organized the quarry workers too. In this campaign the IWW found it was impeded by its anti-Mussolini propaganda, featured especially in its *Il Proletario*; many of these workers believed Mussolini was trying to get them a syndicalist commonwealth, and pointed to his labor head, Edmondo Rossoni, a former MTW-IWW organizer who first

turned to Italian nationalism from his American experience with the additional exploitation Italian workers here suffered under the padrone system.³ Among other groups the IWW won a 25% boost at Denston Felt & Hair Co. with the provision that all should hire through IWW hall, but subsequent indifference developed. During 1933-4 at the RCA Camden plant, noonday speeches, leaflets, house-to-house visiting rallied a sizeable membership, but not enough to win the plant. Successes were scored on a smaller scale: Women who knitted at home for Mrs. Franklin's Shops, Inc., raised their rates by a third. In the swank suburbs there are pockets of Negroes who do the laundry, mow the lawns and tend the golf greens. These organized and glowed with pride when organizer James Price refused to meet the links committee in their clubhouse unless the strike committee came along too. To save hall rent, they held their IWW meetings in a church they had recently built and of whose congregation they were the majority. Their first meeting in the church was opened with a few words of prayer by a venerable deacon who thanked the Lord that though He had not blest these men and women with the good things of life, He had given them the good sense to organize and go after them. A drive among the private enterprise garbage crews was stopped by hoodlumism.

The Marine Transport Workers put up some hard fights and lost some good men. In the early thirties it held forth the demand of the 4 watch system, and the restoration of the old Shipping Board manning and wage scale; in the later thirties, as competitive unions split maritime labor asunder, its main concern was mutual respect for all picket lines and solidarity in all strikes. In the Gulf in the early thirties only Lykes Brothers paid the old scale of \$62.50 for AB's (able-bodied seamen) but cut that to \$50 for time in port. Other lines pared rates even slimmer, down to Luckenbach's low of \$33 a month. As of early 1933, the ILA had longshoremen on Atlantic and Gulf coasts and the port of

Tacoma; San Francisco longshoremen had been in an employer-dominated "blue card" association since 1921, but organized an ILA local that year; on the east coast the old Seamen's Union was as good as dead; Great Lakes and Inland waterways were unorganized; on West Coast the Sailors' Union of Pacific retained some life.⁴ On May First 1934 the ILA struck the Gulf ports. Originally to support them so that crews would not furnish steam or assist scabs, the MTW issued leaflets urging crews to back the longshoremen and suggesting they go after demands for themselves. Outcome was packed meetings in IWW halls to demand the old Shipping Board scale. Lykes promptly agreed to end its port pay cut. With the longshoremen back and victorious, the MTW called off its strike May 31 with the intent of calling quickies on the various lines paying less than Lykes. This was a hectic waterfront month: the big west coast strike had started May 9 with the Frisco longshoremen, followed by other unions and the development for a few years of Maritime Federation of the Pacific; the IWW hall in San Francisco was raided during the big strike, and later the City agreed to pay \$100.00 damages. During this time in Baltimore the IWW tied up the West Eldarado, the first time in nine years that an American ship on foreign run had been held up.

Results for IWW on east and west coasts were quite different. On the Atlantic the surprise action of the MTW led the mossgrown ISU to secure contracts from 28 lines on the assurance that it would keep "irresponsible agitators" from shipping. The communists, who had changed their Marine Workers League into a Maritime Workers Industrial Union, attempted a protest strike against these contracts; when it flopped, they switched back to boring from within. On West Coast at first the MTW found cooperation with the SUP fairly easy out of a joint fondness for "quickies" and an aversion to the political maneuvers of the clique around Bridges. This West Coast militancy and sense of solidarity irritated the resurrected ISU, and as it

was nominally the parent organization for the SUP, it revoked this west coast charter at its February 1936 convention. It was perhaps even more irritated because West Coast rates were higher. On March 2, 1936 the ISU crew of the SS California struck in San Pedro to demand West Coast rates; Madame Perkins phoned that the issue would be settled when it got back east; on arrival in New York the crew was fired with the blessings of the ISU. Protest strikes under Curran that followed were the conception of the National Maritime Union. On Sept. 12, 1936 the IWW tied up the SS San Jose in Philadelphia as it was carrying explosives to Franco; the New York ISU sent a crew to board it unwittingly in midstream.

When the SUP contract expired Sept. 30, 1936, union minded seamen on Atlantic and Gulf wanted to grab the opportunity to achieve equality with the west coast and whatever it gained anew, and thus strengthen it. Instead the ISU hired scabs in the Great Lakes area in an attempt to break the West Coast strike, as its own members refused to scab. The ISU was hampering solidarity action wherever it could. One of its fink-herders shot an IWW member John Kane as Kane stopped him from taking off with the Marine Firemen's records, in Houston. MTW and SUP pickets tied up all Pacific vessels as they reached eastern ports; in so doing another IWW seaman Blackie Hyman was killed in Philadelphia. MTW members fought through the east coast strike called off on tankers Dec. 31, and sought to keep cargo and passenger vessels still hot after that, but the fight deteriorated into political conniving in Washington, and the birth of NMU. This development in turn soon brought about a waterfront "cold war" in which Lundberg of SUP and Curran of NMU each brought their membership to heel with the threat that the other union would steal their jobs: thus Curran got acceptance of unfavorable contracts, and Lundberg, as a trade for ILA support in jurisdictional squabbles, got members to OK return to the "union" in

1938 that had hired scabs to use against them in 1936—it changed its name from Int'l Seamen's Union to Seafarers Int'l Union.

Next imposition on the corraled but disunited seamen was the Copeland Continuous Discharge or Fink Book. The MTW tried to rally the growing list of maritime unions to refuse to accept this. Two MTW members even obtained a court order requiring Philadelphia shipping master not to demand the fink book as a condition for shipment. (One of them Harry Owens, a soapboxer who helped in various campaigns when not at sea, soon after was killed in Spanish Civil War, where he too found politicians exploiting the needs of labor to put themselves in the saddle.) There followed the US Maritime Commission "Fink Hall" to put an end to shipping through union halls; SUP and MTW pickets prevented its use while Curran and the communists tried to make a grab by telling NMU members to ship through it; NMU rank and file was so disgusted that the Muscovites had to pack NMU meetings with furriers to keep control. At the end of the decade the MTW was the same minority arguing for basic unionism as at the beginning, but stronger and sturdier, only now surrounded by workers under contract.

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 almost organized the auto industry of Detroit, flopped, then achieved for the IWW a hitherto unparalleled stability in Cleveland. In Detroit in 1932 the IWW had a small but solid basis of seasoned members with extensive contacts who had moved into a good hall at 3747 Woodward capable of accommodating a thousand, where socials, lectures, dances, plays etc. kept up a good attendance. Through 1932 it engaged in extensive general propaganda, soap-boxing, leaflet passing, recruiting additional members. In January 1933 the local labor temper changed: a series of strikes which the IWW did not call but in which it participated, changed the local picture. First the 600 tool and die makers

at Briggs Vernor plant on January 11; Motor Products on January 20; 6000 production workers at Briggs Manufacturing on January 23, and next day the Vernor plant out in support of these newcomers; Murray Body January 27. These were all strikes against wage cuts. On February 7th men at Hudson Body struck for a pay boost. At the largest of these, the Briggs strike, organizer Frank Cedervall made daily pep talks but without mentioning his IWW connections. Soon various groups sought to get control of the strike, and the IWW opened a branch office near the struck plants and started recruiting members from strikers and from the industry generally. Its prime argument was industrial solidarity, as opposed to William Green's "Tentative Plan" for federal unions which the various crafts would soon dismember.

Through the summer of 1933 the IWW in Detroit passed out an estimated two million pieces of paper specially mimeographed for the situations where they were distributed, beside large quantities of printed general appeals; this kept an organization crew busy at every change of shift; at lunch periods they staged meetings at the plants; in spare time they cranked the mimeograph or made house-to-house visits. In addition there were daily radio programs over WEXL which though aimed at auto workers, brought the start of a railroad workers campaign.

First IWW action of the season was among metal finishers at Briggs Highland Park plant. Wobblies were a minority among them, but they struck on second shift for a 10% pay boost, sitting down to get it. After shift they came to IWW hall and organized for action at 6 a.m., and won the 10% for several departments. With growth of a skeleton membership in every major plant, the IWW moved to a larger hall on Sproat Street, a lavish front for the growing union; in the kitchen back of it, the organizers survived on bread and beans and slept on benches. The drive centered on the Murray

Body plant with the unfortunate result that the dribble of recruits swelled into significant numbers only on the eve of lay-offs due to changeover in body designs. Men who joined the union and were laid off within a week felt it was discrimination, especially as departments were thinned out rather than closed down; since it was these men, and not the non-unionists, who came to the union hall, the same interpretation gained ground there. A meeting of men from all departments decided to send in a committee the next day to ask for rotation of work during changeover. Management insisted there was no discrimination and that rotation was unworkable; the committee asked for acceptance in principle, each department to work it out so that the men available under the plan were those technically competent for the work on hand. Management felt it was going far in receiving a committee without knowing to what extent it represented the men, and would make no commitment beyond the declaration that it intended no discrimination. The committee went to their nearby branch hall and by a ballot, with only one negative vote, decided to pull the plant. It needed only a signal from the street for members inside to blow whistles, shut off power, and bring the whole force to a vacant lot for speeches. The strike started September 27 with enthusiasm, but since there was no urgent need for more men than supervision with a few favorites could provide, the strike was doomed to fritter away and was called off November 12. In retrospect it was later felt that had the committee used the sudden strike at 11 a.m. as a rally to show the men were behind the rotation plan, and sent them back at noon the union could have given some protection to the men, gained prestige in other plants, and even used the laid off men as part time organizers to develop the already started membership in most other plants in the city.

The loss of the Murray strike was the loss of the campaign in Detroit. Early in it the big hall and the radio program were dropped. A block system

to provide pickets and contact with those who didn't show up was an economy measure that foreshadowed the wartime "share-the-ride" system. Through the strike, but on a reduced scale, organizing efforts continued at other plants; and after it house-to-house visiting centered on the Murray recruits; yet all but a few of the newly won members dropped out and new recruits became rare. The IWW in Detroit was left with most of its members the unswerving Finns and Hungarians who had constituted its backbone in 1930. But the new members were activists who planted a seed in the American labor movement: the sit-down. Some of the Murray metal finishers moved to Hudson Body and there in Dept. 3760 they pulled such sitdowns as they had used at Briggs Highland Park but this time with little cards that the IWW mimeographed reading "Sit Down and Watch Your Pay Go Up." The men did as the cards said and their pay did go up, in five successive increases during February and March 1934. (It seems one of these men visiting a friend in Akron a couple of years later sparked off the great wave of sitdowns of 1937.) Job action with similar techniques (primarily designed to show the IWW was inside the plant rather than outside it) won improvements at Budd Wheel and cleaned up the spray booth even at the lost Murray Body plant.

These slight successes put the union in no shape to seize the opportunities presented by 1934 when through the auto industry there was hope for a general strike and growing suspicion of the AFL and its domineering policy of appointing disliked personnel and its threat of craft division. In the spring 230,000 workers were finding that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and accepted the General Motors representation plan. Self-critical Wobs contemplated what they might have been able to do had they not lost all their eggs in one Murray Body basket. In later years, with some revival of the IWW in the area, they consoled themselves that whatever commendable distinctions Detroit union-

ism showed could be attributed to the unflagging propaganda efforts of 1933-4.

Meanwhile preliminary spadework for an organization campaign had been done in Cleveland with much leaflet passing and noon-day speaking by Jim Corrigan, old anarchist who never let a dogma interfere with his sense of humor. (During the Sacco-Vanzetti protest of 1927 when a scheduled demonstration was forbidden, he had loaded all the banners and signs on a wagon, hitched up the most decrepit nag he could find, and meandered down Euclid Avenue, tying up traffic, explaining in extenso and loudly to all interfering policemen that since the demonstration was forbidden he had to take the signs away to hide them.) The Bermunkas office on Buckeye Road was near a number of small plants and for a while the IWW concentrated on these smaller units, keeping that office continuously open for those who called in response to meetings in front of shops or leaflets. The Cedervalls and other organizers gradually shifted from Detroit and a wide campaign was on again for I.U. 440. A total of twenty plants got organized in the process, most of them medium size, some of them lost soon after organizing, but out of it continuous bargaining through the IWW continued at most of them from 1934 to 1950 when the union still lived on—and does to this day—but felt obliged under Taft-Hartley requirements and IWW refusal to sign affidavits, to disaffiliate.

First in the series (omitting a victory at Ferro Foundry in 1933 that resulted in no permanent union) was the enameling division of Ohio Foundry in April 1934. Next Accurate Parts with a two hour strike on April 28. At Draper Steel Barrel a few enthusiasts for the new union got alarmed at the formation of an inside union, struck and got a promise of no company promotion and recognition of the committee to process grievances of union members. Two small metal container plants, Perfection Metal Container and Permold, followed. On

June 7 collision with the company union at Draper led to a strike that lasted to Sept. 10. During it word came that orders were shifted to a plant at Niles near Youngstown; a caravan of strikers went there, found it organized in AFL and got the men to demand of management that no struck work be accepted. AFL officials in Cleveland were not so union minded and took the company union under their wing. The Regional Labor Board offered a no discrimination settlement; I.U. 440 proposed return to work on promise that Labor Board election would be held and winner would get 100% union shop; the IWW won by a narrow majority of 93-75. Unionism grew solid in the plant, even after it was taken over by Jones & Laughlin, and members there brought in additional plants later.

While the three month strike was in process at Draper, noon-day talks continued at two of the city's larger plants, American Stove, maker of Magic Chef ranges, and National Screw, a major auto industry supplier. June 14 the committee was recognized to act for its members at American Stove. Organization grew at Cleveland Wire Spring. On October 1 a three day strike won recognition at Republic Brass. (All these victories were accompanied by wage increases, considered at the moment more important than recognition.) At Cleveland Wire Spring there was trouble with the company union and a strike was voted October 23 against the best judgment of the organizers. This became the first in a series of concurrent bitter fights that almost wrecked the new union; hired thugs attacked pickets and injunctions restrained the number of pickets; many were arrested for telling scabs what they thought of them; fights developed near the homes of scabs, and the strike dragged on through the winter. Before it was over the IWW was involved in two larger strikes, that of the charwomen at a group of the largest downtown buildings, including Terminal Tower, and at National Screw.

The charwomen's strike required a picket line long enough to circle the several blocks the buildings occupied, and members off shift helped fill it out. Their banners asked if \$2.50 was too much to ask for scrubbing floors at night. Public sympathy was with them, and the antics of Captain Savage of the police force led all papers to deride his frequent arrest of the charwomen. The manager was a Regional Labor Board member, and one picket sign read:

"Snead is on the NRA.

He hauls scabs here everyday."

Mysterious cars intimidated the women by following them home; the Cedervall brothers were waylaid New Years Eve as they left the hall where they stacked the picket signs, and badly beaten. The AFL attempted to make a settlement without asking strikers or union. About the same time papers carried a scare headline about dynamite being found in the ventilating system of the Terminal Tower, the first of a series eventually depicting the IWW as terrorists. The strike dragged on through the winter.

On February 8, 1935 the men at the most recently and only partially organized plant, National Screw, struck also, though the charwomen's strike and that at Cleveland Wire Spring was more than the union could handle. It had been encouraging in January to add more small brass shops to the union list, Cochran and Holland Trolley, recognition at Dill Manufacturing, maker of most of the nation's tire valves, and recognition at National Screw with the promise of a 10% boost for its 1350 employees. Later National Screw claimed it had made no such promise and the men struck. When they had been out a few days and collected their pay, it contained a five cent boost. It was suggested to strike committee that they consider accepting this as a temporary settlement, go back with their more than doubled membership, and look for more later; but

the committee felt it should hold out for the whole dime. Former bootleg gangsters now that prohibition was over were on hand to beat pickets and break picket lines; the strike grew weaker with increasing violence. Stench bombs were thrown in the IWW office; one that didn't break there was returned through the head gangster's window the same way, and the gangsters were out to get the IWW. The hall was now protected, and organizers at night moved with others a distance behind them; but papers began carrying stories of bomb outrages at loyal workers' homes. Mystified IWW officers checked and found repeatedly that those living at these addresses were not involved in any dispute. A member arrested for a picket line altercation got thrown in with a character who evidently believed the papers and started discussing rates for various window breakings and bombings, and indicating that plate glass suppliers, some building trades officials and those interested in what brand beer certain taverns served, all had a pool for such services. Anyway there was extensive vandalism and the IWW got the blame. Police raided the home of Mike Lindway, master mechanic at National Screw, and an enthusiastic unionist, without a search warrant or witnesses, and claimed to discover an arsenal there. Lindway was convicted. To sustain the conviction the Ohio Supreme Court had to overrule both the Appellate Court and its own previous decisions, to deny that federal search and seizure provisions applied to Ohio. Frank Cederevall was arrested on the charge of threatening the secretary of the company union. The prosecution had a large number of witnesses to the alleged threat. Attorney Wolfe moved that they be separated. Thus they could not hear the cross examination of their predecessors. One after the other repeated their story letter perfect in a singsong but all disagreed on cross examination about the weather, whether they were standing and the defendant sitting, or vice versa and all other relevant circumstances. Soon the jury was smiling and tapping a rhythm to their sing song,

and acquitted the organizer. Over 200 were arrested during the strike, with many jury trials, but the only convictions were Lindway and Bart Dudek, who had escorted his fiancée through the thugs with a revolver in his car.

But legal victories did not win strikes. All three had to be called off, the AFL accepting the Cleveland Wire Spring. The blow would have knocked out the IWW as the Murray strike did in Detroit, had it not been for solid organization in various other shops. Within a year it was as effective as before, winning new shops and new gains in old ones. But meanwhile the IWW spotlight shifted to the woods of Idaho and elsewhere.

The Lumber Workers had been hit hardest of all industrial unions by the 1924 split. It recovered slowly to a peak in 1936 and declined again. It helped in the unorganized Grays Harbor strike of 1932 and acquired a few members afterwards there, but when the AFL Timberworkers campaigned and struck in 1935, it could play only second fiddle in the long log region of its greatest historic triumphs. It staged a serious campaign in the short log country east of the hump. Organizers went through camp after camp in the white pine country, getting meetings going after supper before the office force could prevent it, talking union and distributing a straw ballot to determine what demands the men favored and whether they wanted IWW to represent them. During the traditional July 4 shutdown meetings were held in all central towns, and by September 70 delegates or voluntary organizers on the job, were recruiting a sizeable membership in Idaho. The 120 "covered wagon," actually a truck used by part of the organization crew carried a mimeograph to issue bulletins, and headed through Oregon to Klamath Falls, then, after the AFL strike, up the coast to the Seattle District, where it found many wishing it had been the IWW in the woods instead of this non-benefit wing of the Carpenters.

In March 1936 near Pierce, Idaho, where the flume system is used to get the logs down, the movie "Come and Get It" was being shot, and the Wobs used the occasion to raise the pay a dollar a day. A strike at Elk River raised the rate for the drive to \$5 and another in May wound it up with \$6.00. On June 29, when logging was in full swing, a complete walkout cleared the Weyerhaeuser and other camps. Along the St. Maries small employers settled promptly, but the big fight continued. Early in August as a truckload of 15 unarmed pickets went near Fromelt camp, plug-uglies opened fire, wounding several so badly they were crippled for the rest of their lives, and three died within two years. (Later the 10 thugs were tried and fined at the rate of \$500 each.) Martial law was declared August 3. The situation became quiet; the Guard at one side of the road near each camp, the seven permitted pickets at the other, listening to the sounds of saws and hammers improving camp facilities. The strike was called off without seeking recognition, but a 10% boost was obtained. In a few years it was CIO territory, with an IWW organizing crew carrying on from camp to camp just the same as in 1932.

In Michigan the IWW had built almost complete organization in several camps. When the AFL struck the area, demanding union shop, the IWW's all struck too, with no effort to protect their hold on their own camps. NLRB action to do this was suggested, but they didn't want to mess around with politicians. There and in the west despite hard organization and fighting and propaganda, even using Tacoma station KNO, the Lumber Workers ended the decade as they had entered it.

Two railroad campaigns occurred in the thirties. In Detroit those involved were train crews. They were content to build slowly while maintaining their old unions, but quit their active grievance work in the Brotherhoods. Thus when they were accused of the inevitable infraction of the multitude of rules, the grievance machinery was in the hands of those

who would be glad to see them fired. They retained their jobs by legal pressure, but the campaign was strangled. During 1937 to 1939 a campaign among the hundred extra gangs surfacing approximately 2000 miles of track on the Northern Pacific and Milwaukee roads was attempted. Conditions were improved, but wages would have taken system strikes, and adequate strength for this was never achieved at any one time.

Among WPA workers in the late thirties I.U. 310 built many branches. The strongest was in Oakland where the branch was recognized for processing all grievances in Contra Costa and Alameda Counties. In Missoula a 310 branch was built, and toward Christmas of 1937 the women on a WPA sewing project staged a sympathetic sitdown. Students leaving Work Peoples College in 1937 started several branches in Minnesota. In April 1938 the WPA workers around Watsonville, Calif., organized, won free transportation which was the current irritant, and the branch soon had a fruit pickers strike to handle. The 150 Filipino workers involved first asked CIO then AFL to do it for them, but both wanted cash on the line, so the IWW arranged their picketing and relief, won their strike, but retained no members from it, though the Watsonville branch was active to late in the forties. In Detroit in 1938 where IWW was campaigning on Great Lakes and organizing restaurant workers, a WPA branch won recognition of a committee to represent all workers though elected in IWW hall, also the right to make up for time lost due to weather or sickness. At Bloomfield, N.J. a 310 WPA local won pay for hours the men were required on job but not assigned to work. At Olympia Washington they won a dispute so they could build a fire to keep warm.

In the later thirties the revived I.U. 440 in Cleveland won new plants as American Brass, Superior Carbon, Globe Steel Barrel and Independent Register. It was anxious to get a number of the drum plants organized as its best chance to apply indus-

trial rather than shop structure unionism; for organizers were already noticing that the shop-wide union, like the company union, led to the use of "we" to mean management and men, when even a craft union used it to mean those engaged in the same work. American Stove gave it two major issues: the need to organize in Lorain where one division had been moved during the National Screw strike, and the first occasion for a signed contract. This latter need grew from the fact that the company union which 440 had been steadily battling, joined the CIO, and sought recognition. Though the IWW constitution still forbade time agreements, the Cleveland union signed one, containing the provision that no struck work would be accepted. This stirred up hostilities between jobbiters and radicals throughout the IWW; in 1938 the constitution was amended to permit the practice.

In the Lorain campaign the company signed with CIO over IWW protests; I.U. 440 struck to enforce an election; it was a draw; the run-off was moved up and the CIO squeaked through. During the campaign the Wobs got members at Steel Stamping in Lorain. The company lawyer, a son-in-law of William Green, induced the AFL, over the protests of members of the Trades Council, to sign a contract even though AFL had no members in the plant. IWW demanded NLRB election and won two to one. But hard battles in an unfriendly town eventually lost the plant.

As Europe went to war and the New Deal went in for peace time military training, the IWW was among the first to negotiate accumulation of seniority during this enforced service. In November 1940 an 11 day strike at American Stove ended with the trading of a demand for closed shop, for the settlement of an accumulation of grievances. This was what the bargaining committee wanted, for they saw a closed shop (unless accompanied by hiring through the union) ends up in the company personnel office eventually selecting the membership

for the union. Instead they preferred a sieve system through which those who didn't care for the union got dropped by not fighting for them when they got into trouble.

This record is one of industrial action; but the chief efforts of the IWW was largely propagandist. Even much of its job conditioning was done through minorities on jobs where other unions had a check-off. The prime IWW concern was the large problem of a misemployed society drifting toward totalitarianism and war. It noted how government intervention was centralizing union functions in Washington, and unions becoming dependent on government props. It held up the ideal of job democracy, invulnerable to any such arrests as those with which Hitler had cracked the highly centralized German labor movement. Internationally it felt drawn toward the anarchist International Workingmen's Association. In 1934 a referendum carried to affiliate with it, then it was pointed out that this would commit the IWW to declaring for its members their religious and political attitudes which it had always left to the individual, and a new referendum reversed the decision, so the IWW did not affiliate. During the Spanish Civil War it had an assessment for the support of the CNT, and friendly relations with IWMA persist.

In Canada the IWW through the thirties had a similar history on a smaller scale. Because of customs difficulties, a separate Canadian Administration was established in 1931. Extensive unemployed agitation in the early years led to the imprisonment of organizer George McAdams and others at Sioux Lookout. In the later thirties organization work was undertaken in Newfoundland and the Maritime provinces. Dairy Workers at Ritchies Dairy in Toronto won a boost and a union work stabilization plan. A Fishermen's local was established at McDiarmid, Ontario in June 1939 and the 1939 Canadian Convention got considerable newspaper publicity with pictures of the eastern delegation de-

training from boxcars. The Chilean Administration of the IWW, long repressed, came to life again in the mid-thirties. The world over serious labor journals discussed the IWW as a solution to problems otherwise insoluble.

Looking back in 1940 at the commemoration of its first 35 years, the Industrial Worker observed: "Today we see government agencies certifying the IWW as the collective bargaining agency for those workers logical enough to demand it. In post-war years we saw the same government sending hundreds of our members to jail for insisting upon the IWW as their bargaining agency. The IWW has proven itself able to carry on equally well in either circumstance."

Most material for this chapter from IWW press of the time and personal knowledge of events. Following notes are for further information rather than documentation.

1. Pamphlet: "The Shame that is Kentucky's"; also extensive reports in New York times and other periodicals; also in Perlman & Taft, or Gomb's books previously cited. IWW among Colorado coal miners elected pit committees and checkweighmen into January 1933.

2. New York situation described, without IWW angle, in Lens' "Right, Left and Center."

3. For more on Rossoni see "Block International" series in Industrial Worker, March 4, 1950. Another IWW turned fascist was Harold Lloyd Vorney. Fascism has been described as a synthesis of syndicalism and nationalism.

4. Best account of maritime affairs through thirties is Taft in Political Science Quarterly for June 1939. Accounts also in Madison's "American Labor Leaders" (Harpers, 1950), Yellen's "Labor Struggles" and similar books.

XIII. World War and Cold War (1941-'55)

During World War II the IWW carried on its organization activities undisturbed, and expanded its policy of gaining bargaining rights by winning NLRB elections in the maritime and metal mining industries. Peace was followed by a period of manufactured hysteria—parallel to the reaction to the great French Revolution of 1789. In this period the IWW late in 1949, largely as the victim of the cold war, the subversive list and Taft-Hartley Act, lost much of its membership, and wound up a period of expanding influence. It observed its fiftieth anniversary unable to engage in collective bargaining anywhere. It persists because its members have no doubts that the working class needs the sort of organization it has been striving these fifty years to build, today more urgently than ever.

The story of U. S. Vanadium's operations at Bishop, California, typifies the period. During the summer of 1941 job delegates for Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 210 of the IWW by old-fashioned recruiting, organized this camp high in the mountains solidily, and directly negotiated a 13% pay boost. In December a meeting in Bishop pondered what to do if someone wouldn't join. As reported in *Industrial Worker* of Dec. 6, "After some discussion it was decided that anyone refusing to line up will be told to state his reasons in a speech before the membership, now a body of 300 workers. The membership will then weigh the reasons given and decide the status of such new worker. The members are anxiously waiting to hear the speech of Objector No. 1." This union security program worked well.

Soon the union had a discriminatory discharge case to handle. Clarence Dahl, of its Organization Committee, working at the Bishop mine took a trip to Darwin, 125 miles away, where the same union

was involved in a strike at a mine. Returning over mountain roads in winter, he was late for his shift and was fired. Management refused to discuss his reinstatement. The next evening at the mess hall top management for this U.S. Steel subsidiary announced a wage increase but warned that any strike would be dealt with by law and order. The union took the case to NLRB and Dahl was reinstated with back pay, in January. Next month a hearing was held to arrange for an NLRB election. So far I.U. 210 was the only union concerned. It had been concerned only with the mine, but now that the question of bargaining unit shaped up, it decided March 12 the mill should be in same unit. This led AFL Operating Engineers to hold a meeting at the Legion Hall and seek members, but got none. Immediately the company's eastern legal staff filed a brief with NLRB asking for dismissal of the election on the grounds that the IWW was not a union within the meaning of the Act. In May the NLRB held further hearings on the company contention and the desire of AFL to carve out a unit of 75 men. A new election was scheduled and postponed on request of the company. Meanwhile the IWW organized workers in local taverns and restaurants and soon Foodstuff Workers I.U. 640 and I.U. 210 opened a joint hall. On August 7 the local Inyo Register carried a story, "Angry citizens voice protest against IWW with talk of vigilante action." The two unions issued a leaflet explaining their aims to the community, and nothing adverse occurred. In the election the IWW won 231 votes to 55 in Group A, the mine, and 35 IWW to 41 Operating Engineers, with 6 no union votes in Group B. In the run-off the AFL won Group B.

The wartime wage and manpower freeze transferred much collective bargaining away from the job. I.U. 210 demanded an increase and argued that to require men to stay permanently at this high altitude warranted pay above what the War Labor Board permitted. The argument dragged on and in October 1943 the local accepted a 50 cent compromise to

clear the way for new demands, for the "gumpets," as the the Industrial Worker called the growing host of government functionaries, would not process new demands until the old case could be marked settled, tied up in red tape and stored away. The same request was made by UMWA for a similarly situated mine of the same company at Rifle, Colorado, but appears to have been settled for a checkoff instead.¹

In 1944 the company wanted a tunnel and contracted the work to Morrison Knudsen. The contractor hired 37 local men of whom 30 had IWW cards, then contended that under his area-wide agreement with AFL they must all take out AFL cards. IWW insisted to NLRB that 7-a gave these men the right to choose their union and did not permit the contractor to choose their union in advance for them—but the NLRB didn't see it that way. I.U. 210 decided to sign a contract covering the mine, the first contract outside of those made by Metal & Machinery Workers. Soon operations died down and toward the close of the contract no union crew was on the spot to administer it with effectiveness. Work opened up and Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers won an election. Later in June 1952 the UMWA won over Mine-Mill by getting workers to vote "No Union," since UMWA had not signed the non-communist affidavits that had been signed by Mine-Mill, commonly considered "communist dominated."

Marine Transport Workers I.U. 510 carried on with increased effectiveness. Its activities in the Gulf centered from desirable facilities in a new building in Houston technically owned by a seamen's club, because the IWW ever since its printing plant fiasco in the twenties had avoided real estate. It held on to its straight principles during the ideological and jurisdictional fights of the maritime unions, and during the about faces of the "gumpet's" from drinking vodka with the Muscovites to wanting to bomb them. During the Finno-Russian war, the MTW backed the SUP proposal of an em-

bargo on material for Russia, but refused to join it in whooping it up for war. War and post war experiences made many seamen favorable toward IWW views: tanker crews knew of oil transhipped to Germany by way of Franco at the Canary Islands; all whose work took them to the waterfront knew that top brass blaming the disaster of the Battle of the Bulge on union action in American plants, were frauds for they knew that the docks were always fully loaded with materiel; others saw food dumped in the Pireaus while Greeks were starving within sight of it, so as to save free enterprise in its distribution; others saw the same in Shanghai and the black market in operation; still others brought home troops from Italy and Germany who had seen fascist cliques restored to power in town after town, and the insurgent administrations ousted. IWW views on world affairs no longer shocked such men.

In 1941 a new attempt was made to deport Bridges. A new law provided for deportation for previous membership in organizations seeking to overthrow the government or alter it by unconstitutional means. In his 1939 case Bridges had recalled a short membership in the MTW about 1920. The Department of Justice now contended that his membership in the IWW was membership in an organization that sought by strikes and economic and industrial pressures to alter the form of government to One Big Union. The IWW provided witnesses for Bridges defense and its attorney filed a brief as "friend of the court." Judge Sears eventually issued his decision that Bridges was deportable, but made it plain that this was not on account of his past IWW membership, for his examination of the record and literature of the organization showed that the IWW was not such an organization as the Department of Justice contended. The case went up through the courts and eventually in 1945 the United States Supreme Court decided that Bridges was not deportable, incidentally thereby affirming the view that the IWW was not engaged in the alleged activ-

ities. The previous Supreme Court decision in the Fiske case, finding the purposes of the IWW lawful, had been based on the preamble only; this decision was based on all that the prosecution could gather to give the IWW a bad name.²

The increasing activity of IWW on waterfronts and elsewhere toward close of war led the observant Business Week to note in a feature on IWW in its issue of January 6, 1945: "The IWW shows signs of life. In the metal shops of Cleveland, the vanadium mines of California, the copper diggings of Butte, on the waterfront of San Diego, New Orleans and New York, the dead past is stirring and men are carrying red cards."³

With war over, the quarrels between right and left waterfront unions were intensified in reflection of the growing cold war. Through the big maritime strikes of 1946, embittered with jurisdictional disputes, MTW secured observance of its slogan "Respect All Picket Lines." When the 510 conference met in Houston on Sept. 16 it received telegraphic and other greetings from unions on all sides thanking the IWW for its willing cooperation in a strike that won \$27.50 per month on all coasts.⁴

In 1946 the IWW had chartered a British Administration which was also active along its waterfront, and during the 1947 "outlaw" British seamen's strike, it backed the rebels. Here the MTW circulated the information the British Administration provided about this fight against an Establishment Scheme that benefited a few but left most worse off. In 1948 when the SUP sent its members through Bridges' picket lines, solidarity in the maritime industry deteriorated. In 1949 any MTW enthusiasm for the SUP cooled further when the SUPSIU flew scabs to break the strike of the Canadian seamen on the grounds that their union was communist-dominated. The IWW did not dispute this allegation, but held both here and in Britain that scabbery was no way to undermine communist influence. Even the staid Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

took the same stand and informed the SIU that though it had expelled the Canadian Seamen, it could not invite the SIU to affiliate on account of its policy of "replacements" i.e. scabs, in this strike. The MTW did endorse the repeatedly proposed boycott of Panamanian vessels, actually American vessels flying the Panama flag to escape American unions, wages, manning scales and safety inspection. These repeated attempts were always fouled by union contracts and Taft-Hartley.

The MTW'S own organizing activities were confined to the towing industry through the extensive inland channels on Gulf Coast, first in 1946 among crews working for the Galveston & Houston Towing Co. In 1947 it won an NLRB election on the Gulf Barge and Towing, with MTW getting all the votes, and in November on the Pasadena and Lynchberg ferries. It incidentally did a service to the "ancient mariners" of Snug Harbor, a foundation kept up by income from an old farm now in the center of New York's highest priced real estate. Late in 1948 the aged seamen there had been required to turn over to the institution all assets and claims so that they had no spending money. An account of this petty meanness in *Industrial Worker* Jan. 22, 1949, and later examination of the terms on which the foundation rested, resulted in rescinding these impositions.⁵

Several of the smaller shops organized by Metal & Machinery Workers I.U. 440 in Cleveland went out of business during the war and others were lost to the union through sudden changes of plant personnel. It acquired one "war-baby," Federal Aircraft where the contract had the unusual provision that no worker could be fired without the approval of the shop committee. The American Stove plant was largely converted to aircraft production, and the union changed from a departmental to a plant wide seniority system. It wanted rates as high as paid in aircraft plants elsewhere, but War Labor Board insisted that area rates applied. A slowdown

developed, followed by a walkout in May 1943. The War Labor Board, finding a union that boasted it had given no "no strike pledge," considered the union viewpoint and allowed readjustments retroactive to Jan. 18. The expanding work brought many new people into the plant, usually from CIO plants. Most found the IWW a welcome difference, but a few wondered if it was patriotic. All new members were given the regular IWW dues book, with the Preamble up front, and some of these new workers questioned the propriety of its language. A pressure developed in the Cleveland branch to change the preamble or even sever IWW connections. Explanations of the meaning of the preamble and improved personal relations between the general organization and the branch soon led the branch to hearty participation in IWW affairs.

The members in these shops relished job action tactics. As American Stove expanded its work force, more timeclocks were needed, but the company said it was difficult to obtain them in wartime. One night all went home without punching. The additional clocks needed were installed the next day. A canteen service supplied coffee, sandwiches etc., and workers could get a pickup there whenever they wanted one. Management figured this led to a waste of time and ruled that this service would be available only during the 10 minute rest period. Committee induced them to try it out first in one department. When the experiment was made all maintenance, repair and other crews who had an excuse for coming there were on hand, and those who ordinarily brought a lunch and thermos bottle left them home that day. The committee and management had an appointment to examine the safety conditions in another department that morning, but the committee led the way through the new experiment just at rest period. Management saw a line at the canteen, went on to investigate the safety complaint, returned and the line was still there. It quit its attempt to confine coffee-and to the rest period. Such methods proved effective for many grievances

and were thoroughly enjoyed. Freedom to engage in such methods was one of their strong ties to the IWW.

In a nearby plant of American Steel & Wire, the United Steel Workers had their customary multiple step grievance procedure. Under it grievances were regularly shoved up one step until they finally accumulated at the end where they were to be settled far away by legal minds who knew nothing of the conditions that produced the grievance. Local 1519 USW stopped work to demand a settlement of these grievances. The United Steelworkers removed the elected officials of the local and appointed in their place men who had been snowed under in the preceding election as the workers look on them as "company men." The International representatives also told the custodian of the hall not to let the rebels use it. Men in the plant asked I.U. 440 for advice. The IWW rented the hall for the rebels to use and told the men that this combination of check-off and rule by those they had defeated in an election was the same issue of taxation without representation as led to the American revolution. It was pointed out that the law in 7-a definitely assured them to the right of representatives of their own choosing; but that the Board had taken this to mean that they had chosen the Steelworkers as an international along with any such impositions it might order. I.U. 440 recommended that they raise this issue to NLRB, pointing out that the basic provision of 7-a outweighed any procedure the NLRB had set up under other sections. The IWW local prepared such an argument on their behalf, avoiding making it an inter-union dispute. No answer was given but the locally elected officials were restored to office. Very soon after, however, the leading militants were given new draft status and had to leave the plant for the armed forces.⁶

The IWW shop committees had found it desirable to take charge of the "share-the-ride" system for the transport of the expanded working forces. The

streetcar system of Cleveland was municipally owned. The streetcar workers wanted a boost and were confident from a comparison with rates in other cities that if the City would submit the issue to arbitration, this comparison would get them a boost. But the City held that it was beneath its dignity to submit its labor relations to arbitration. Thus the streetcar men threatened to strike in May 1944. This created an embarrassment for the IWW shop committees, for to handle the "share-the-ride" might impair the effectiveness of the strike. I.U. 440 wrote a letter to the streetcar union expressing this reason for its concern, supporting the men's bid for arbitration, and suggesting that they put the responsibility for any break of streetcar service squarely where it belonged by offering to work during the dispute but collect no fares. A copy of the letter was given to the newspapers and Cleveland Press frontpaged it in an early noon edition. At barns and elsewhere streetcar workers discussed the idea and supported it, even with telegrams. That afternoon the City Council decided that after all it could submit to arbitration. It did and the men got their boost. (After the war this same tactic was developed in Japan.)

It was an era of endless regulations, interpretations thereof, executive orders and a growing body of case decisions that had to be digested by unionists if they were to administer contracts effectively in their members' best interests. Most unions had legal staffs for this, and a lawyers' view percolated to top officers who advised field representatives how to explain to shop committees what little they could do under this heap of regulations. The IWW could afford no legal staff, so it studied these papers with a workman's eyes to figure how either to use them or get around them. Summaries were given to shop committees and as these men met with committees in CIO and AFL plants quite often, more copies were wanted. Thus a "Labor Newsletter" was issued monthly by the Cleveland Branch, digesting new angles in labor law, and giv-

ing tips what could be done about it. It got about a two thousand circulation chiefly among shop committee members of different unions around the country, and tended to make them much less dependent upon their International and its representatives for advice. It was an IWW bid to build more organized self-reliance at shop level, rather than to recruit members.

The IWW was much concerned with the developing pattern of unionism and alarmed at its tolerance of government trespass and its solicitation of such intervention. During the manpower freeze the Industrial Worker ridiculed the Statements of Availability required for a change of jobs as "Certificates of Manumission." (In non-IWW shops they were frequently obtained by wearing a large IWW button to work.) When Sewell Avery was carried out of Montgomery Ward offices, the Industrial Worker did not join in the general glee of the labor press, but pointed out that it was part of the drift to give unions the status of public institutions, and thus deprive them of their rights as voluntary associations. The fate of the Roman guilds under like circumstances was pointed out. The growth of fringe benefits under the wage freeze was noted also as a means of tying workers to one employer, generating a new industrial serfdom with virtual adscription to the job, as our ancestors had been adscripted to the soil. (For this reason it approved any such effort as that of UAW in Toledo to pool pension funds on an area basis.) The IWW was probably the only union to welcome the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Elgin Joliet and Eastern Railway case. Employees whose claims for premium pay had been sacrificed by the Brotherhoods in a general settlement of many grievances had gone to court as individuals and won their case; the company defense was that it had settled these claims with the Brotherhoods. The top court decision was that the Brotherhoods were free to contract for more than the worker could claim, but not for less than he could

claim as a contractual right from his employer. The IWW thought this a good one-way valve protection against the frequent complaints of "being sold down the river," but CIO and AFL sought a re-hearing on the ground that this upset all their bargaining functions; the decision was re-affirmed but with the additional dodge added that if application for membership forms contained an agreement to accept the settlements the International made, the workers signing these applications could not avail themselves of this decision. The IWW urged its members in other unions to resist the adoption of this dodge. When the Supreme Court ruled that the UMWA must not even by beck or nod approve a strike, the IWW press said this decision offered up the workingclass to the employing class on the terms of a forced sale, and observed that this, like all anti-labor decisions, was premised on the extensive "rights" given to unions, confirming Gompers' dictum that when the government gives, it can take away, and take away even more than it has given.

Though the 1946 General Convention was expected to provide a collision over contract policy, it turned out quite amicably. It was settled there that "No agreement made by any part of the IWW shall provide for a check-off of union dues by the employer, or obligate the members of the union to do work that would aid in breaking any strike." The opposition to the check-off was stated in another resolution: "It transfers to management an important function of the union. It takes from the hands of the dues payers their control over their own organization. It tends to make union officials more concerned with the good will of the company than with the good will of the members." On the developing cold war it took this position: "That we look upon the Communist Party and its fledglings as a major menace to the working class, and that the interests of world peace can best be served by labor movements that clearly represent the interests

of labor and not the interests of any political state; and that we consider that the foolishness of the communists can best be exposed by assuring them complete civil liberty."

Though the Cleveland branch was the largest local organization of the IWW it was not so important as a financial prop as it was as evidence that the IWW ideals of on-the-job militancy and industrial solidarity could actually work. In this way it contributed appreciably to the growing influence of the IWW in early post-war years. With a stoppage that the IWW insisted was a lockout at the Jones & Laughlin barrel plant in 1946 and negotiations in other plants during these reconversion days, it kept rates at least "ahead of the neighbors." It encouraged the formation of inter-union bodies, such as stove worker councils, and copper and brass councils, and participated in them actively. In 1946 it organized the Schrimmer-Dornbierer pump company; was sued under the War Labor Disputes Act for striking, but won a 45 cents boost and dismissal of the suit. In February 1950 it organized the Coleman-Peterson wire plant, but in November of that year the entire branch withdrew from the IWW over the Taft-Hartley affidavit issue.

This loss of its largest local organization is best understood from a consideration of IWW propaganda through this period and the reaction to it in various quarters. The IWW felt that the labor movement was veering in a disastrous direction, growing into a big business of labor brokerage, suppressing the organized self-reliance that is the yeast of unionism, and becoming increasingly a pawn of government in both internal and world relations. The Industrial Worker during this time pointed to many evidences of the inadequacy of this large labor movement: Since a strike is most readily won when supplies of material and orders for finished products are both large, strikes got in each other's road for lack of coordination; for example creating a steel shortage reduces incentive to

settle with auto workers. It was plain top management maneuvered the timing of bargaining to set a pattern for all with the union in the weakest bargaining position—often weakened by attacks from other unions in labor's reflection of the cold war. If there were to be patterns for all, there should either be a union for all, or means of joint strategy judiciously selecting the order in which different industries went to battle, and supporting those so engaged. It was an era of shortages, and full employment, and thus if more green paper was given to workers, but no workers switched over to producing the extra goods that workers wanted to buy with their increases, the effect was simply to offer more green paper for the same quantity of goods. The IWW pointed out that a wage demand if stated in physical terms is a demand that either unemployed workers be hired to produce these extra goods, or that employed workers be allocated to their production. It urged therefore that a co-ordinated labor movement, maintaining full employment, would find it necessary to bargain for increases in these terms demanding a voice in the allocation of resources and the decision what is to be produced. These IWW arguments were frequently reflected in other labor papers, for example as "economic union" versus "organic union" by the AFL Butcher Workman.⁷

This painful lack of co-ordination was plainest in the acceptance of the Taft-Hartley Act which all unions denounced. The IWW objected to the act chiefly on the grounds that it initiated a system of unionism by permit, such that the terms of permit could be made into terms that guaranteed harmless and useless unions (as recent developments in South Africa could prove); that it is up to unions to keep free from political domination, not a job for the politicians themselves; that the ban on sympathetic strikes and secondary boycotts, constituted an order to scab. Otherwise the act provided much amusement for the IWW, particularly the prospects,

when an employer did not want to deal with the union, of arranging for each individual worker to insist upon processing the collective grievance on company time, though it might take days and weeks to do so. The IWW held that all that was necessary to defeat Taft-Hartley was for no union to sign its affidavits or seek NLRB service under its terms. This was the general sentiment of the labor movement, but first the Machinists then one union after another, each claiming it needed NLRB service because some union threatening to raid it, signed up, until only the UMW, the ITU and the IWW were outside the Taft-Hartley pale.

The IWW felt that this acceptance of Taft-Hartley was due to the decreasing democracy of the unions, and that the officers accepting it were not as actually opposed to it as they purported to be. For remedy the IWW sought to stimulate on local levels both inter-union solidarity and the demand for democracy.

A comparison of newspaper situations in Chicago and Seattle illustrates what can be done by insistence on inter-union solidarity. In Chicago when the ITU struck the newspapers, they published regularly for many months of strike from photoengravings of copy set up in Varitype. Newspaper trucks carried banners screaming: "21 Loyal AFL Unions Bring You Today's Paper." In Seattle a Labor Defense Council of active unionists, including many with IWW cards, told newspaper publishers when they made similar plans that Seattle labor would not sink to the Chicago level and the papers would be faced with the same picket lines of lumberjacks and longshoremen and other workers as won the Guild strike in the 30's. The publishers backed down. Later in 1950 in New York where there was some IWW influence among the trades involved, interunion solidarity had a similar effect. The IWW "two-card" members have been able to avert many obnoxious jurisdictional disputes and to secure local union cooperation.

The Industrial Worker devoted considerable space to supporting the contentions of local unions against the usurpations of their Internationals, as the San Francisco Machinists, the St. Louis Distribution Workers and the Roofers of Baltimore, but particularly Local 104 of the Boilermakers in Seattle, where a technical side-issue, the local paper, seemed to be an actual major concern. The issue was over whether the local could set its own salaries, technically, but actually the entire issue of union democracy was involved. Eventually the courts gave decisions substantially the same as the IWW contentions. The Local was happy but the AFL was so alarmed that it had its general counsel Joseph Padway seek a reconsideration of the case as impairing the capacities of the Internationals.

It was at this time that Tom Clark put the IWW on the "subversive list" as the newspapers customarily call the entire long list of organizations compiled originally as a guide to suitability for federal employment. The long list is divided into groups which Clark described as being "mutually exclusive" and only one of these is headed "subversive." The IWW was not placed under this heading but in the category of organizations seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means. The IWW at once protested this classification both on the grounds that it was contrary to fact and that it was reached without the due process of enabling the IWW to confront its accusers or present argument or evidence. It has been pointed out that this listing conflicts with judicial determinations of the IWW aims and character, both in the Fiske and Bridges cases already mentioned. The Department has repeatedly been asked, what are the grounds, what form of government is the IWW alleged to prefer, and why refuse to tell it what the government believes it does or aims to do that is unlawful; but the answer is regularly that 'Executive Order 9835 contains no authority for a hearing or a disclosing of the bases upon which a designation is

made." This irresponsible attitude has increasingly alarmed many conservatives and even awakened some "gliberals" to the constitutional dangers involved. The IWW is in the dark as to why it is listed. It notes that to list it the Department must either overrule court decisions as to its character as late as 1945, or base its case on some novel policy instituted between 1945 and May 1949 when it was listed; and it can detect no such novel policy. Opinion in IWW circles runs that if it had been listed simply on the basis of newspaper bogymen's repute, it would have been listed at the beginning of this practice; thus the time of the listing leads to the suspicion that it was listed as a favor to some labor skate on whose toes the IWW had stepped in its efforts for greater union democracy. As a result the IWW has the distinction of being the only union which must pay an income tax and whose members cannot occupy federal housing projects. This, it contends, is penalizing it and its members without due process, but it has found no way to make the government obey the law.

A New York law relating to public schools provided a sort of hearing before the Board of Regents of New York University in July 1949. When the IWW was notified to present its case, it requested the Regents to try to have Tom Clark there to defend his listing, or at least to tell them on what grounds he had listed the IWW, so that it would have something more or less specific to answer. According to the Ithaca Journal of July 8, 1949, Clark told the Regents that of the seven or more score organizations he had listed, there were five that he "was sure were subversive." Tom Clark did not appear to defend himself. The IWW pointed out that his statement about being sure of only five after listing over 150 indicated a gross carelessness with the reputation of others and would make him an incredible witness if he appeared. (The statement was also in contradiction of Clark's own statement about the six categories being "mutually exclusive.")

The IWW went ahead with its class-struggle program. In Cleveland it succeeded in winning two new shops. When the city observed its Sesquicentennial, the unions and management of many plants staged a big labor-management celebration in the Municipal Auditorium. The IWW was approached and agreed to participate, if it was free to put up its own display. The result was that it had the only booth with a union rather than a brotherly-love motif. Typical IWW slogans decorated the booth; it distributed its newly revised One Big Union pamphlet and a special issue of the Industrial Worker telling the history of the working class of Cleveland. (This seems to be the first instance of the labor history of a city.) In the railroad industry, somewhat neglected by the IWW since its Detroit campaigns in the mid-thirties and the extra gang efforts somewhat later, the IWW made renewed efforts in 1944, issuing a monthly Railroad Worker, widely distributed through railroad yards across the country, and again in 1948 to 1950 concentrating on Southern Pacific and Western Pacific crews with activities centered in Oakland. For this campaign it issued several leaflets, a railroad workers' pamphlet, and the Industrial Worker ran a series of articles from July 3, 1948 to November 6, giving the most complete account of the history of railroad labor so far available.

The 1950 General Convention was stormy. Indignation at Clark's listing expressed itself in a resolution that the organization should refuse to pay any income tax so as to force a court review of Clark's irresponsible action. The Cleveland members wanted the issue of signing Taft-Hartley affidavits put to referendum. They had some support from other delegates who aimed at job control unionism, but most of the delegates were opposed to signing. The NLRB had ruled that since the IWW was One Big Union, its Industrial Unions could not sign effectively unless its general officers also signed. The decision was to submit it to referendum.

Shortly after the convention, while the referendum was still being voted upon, efforts were made by other unions to raid the IWW shops in Cleveland. It was suggested that in such a raid they ask the members to vote "No Union"; but it was felt that with considerable change of personnel, some of them very friendly to organizers in the competing unions, and with the disadvantages that competitors could allege came from being on the subversive list, it would be unusually difficult to hold their union together. The Cleveland Branch was confident that the referendum would carry to sign up, and that submission of the affidavits would require a review of the subversive listing, so what it needed was time until these events happened. It decided to withdraw from IWW until such time as the IWW branches could avail themselves of NLRB service. It took this action November 5, 1950 and adopted a lengthy resolution explaining why it felt compelled to do so, and ending up that it would pay all per capita to that date, but withhold it thereafter. Only this conclusion was transmitted to membership, and much indignation was expressed that the Cleveland branch was attempting to coerce the rest of the organization. Outside of Cleveland, the vote on the Taft-Hartley issue was two to one against signing, but if the Cleveland votes were counted, it would have swung the decision to require signing. The ballot committee contended that since they had withdrawn, their votes could not be counted. Those taking the opposite view contended that if the members were in good standing when they voted, the votes must be counted, the same as a dead man's vote would be counted. The consensus of branch minutes around the country was not to count the votes. Thus the Cleveland branch was lost. In May 1955 it joined the MESA with which the IWW and it had been friendly especially as it took a critical attitude toward capitalism, and later MESA joined CIO. With the

pending merger of CIO and AFL this Cleveland body will have boxed the compass of collective bargaining agencies.

The loss of the Cleveland membership also checked a possible reorganization of class struggle unionism. There were a number of industries in which either Communists or fellow travelers had taken a leading hand, and had twisted unionism to suit party purposes. They had been tolerated by the rank and file, not out of sympathy for Communism, but because in most instances the alternative was to back bootlickers. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers offered such an example; a communist hard-rock miner is a rare bird indeed, but even such a hostile compilation of the evidence as Jensen's "Nonferrous Metal Industry Unionism 1932-1954" makes it plain that the metal miners choice was militancy and progressive policies associated with the Moscow-tainted candidates, or a meekness that spelled disaster. In the United Electrical Workers and various other unions, this situation existed either in locals or generally. The IWW had been building increasing contact in such unions with active members who wanted a militant, anti-capitalist program, free from Communist or other political domination. Their pending ouster from CIO made them consider new organizational possibilities. Many such delegates to the ousting CIO Convention in Cleveland discussed possibilities with IWW members there, and a considerable correspondence was developing at the time that the Cleveland branch felt it necessary to secure access to NLRB. All plans to rescue these militants from the communists were voided by the IWW decision not to count the Cleveland ballot.

Since that time the IWW has had to confine its efforts substantially to local instances of promoting inter-union solidarity and its educational work. The latter is no small chore. Its general arguments

have been indicated already. A resolution adopted at its 1950 convention shows its slant on the major current world problems: 'Kremlinism is a social tendency, an institutional development . . . it cannot be shot with bullets or devastated with A-bombs. Reliance on these inappropriate means has permitted Kremlinism to stretch from where it engulfed only a sixth of the world's population to where it now engulfs a third. . . . It grows only because the labor movement of the rest of the world is not effectively serving the interests and needs of labor. This is the indispensable condition for the growth of Kremlinism. The only escape from it is for the labor movement to act independently of governments and capitalists and proceed to serve the interests of labor. To do so it must advance to a social system in which essential production is carried on for use under the direction of organized labor, for the good of mankind. Doing this will stop Kremlin expansion. Further it will topple Kremlinism in the areas it has already engulfed.'

The occasional picket lines of later years have been joint protests with other groups as at Spanish consulates in New York and Chicago, or the "Third Camp" poster walk in the Chicago loop during the Christmas rush of 1953. There leaflets consistent with foregoing resolution were passed out to the crowds while posters proclaimed "Against Both War Camps" or "Capitalism — No! — Stalinism — Never !!" The protest picketing that attracted most attention however was that at the New Republic in April 1948. Its January 6th issue had carried a piece by Wallace Stegner depicting Joe Hill as a stick-up man. The Friends of Joe Hill formed and asked that corrective information be published; the picket line won the point. The committee engaged in extensive research and wrote too lengthy a study for the magazine; the New Republic ran a synopsis of the

study and the whole document was published in the *Industrial Worker* for Nov. 13, 1948.

Under the circumstances it has focused its attention on maintaining its own press and occasional leafleteering. Its most noted columnist T-Bone Slim (Matt Valentine Huhta, an Ashtabula Finn) died in October 1942. Another columnist, John Forbes, was put in the penitentiary for refusing to register, but has kept up his column of satiric verse from behind bars. His conviction was protested even by an American Legion group as he was a veteran, not subject to draft, but he could not square his conscience and concede the right of the politicians to register him. Of current union issues the *Industrial Worker* has been particularly concerned with the longshore situation on the New York waterfront, and has not been without influence in it.

The IWW observed its 50th anniversary with its 1955 General Convention, representative of a scattered membership chiefly along Atlantic, Gulf and West Coasts. It was the first convention since 1950, and the first since the early thirties which the "no contract, dyed-in-the-wool" Wobs completely dominated; the few who disagreed with their views felt that to bring up any such proposal as signing Taft-Hartley affidavits, would only constitute a futile gesture, and provoke disunity where unity was necessary for survival. Thus it was a harmonious gathering, and a remarkable one as a bridge across history: one delegate could readily recall the depression of 1893, or compare the difficulties currently faced by the IWW with those encountered by the Knights of Labor about that time; the convention installed as editor of its official organ, a spry octogenarian, C. E. Payne, who had edited that paper in earlier years and had attended the first convention in 1905. These delegates had no idea of "giving up the ghost." They had read premature obituaries of the IWW as long as they

could remember—some as early as July 1906. They knew that the IWW had the stamina not only to withstand militia, prisoners and plain plug-uglies, but what is harder: fond hopes shattered, sudden reverses, and repeated losses of substantial memberships. The IWW had been near to extinction and pronounced dead many times before, but had always come to life again. Why give up in a world that plainly needed the sort of unionism the IWW had been championing these fifty years?

When it was founded, Gene Debs noted that it consisted of "seasoned old unionists." It consists of even more seasoned old unionists today, with a sprinkling of young fry from teen-age through a mere fifty. It has survived because these members "stick"—and they stick because their knowledge of unionism and the class struggle will not let them do otherwise. Whether they have read George Orwell's "1894" or not, they see the world shaping up according to it: one part politically totalitarian with the power drive of dictatorship strangling whatever socialist sentiment may have gone into its making; the other part increasingly imitating its opponent under the pretext of combatting it, and unions increasingly becoming integrated and hopelessly enmeshed in these great half-world power complexes. Whether these seasoned old unionists look at the fate of the world in this atomic age, or look to what happens on the job, they see that to make a world fit for a man to live in, it is necessary that he and his fellow workers practice some industrial democracy, some organized self-reliance, on the job without depending on the approval of a millionaire labor-leader or a millionaire's politician, or a dictatorial functionary who, for contempt for mere humanity, outranks either. They see that the more this is done, the more will the world be shaped by the desires of the man on the job, and that the outcome will be a good world, a world of working

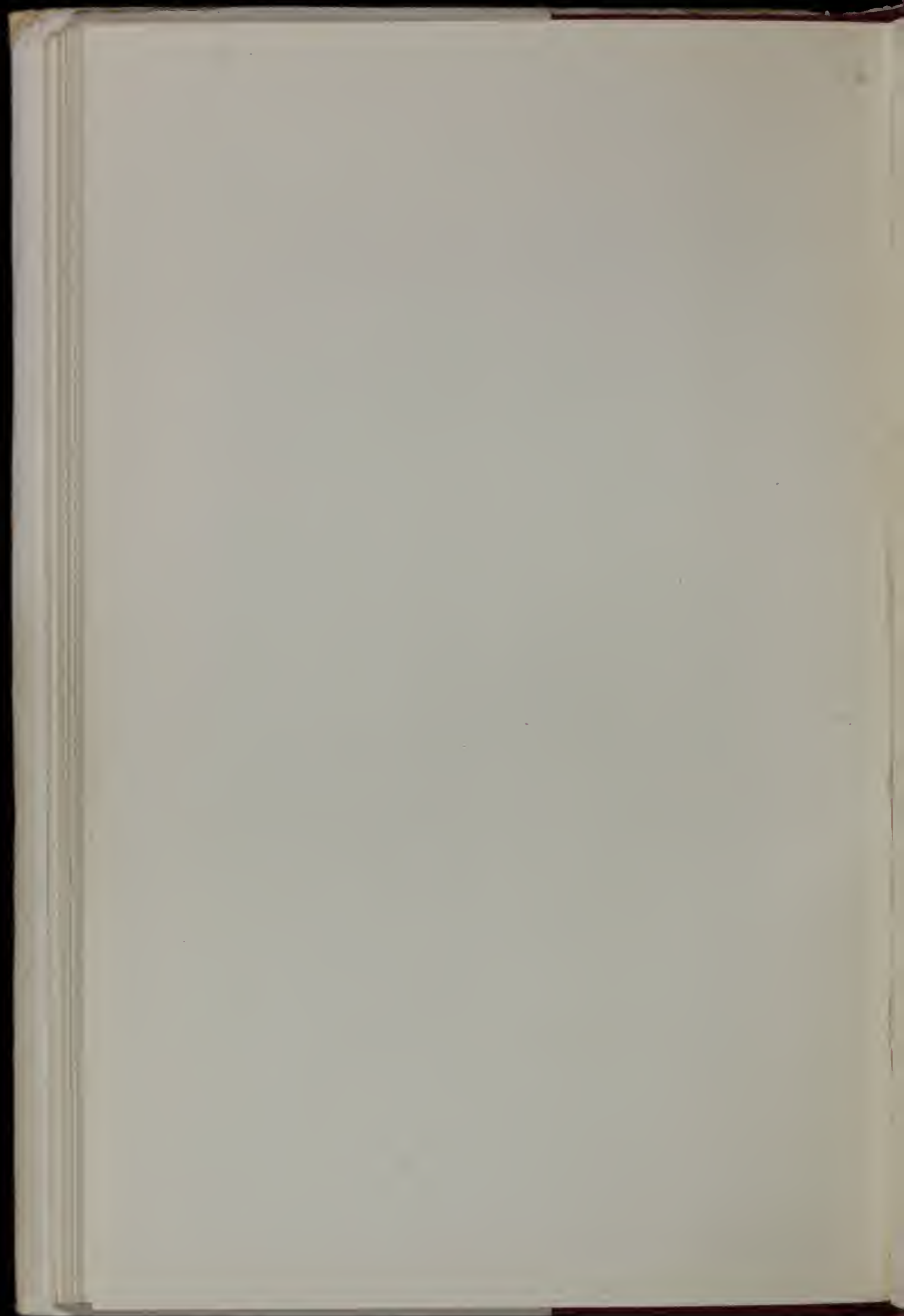
people who cooperate but who do not obey, and who consequently do not fear each other.

Accordingly the 1955 Convention attended to routine chores, passed a resolution clarifying its concept of revolutionary unionism, another aimed at the age-group blacklist confronting those over 45, and approved the publication of this record, on the understanding that it be not the history of the IWW, but the history of its first fifty years.

End

- Aberdeen, 69
 Agricultural Workers, 49, 78, 93-96, 106, 130, 160
 Akron, 70, 74
 Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 6, 7
 American Labor Union, 6, 9, 10, 11, 23
 Australia, 108
 Baltimore, 98-99
 Bisbee, 119
 Bishop, Calif., 179-80
 Bohn, Frank, 15, 20
 Boring from within, 51, 76, 41
 Brewery Workmen, 6, 7, 8, 21
 Bridgeport, Conn., 35
 Bridges, Harry, 182
 British Administration, 183
 Canada, 65-66, 139, 151, 178
 Cannon, J. P., 64, 77
 Cedervall, Frank 166, 172
 Centralia, Wn., 132-3
 Check-off, 154, 189
 Chile, 135
 Cle Elum, Wn., 159
 Cleveland, 42, 86, 136, 169-173, 176, 189-90, 195
 Coal miners, 105, 151-154, 157
 Communism, 127, 135-138, 189-190, 197, 198
 Connelly, James 37-38
 Construction Workers 65-66, 78, 113-4, 144-5, 158-160
 Contracts and agreements 45, 100, 181, 189
 Darrow, Clarence, 24
 Debs, E.V., 5, 6, 10, 20, 21, 26
 De Leon, 18, 21, 26, 30, 37-40, 82
 Democracy in unions, 5, 25, 150, 179-80, 193
 Detroit, 74-5, 100-101, 165-68, 174
 Direct action, 46, 82
 Duluth, 77, 101, 108
 Emergency program, 151
 Erwin, Claude, 148
 Espionage, Industrial, 74
 Espionage trials, 123-126
 Ettor, Joe, 56, 96
 Everest, Wesley, 133
 Everett Masacre, 106-8
 Flynn, E., 49, 86, 87, 103 76
 Ford and Suhr case, 79
 Foster, W.J., 51
 Free Speech fights, 48-50, 140
 Fresno, 49
 Garment workers, 46, 98-99
 Goldfield, 31 et seq.
 Gompers, S., 11, 12, 88, 124, 188
 Grabo, La., 67
 Haggerty, T.J., 12
 Hanna, Mark, 11
 Haywood, W.D., 15, 24, 30, 52, 121, 138
 Hill, Joe, 96, 198
 Hilton, O.N., 33, 103
 Housemaids, 101
 International Relations 44, 51, 108, 134-5, 178
 Iron Range, 101-104
 Julian, Atty., 148
 Knights of Labor, 5, 8, 18, 52
 Lawrence, Mass., 53, et seq.
 Little Falls, N.Y., 59-60
 Little, Frank, 49, 77, 103-4, 114, 120
 Louisiana, 67-69
 Lumber workers, 34-5, 67-69, 106-8, 115-117, 122-3, 131, 146-7, 173-4
 Marine Transport Workers, 76, 112-3, 136, 139-42, 160-65, 181-84
 McKees Rocks, 42
 McNamara, J., 87
 Membership, 21, 23, 41, 79, 95, 130
 Metal & Machinery Workers, 148, 165-73, 185-187
 Metal Mine Workers, 31 et seq., 101-5, 117-20, 128-9, 148, 179-80
 Metzen, attorney, 126
 Mexico, 49, 135
 Most, Johann, 18, 82, 83

- Moyer, Charles, 15, 24, 91-2
 National Civic Federation, 5 et seq.
 New York, 51, 90, 161
 NLRB, 169, 173, 176, 181, 184, 187
 Oakland, Calif., 175, 195
 Oakfield, N.Y., 154
 Oil workers, 112-3, 148
 One Big Union, Canada, 134
 Paterson, N.J., 36, 60 et seq.
 Peoria, 64-5
 Philadelphia, 76-77, 100, 112, 113, 136, 140, 161-2
 Pittsburgh, 42-44, 47, 69-70
 Portland, Ore., 34, 140
 Press, IWW, 42, 44, 50, 86, 109, 130
 Preston, M.R., 32
 Race relations, 68, 77
 Railroad workers, 25, 143, 174, 188, 195
 Railway Employees, United Brotherhood of, 6
 Relations with other unions (most of chapter 1) and 24, 51, 56, 66, 71-3, 76, 98-9, 104, 128, 133, 139, 154, 163-5, 170, 185-7, 191, 197, 106
 Riordan 23, 25
 Sabotage, 46, 80-87
 San Diego 50, 51
 San Francisco, 91, 163
 Schenectady, 23, 28, 60
 Scranton Declaration, 6
 Seattle, 41, 107, 111, 128
 Sharks, employment, 38, 47
 Sherman, Chas. O., 6, 7, 25-6
 Simons, A.M., 20, 25
 Sioux City 92-3, 130-31
 Skowhegan, Me., 35
 Socialist Labor Party, 18, 27, 57
 Socialist Party, 20, 27, 70, 81, 92, 102, 136
 Socialist relations to unions, 14, 15
 Songs, IWW, 38, 96
 Splits in IWW, 29, 40, 151
 Spokane, 47 et seq.
 Stability, problem of, 45, 53-4, 62, 95, 154
 ST & LA, 15, 19
 Stay-in and sit-down strikes, 7, 23-4, 28, 166, 168
 St. John, Vincent, 26-7, 32 et seq.
 Street, Jane 101
 Structure, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 20, 23, 25, 29, 93-4, 109, 175
 Subversive listing 193
 Syndicalism, 83
 Syndicalism, criminal 140, 149-50
 Tactics (see stay-in), 57-9, 60, 73, 101, 143-4, 146, 167, 185 and footnote 11, p. 98
 Taft-Hartley Act 73, 179, 191-2
 Tannenbaum, Frank, 90
 Textile workers, 35-36 and 53-63
 Thompson, James P., 29, 37, 53, 143
 Toledo, 129
 Trautman, 5, 25, 27, 44, 45
 Unemployed 89-90, 156, 158 et seq.
 Violence, including absence of, 34, 43, 46, 56, 71, 80-87, 103, 111-2, 119, 125, 132-3
 Walsh, J.H., 38, 47
 War, position on, 109-110, 114, 181-2, 198
 Western Federation of Miners, 9-12, 24, 26, 27, 29, 34
 Wheatland, Calif., 78-79
 "Wobbly," origin of, 66-67
 Work Peoples College 101, 155 (footnote 15), 175
 WPA WORKERS, 174
 Yakima, Wn., 106, 160



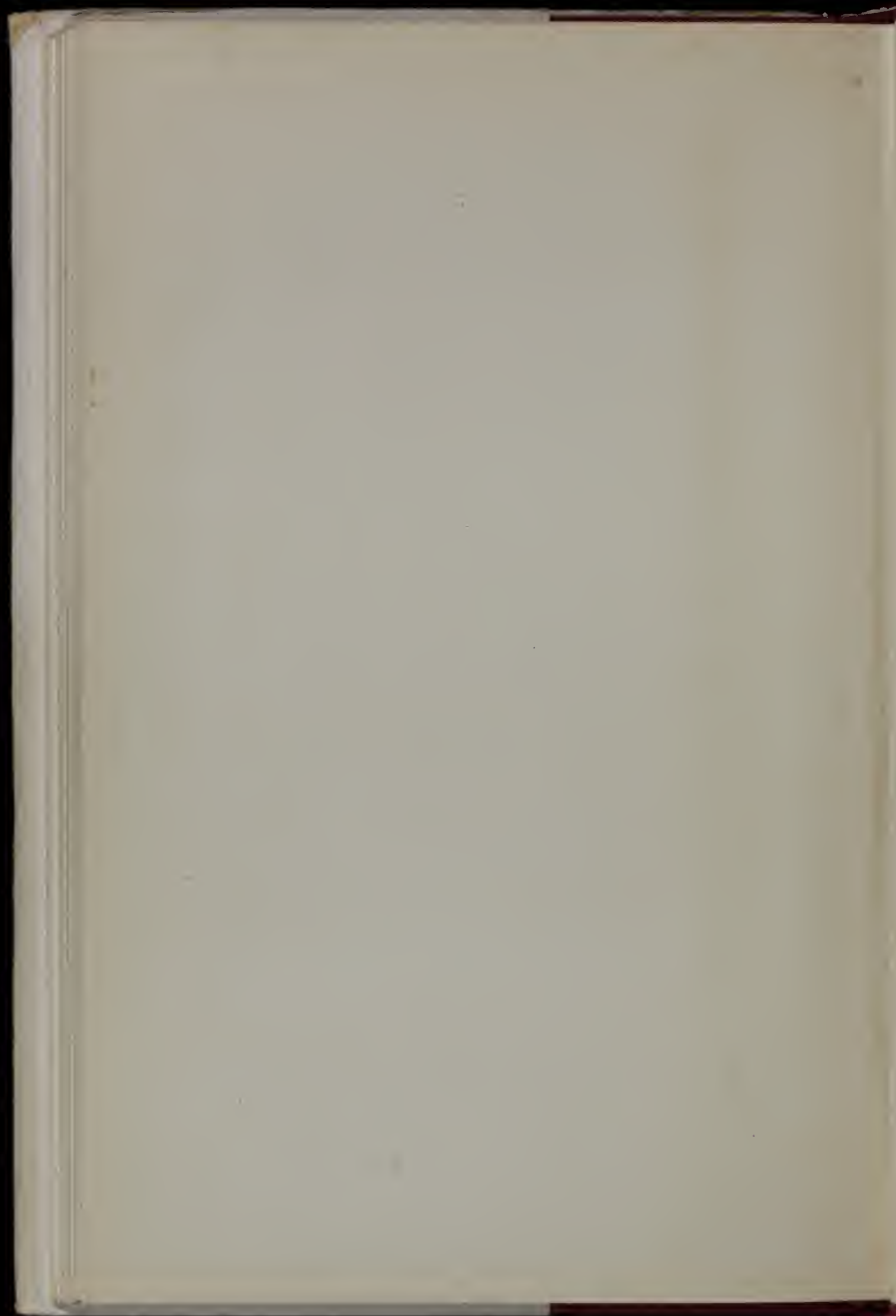
Footnotes To Chapter 13

1. Industrial Worker Aug. 23, 1943
2. Bridges account of leaving MTW was much along the line of Furuseth's attack on J. Vance Thompson. Sears decision was summarized in press at the time, most fully in San Francisco papers.
3. The Business Week account of IWW was reprinted with editorial comment in Industrial Worker on Feb. 27, 1945.
4. The maritime situation through 1946 was summarized in Industrial Worker of Sept. 28, 1946 and in end of year labor summary. The Industrial Worker of that period is an exceptionally full source of waterfront news.
5. Industrial Worker July 10, 1949.
6. Industrial Worker carried full account of this including the document I.U. 440 submitted to NLRB—Apr. 8, 1944.
7. Butcher Workman, May 1950.

* * *

Among misprints in the book, the following two stand out: page 49: the Industrial Worker suspended publication in 1913 and did not resume publication until 1916. On page 200, Orwell's novel should be given as "1984" not as "1894".





FURTHER READING ON I.W.W.

The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice

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This book smashes myths, many of which appear even in college texts and similar works. It is necessary reading for all students of the labor movement. It gives unusual insights into the entire labor situation from 1900 to date.

It is likewise important to the student of government—for any conception of government which will not accommodate the facts of what government has done to the Wobblies is inadequate and contrary to fact.

But mainly it is a book to be cherished by all who warm up to a good fight for a worthy cause. Since the I.W.W. is not dead, it is a fight that still goes on and, in the opinion of some very well-informed people, constitutes a major hope for the human race today.

THE W. W. : ITS FIRST SEVENTY YEARS 1905-1975
THOMPSON & MURFIN

ISBN: 0-917142-04-9



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ITS FIRST SEVENTY YEARS

1905 - 1975

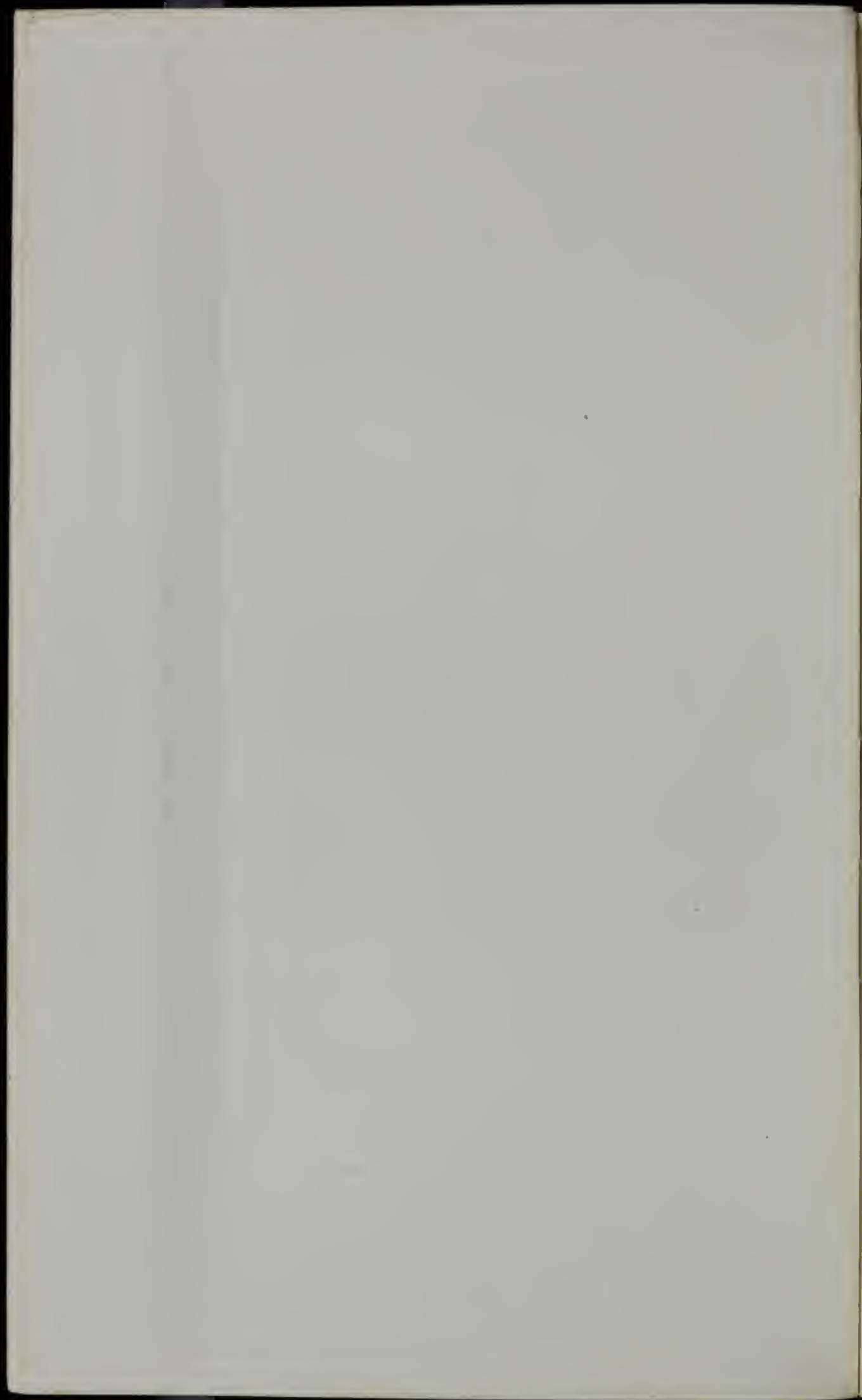


by FRED W. THOMPSON
and PATRICK MURFIN









The I. W. W.

Its First Seventy Years
(1905 – 1975)

The history of an effort
to organize the working class



A corrected facsimile of the 1955 volume: *The I.W.W. Its First Fifty Years* by Fred Thompson with new chapter by Patrick Murfin on I.W.W. 1955-1975 and an appendix listing sources on I.W.W. history published since 1955.

Published November 1976

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All others: Industrial Workers of the World.

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CONTENTS

Preamble to the Constitution of the IWW, 1908

About the Authors

I	Why the I.W.W. Was Started	5
II	Getting Started (1905-1908)	23
III	Big Fights of a Small Union (1909-1911) . . .	41
IV	The Textile Workers (1910-1913)	53
V	Pre-War Crest: Activities 1912-13 outside Textile Industry	64
VI	"Those Bomb-Throwing I Won't Works" (Sources of its weird reputation)	80
VII	Hard Times (1914-1915)	89
VIII	Events of 1916	98
IX	Fight with the War Profiteers (1917-1919) . .	111
X	Revolution Around the Corner (1919-1921) .	127
XI	Peak, Split and Recovery (1922-1929) . . .	139
XII	The Stimulus of Depression (1930-1940) . .	156
XIII	World War II and Cold War (1941-1955) . . .	179
XIV	1955-1975	201
	Appendix: Sources for IWW History	221
	Original 1955 references are at the end of each chapter; supplementary references are arranged by chapter as part of the appendix.	
	Alphabetical Index	236

Illustrations are between pages 70-71, 124-125,
200-201.

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for emancipation, we unite under the following constitution:

ABOUT THE AUTHORS:

When the greater part of this volume was published in 1955, several reviews expressed surprise that an "official history" should contain such a candid account of ventures that had not worked well. Fred Thompson, who wrote it, likes to quote what Lissagary wrote in his participant history of the Paris Commune, that to glamorize such events and omit what may embarrass is like giving sailors a chart that leaves out the reefs and shoals. Patrick Murfin has acted on that belief in his additions to this book.

Both writers have been active participants in many of the events of which they write, and have talked with participants in events they missed.

Fred Thompson was born in St. John, Canada, in 1900, and became a member of the Socialist Party of Canada in his youth. As secretary of his local, he was in correspondence with radicals on both sides of the border. He worked in a paper box factory, a sugar refinery, the Halifax shipyards where he was involved in his first strike, went west in 1920 and joined the Canadian One Big Union. He came to the United States in 1922, worked in a Hoquiam sawmill, and on various construction projects along the west coast, joining the IWW in San Francisco in September. The following April he was arrested in Marysville and after two trials was convicted as an IWW organizer under the California Criminal Syndicalism law. After his release in 1927 from San Quentin, where he had the company of over a hundred other victims of the same law, he was active in efforts to repair the 1924 "split" in the IWW. He was also elected to the General Executive Board representing Construction Workers Industrial Union 310. At various times he has edited IWW papers, been an instructor at Work Peoples College, an organizer in Detroit and Cleveland in the mid-thirties, secretary of the Cleveland Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 branch from 1943-46, and author of several IWW pamphlets.

Patrick Murfin was born in Montana in 1949 and grew up in Cheyenne, Wyoming. He joined the IWW

in Chicago in 1969 after being active in student and community organizing, as well as in the peace movement. He has been Chicago Branch Secretary, a member of the General Executive Board, General Secretary-Treasurer in 1972, and currently is editor of the *Industrial Worker*. He has worked at a variety of jobs including labor writer for the *Chicago Seed*, offset pressman, and welder in a bicycle plant. In 1973, he served six months in federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota, for refusing induction into the armed forces. For the last three years he has worked in a plant manufacturing engineering, drafting, and print-making equipment.

The IWW: Its First 50 Years has been out of print for some time. We are proud to reprint it now as *Its First 70 Years*. We shall keep on trying, for the job the IWW set out to do in 1905 still desperately needs to be done. Are you with us?

General Executive Board, IWW
Terry Dennis, Chairman

I. Why the I.W.W. Was Started

The I.W.W. was started in 1905 by "seasoned old unionists," as Gene Debs called them,¹ who realized that American labor could not win with the sort of labor movement it had. There was too much "organized scabbery" of one union on another, too much jurisdictional squabbling, too much autocracy, and too much hobnobbing between prosperous labor leaders and the millionaires in the National Civic Federation. There was too little solidarity, too little straight labor education, and consequently too little vision of what could be won, and too little will to win it.

Building a new labor movement was not a project to be undertaken lightly. Even to build a new craft union was something then to undertake with great caution and secrecy, but the six men whose meeting in the fall of 1904 gave eventual birth to the I.W.W. aimed at one organization of all labor to replace the existing labor movement. When they met it was only 18 years since the AFL had been set up to rout the Knights of Labor and to protect the craft unions from the inroads that its greater vision of solidarity was making on their vested interests. The Knights had been rendered impotent only ten years earlier, and labor leaders still watched vigilantly lest any similar movement break out. Those who could be counted upon to help were few and were already active in the existing labor movement, its socially-minded or radical minority, and were engaged in vigorous disputes among themselves over theory and policy. To identify themselves with this new effort might mean the loss of their union positions, and worse yet, turning over those positions to reactionaries who wanted, not only the job, but the opportunity to make the unions more acceptable to the plutocrats on the Civic Federation.

The six men who met in Chicago in November of 1904 to consider what might be done to correct the inadequacies of the labor movement, did so secretly. These six were Clarence Smith, secretary of the American Labor Union; Thomas Haggerty, editor of that union's paper, "The Voice of Labor"; George Estes and W. L. Hall, president and secretary of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; Isaac Cowan, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and William E. Trautman, editor of the "Brauer-Zeitung," official organ of the United Brewery Workmen. Involved, but unable to attend, were Gene Debs, long interested in industrial unionism especially for the railroad workers, and Charles O. Sherman, secretary of the United Metal Workers. The common interests of these men perhaps best explain why the I.W.W. was born; and their discordant interests, the troubles of the labor movement that the I.W.W. was to inherit.

The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees consisted of men mostly in the Chicago and nearby Indiana yards, and some in Kansas, who had been with Debs' American Railway Union in 1894, and who resented the action whereby he "had left them without a fighting industrial union and forced them to enter the scab craft movements after he changed the ARU to a political movement," as one of them described their situation.² Estes had helped organize the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and, when given the job of revising its constitution, had urged a federation of all railroad brotherhoods, and the dropping of the phrase in its statement of purpose, "no quarrel with capital." When the ORT joined the AFL, Estes and those supporting his program, withdrew and with members from other railroad crafts started the UBRE. However, it felt too isolated and that year, 1904, it had applied to the AFL for a charter. This was refused, as the Scranton Declaration of 1901 restricted industrial unionism to the coal mines, and to avoid antagoniz-

ing the railroad brotherhoods that the AFL hoped might join it.³

The United Metal Workers had dropped out of the AFL that year. In 1900 Charles Sherman, with Gompers' approval, had got the three Chicago locals of metal workers, which were affiliated directly with the AFL, to call a convention to launch their own international. Their originally extensive jurisdiction had been steadily eaten away. After organizing the coppersmiths 95 per cent throughout the United States, these men were surrendered, against their own wishes, to the Sheet Metal Workers. A special charter issued in 1902 lopped off the bridge and structural iron workers. The expense of efforts to adjust jurisdictional claims had exceeded \$4000, and the 1904 convention of the AFL ordered the union broken up into further pieces. On referendum the United Metal Workers voted 92 per cent to disaffiliate and to adopt an industrial structure. Though this had meant more opposition and raids, it grew more rapidly, according to Sherman, after its separation from the AFL.⁴

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers had been brought here by skilled machinists coming from Britain with a strong attachment for the semi-industrial structure of their union that had been the model of progressivism from 1851 until the "new unionism" was born on the docks of Britain in the 1890's.⁵ Its American section had just been thrown out of the AFL on jurisdictional grounds in 1904.

The United Brewery Workmen was fighting for preservation of its industry-wide jurisdiction. Inside it a schism had been developing between the previously dominant socialistic old-timers and the rising crop of "major party" labor politicians. It had been born of America's first "stay-in" strike, in the Jackson Brewery in Cincinnati in 1884. In those days to keep the brauerei-knechte or "brewery peons" at beck and call, management housed them on the property in a "schalander." They were still mostly German-speaking in 1904. In this first stay-in strike, the workers sent management out, barri-

caded themselves with barrels of beer against the state troopers, and had a food supply to last them for weeks. Every shot at the barricade poured precious amber fluid down the streets, unstained by blood. The employers gave in, and the union was founded. It declared it would be industrial, and among its purposes was one of educating its members to make good beer to add to the joy of the Co-operative Commonwealth.⁶

The Brewery Workmen grew to a national organization, affiliating with the AFL in 1887. Many of its locals were affiliated with the Knights of Labor. This was encouraged because of the extra boycott power it gave, for the union relied heavily upon this weapon and was engaged for fourteen years (1888-1902) in a boycott against the National Brewery Owners Association. As a national body it joined the Knights in 1893; then under penalty of losing its AFL charter, withdrew in 1896, still urging its individual members to stay with the badly routed Knights to build the greater solidarity. That same year the coopers' union demanded it get the brewery coopers. Then in 1898 came a demand to surrender the engineers. In 1902 the AFL ordered the firemen and engineers out of it. At the 1904 AFL convention the teamsters demanded 10,000 beer truck drivers. The brewery workers voted on referendum 34,612 to 367 not to surrender to these claims.

At the Brewery Workmen's convention in September 1904 there had been some talk of leaving the AFL and joining with the American Labor Union, the other major participant in this November conference; but it was plain that the ALU must become a bigger union to make such a switch possible, and enable the Brewery Workmen, if so affiliated, to enforce boycotts and resist jurisdictional raids. The brewery workers were also held back by an internal "right-left" schism, born of the political policy of "reward your friends," and the need of city central labor bodies for ties with whichever party got in, ties that were indispensable in the

racketeering in which central labor bodies, especially through their building trades, were at the time heavily involved. Trautman, representing the progressive brewery forces, attended both this and the January conference without notifying his union.⁷

The American Labor Union had been founded by the Western Federation of Miners in 1902 because these metal miners wanted a class-wide labor body with which to affiliate. It had not flourished, and a chief reason for this November conference, and eventually for the determination to launch the I.W.W., was the hope of these western metal miners, and of the men they had rallied to the American Labor Union, and of the progressive forces around Trautman in the Brewery Workmen, that the obvious inadequacy and misdirection of the labor movement might now make it possible, by mergers and re-organization and the organization of the unorganized, to build an organization large enough to give the brewery workers the power to boycott any scab beer, and to provide each affiliate with the unstinted backing of all.

The Western Federation of Miners was frontier unionism, the organization of workers who had become "wage slaves" of mining corporations rather recently acquired by back-east absentee ownership. They built their union when they were not yet "broken in" to the discipline of business management. It had the militancy of the undisciplined recruits who fought for the ten hour day here in the 1830's, or for Chartism in England in the same era, or those who staged the sit-down strikes of France in 1936 and here in 1937. From the founding of the Western Federation in 1893, its story for twelve years is that of a continuous search for solidarity. Metal miners had been organized locally before that time, and formed their federation the better to back each other up in the increasingly hard battles forced upon them by well-heeled big business management. The idea of federating the vari-

ous local unions was said to have been born "in the Ada County jail" and bull pens where hundreds of them were herded after the Couer d'Alene strike of 1892. It affiliated with the AFL, but its delegates to the AFL Cincinnati convention of 1896 came away not only disappointed with the refusal to aid their big fight in Leadville, but with a feeling that they had not been associating with union men, or with men possessing the moral or intellectual fibre ever to become good union men.⁸

They left the AFL and launched the Western Labor Union. The miners had reasons for building unions for non-miners. The mining territory was, apart from the miners, unorganized; the AFL outside of Denver and a few cities had done little western organizing except on the coast. Workers outside the miners wanted a union, and the Western Federation either had to take them in or build them one, for it needed to have them organized and on their side. How their strikes went depended largely on how the rest of the community that didn't work in the mines stood. Their strike experience had shown it made a substantial difference whether state politics was under labor-Populist influence or not. In the Cripple Creek strike of 1891-94 the Populist Governor had used the National Guard to restrain the private armies recruited by mine management. In the Leadville strike two years later the Governor swore the scabs into the National Guard and deputized the business element to give the miners a hard time. Gene Debs was on hand to help them organize the Western Labor Union and teach them socialism and solidarity. In the second battle of the Coeur d'Alene 1899-1901 Federal troops demonstrated the power of the back east owners, compelling some miners to work at gun point, others to build their own bull-pens, inventing the rustling card system so no man could hunt a job without the sheriff's approval, and using Governor Steunenberg, whom the miners had helped elect as a Populist, to oust the elected local authorities who might have some sympathy with the strikers.

The miners wanted a nationwide labor movement that would not only help provide beans and bacon when long strikes had drained their own treasuries, but would exert some pressure to expose the daily press that lied about them and that thereby laid the carpet for atrocities by Federal troops. Class-wide solidarity was not only an ideal with them; it was a bread-and-butter necessity, the only conceivable means to protect their wives against the atrocities of Federal troops, and their children from the hunger imposed by absentee owners.

The Western Labor Union worried the Washington, D.C., heads of the AFL. Frank Morrison, secretary of the AFL, came to Salt Lake City in 1902 to attend the conventions of the Western Federation and its projection, the Western Labor Union. He threatened that if they did not re-affiliate, he would build a rival union. The delegates knew what that would mean: their dismemberment by crafts in an industry that made industrial unionism a matter of necessity, not one of choice. They feared too it would crush the spirit of their union, and they sensed that the anti-capitalist spirit that they cultivated in themselves and the community was an essential part of the defense of their bread and butter. Mark Hanna had launched the National Civic Federation in 1900 to housebreak unionism, to confine its growth to those fields where management could use it, and to emasculate it by a united front of labor leaders and captains of industry against all socialistic and insurgent elements. Miners knew that this growth of what was called "responsible unionism," in which the members were responsible to the leaders whom Mark Hanna called "the labor lieutenants of the captains of industry," meant more "sell-outs" of the sort imposed on the steel workers in 1901. So they met Morrison's threat by changing the name of the Western Labor Union to American Labor Union, a challenge to the AFL in its back east empire. To spice the retort they endorsed Debs' new Socialist Party, partly because it was an antidote to Morrison's and Gompers' and Mark Hanna's poison,

partly because they thought socialism might be a good idea, and partly because they liked Debs who had been around in their strikes making speeches to help their families keep a stiff upper lip.⁹

Between then and this November 1904 conference they had fought a two year war in Colorado. The union had spent over \$400,000 in this struggle against the companies, the militia and the Citizens' Alliance. Its members had been put in bull-pens, its officers repeatedly indicted. White-capped vigilantes had invaded its members' homes to deport them; the right of habeas corpus had vanished; the miners' wives were subjected to outrages and terrorism. As the secretary of the Western Federation, Bill Haywood, told the January conference: "The miners of Colorado fought alone the capitalist class of the United States; we don't want to fight that way again."

The American Labor Union had grown only to about 16,000 members, not counting the 27,000 in its chief affiliate the Western Federation. But these included the two thousand or more in the UBRE which was affiliated with ALU and those in Amalgamated Society.¹⁰ Its paper "The Voice of Labor" edited by a left-wing socialist, Thomas J. Haggerty, often called Father Haggerty, was an effective challenge to craft unionism, organized scabbery, and the Gompers-Hanna unholy alliance. It seemed plain that unless the progressive forces in the labor movement could be rallied to build something new, the metal miners would have to fight that way again, the brewery workers would be dismembered, and that an unbridled and reactionary autocracy would stifle these progressive forces that could be found to some degree in all unions. This is the chief explanation why these six men met in November 1904, to consider whether there was any chance of building a labor movement in which unions would support each other and not, in the name of sacred contracts, scab on each other.

As these six men met it was plain their combined mass lacked the gravitational pull necessary to start

a new movement which it would seem prudent for progressive forces to join. The labor history of the last few years made them reckon, however, that a sufficient mass could be rallied. There had been great recent changes in the environment of the labor movement: first "the Morganization of industry" or mushrooming of great trusts starting with U.S. Steel in 1900; growth in the size of factories and consequent interdependence of crafts; the open shop campaign of the Citizens' Alliances from 1902 on a nation-wide scale with backing of National Association of Manufacturers. The new model for capital organization, U.S. Steel, had promptly broken the old Amalgamated steel union in the strike of 1901 and had locked unions out of the nation's basic metal industry by lulling Gompers into inaction in the belief that Morgan was a "friend of labor." On the Great Lakes the Lake Carriers was organizing to drive off unionism. In the then very important molding trade, a much prized national agreement had given way to a current attempt of the employers' association to rout the Molders throughout the nation. The Machinists similarly after the Murray Hill Truce now found themselves for several years in ceaseless conflict with the National Metal Trades Association. In the building trades, the racketeer unionism of Skinny Madden and Parks had played out; AFL unions had been compelled to merge with dual company unions; their sympathetic strike machinery was disrupted, and a most unpalatable arbitration scheme imposed in major cities. On the railroads the unions existed only for such crafts as the owners let organize; Clerks were not allowed a union. On the Louisville & Nashville and other roads the shop crafts were engaged in long and unsupported strikes for survival. On New York's Interborough Transit, as these six men met, August Belmont, bell-wether of the National Civic Federation, was using the ace strike-breaker James Farley to build up an army of scabs should the men dare strike. The Butcher Workmen had just collapsed before the onslaughts of the Beef Trust in the strike

(made famous by Sinclair's "Jungle") that ended with unconditional surrender in September 1904.

Could a labor union of the sort needed for this new industrial situation be built by the re-organization of the crafts and the enrollment of millions of unorganized? The six men decided there might be a chance, and invited 36 of those they figured best able to help to attend a secret conference to be held January 2, 1905.

The six men were all in the general sense of the term, socialist as, in that age, were most staunch unionists, either espousing some specific socialist program or expressing a general faith in some vague "Co-operative Commonwealth" as the solution to the "labor question." Even most old line union Preambles expressed such ideas, and rather unavoidably, since the reason for their formation was to win quarrels with employers, and these quarrels would arise no matter what they won so long as the employer-employee relation continued. Consequently to contemplate final or complete victory for labor had for decades been recognized as the contemplation of some social order successor to capitalism in which workers owned their jobs and the equipment with which they worked either individually or collectively. While the practical reason for their meeting was the need for greater labor union solidarity, it was plain to them that the solution of this practical problem would assure the solution of the larger "labor question," and this was emphasized in their invitation:

"Asserting our confidence in the ability of the working class, if correctly organized on both political and industrial lines, to take possession of and operate successfully . . . the industries of the country;

"Believing that working-class political expression, through the Socialist ballot, in order to be sound, must have its economic counterpart in a labor organization builded as the structure of socialist society, embracing within itself the working class in

approximately the same groups and departments and industries that the workers would assume in the working-class administration of the Co-operative Commonwealth;

"We invite you to meet us at Chicago, Monday, Jan. 2, 1905, in secret conference to discuss ways and means of uniting the working people of America on correct revolutionary principles, regardless of any general labor organization of past or present, and only restricted by such basic principles as will insure its integrity as a real protector of the interests of the workers."

Size was important for solving the practical problems that had brought these six men together. In retrospect it appears that they erected a barrier to size by this pre-natal injection of revolutionary theory. While the January conference in Wostas Hall was attended by 23 persons, representing nine organizations, it represented very little more union force than the November conference. Of them 18 came from these same unions, though now Moyer, Haywood and O'Neil represented the Western Federation directly; Sherman and Kirkpatrick came from the United Metal Workers; Trautman had brought along Frank Kraft of the Brewery Workmen. New participants were "Mother" Jones of the United Mine Workers, Shurtleff of the International Musical Union, Schmitt and Guild from the Bakers, the former the editor of its Journal, and W. J. Pinkerton of the Switchmen. Debs was prevented from attending by illness. Though representing no union, A. M. Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, was present, and though not originally invited, Frank Bohn, national organizer for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, who happened to be passing through Chicago, was asked to participate, and did. This brought the gathering to 25. They decided to go through with the attempt, and issued a Manifesto calling for an Industrial Union Congress in Chicago on June 27. When this met, it became the Industrial Workers of the World.¹¹

This Manifesto called for "the economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party"; industrial organization, with "industrial autonomy internationally"; transfers between local or national or international unions to be universal; a central defense or strike fund to which all members were to contribute equally; its general administration to be conducted "in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class." It argued for the need for such an organization from the technological changes in industry, the organization of capital, and recent bitter experience in strikes.

The proposals of this Manifesto came however to be considered less on their obvious union merits than on the suspicion what political motives might lie behind them. The Manifesto was much more a union document than the letter of Nov. 29. It went into the socialist issue only by including in its criticism of the craft union movement the comment that "it is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product which they alone will enjoy." The committee circulated 180,000 copies of the Manifesto, and the reaction was largely the question, what were the bifurcated socialists planning to do to the unions now? One good indirect result: the industrial jurisdiction of the Brewery Workmen was temporarily restored.

To make at all clear the reception of this Manifesto it is necessary to consider at least briefly the past relations of the unions and the American socialist movement. Immigrants, especially Germans, had brought over the controversies of Marx, Lassalle and Bernstein; such books as Bellamy's "Looking Backward" had made a strong impression on American labor; the old Greenback and Populist movements had become impregnated with some of this more systematic socialist theory; the fact that the major labor movements of most other countries

gave at least lip service to socialist ideals, had its influence; both the immigrant and native socialist movements had carried on propaganda and sought converts and positions in the unions. A major argument within socialist ranks was over the role of unions in relation to their program. Complete Marxists said that not only was the will to build a new social order an outgrowth of the daily union struggle, but that the unions themselves were the "cells of the future society." They felt union activity was part of the work of a socialist. Complete Lassalleans said workers could gain nothing by unions, that the unions diverted the efforts of labor into futile channels from the building of a party by which to triumph. But all were sympathetic toward unionism and strikers. Some of both these divisions said that the future was one of increasing misery for labor until it reached the intolerable point where labor woke up and somehow made itself supreme; others of both these divisions held that either by union or legislative gains labor would steadily improve its lot as it increased its competence to run the world. Some said victory would be by ballots; some that it would come only by violent revolution. Some felt the way to win was to start colonies to practice socialism; some that it required the growth of select groups studying and agreeing upon fine points of doctrine; others that it was by building reform parties with a mass appeal, even if this involved slogans in which the leaders themselves could not believe. Socialism was far from a uniform body of thought, but most socialists felt that it was good to "bore from within" the unions, to seek converts, votes, and positions.

Marx's First International, the IWMA, mortally wounded by the affright of British labor after the Paris Commune of 1871, and by schisms between himself and Bakunin, moved to New York in 1872, and was dissolved at a convention in Philadelphia, July 15, 1876. Four days later the delegates merged with a few American labor political groups to found the Workingmen's Party of the United States which

bore the brunt of agitation in the spontaneous strike movement of 1877, and at the close of the next year changed its name to Socialistic Labor Party of North America. It sought friendly relations with the unions, particularly with those of the Gompers persuasion until 1890 when it began its quarrel with the AFL, and, with the final "ic" off the first term in its name, began its re-shaping under Daniel De Leon. For five years it gave its attention to the Knights of Labor, then losing out in that venture, De Leon grabbed what he could to form the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, a union completely dominated by SLP. This body started out with 20,000 but dwindled rapidly though 228 charters were issued prior to its Buffalo convention in 1898; after that convention the Central Federated Union in New York with its locals quit, leaving the ST&LA little more than a "paper" union in which the members of the SLP doubled as union members. It reported 1450 members in 1905 and entered about 1200 into IWW.

One circumstance that shaped its character was the "violence" mania of the mid-eighties. Largely under the influence of Johann Most, a large section of the then appreciable anarchist movement and of those socialists who placed little hope in the election process, adopted the Pittsburgh program of physical force in 1883 and pushed the dynamite philosophy that made the conviction of the Haymarket anarchists easy despite their obvious innocence. The aftermath was a strong employer offensive (the more effective as neither AFL nor K of L had defended the Haymarket victims) and the first clear triumph of conservative bureaucracy in the unions, denouncing all radicalism as tainted with this violence. This was the easier as the dynamite enthusiasts had scorned the union movement and its 8 hour campaign. De Leon, appealing to leftists who tended to assume that the plutocrats would yield to nothing short of a triumph of arms, preached the doctrine as "unquestionable" laws of society, that in election the workers must establish their right to rule, but that "right without might is illusory; in other words,

the field of physical force is the unavoidable court of second and last resort," and thirdly "He who cannot vote right, ever will shoot wrong."¹² This he termed putting the class struggle "on the civilized plane," and jumped to the conclusion that for any group to advocate a major social change without endorsing a political party and program to legislate it, implied "physical forcism."

From the 1890 breach with the AFL and the 1898 breach with the Knights, the De Leon group reached the further conclusion that the labor union movement was a corrupt mobilization of labor for the defense and perpetuation of capitalism, and that workers alike for everyday struggles and ultimate emancipation must build socialist industrial unionism. The possibilities of such unionism as visualized in the ST&LA and more clearly yet with the launching of the IWW, so long as the De Leonites could exert a substantial influence in it, tended to replace the prospect of "physical force" as the field of last encounter with the prospect of a lockout of employers by an organized working class, to supply might to the revolutionary SLP ballot.

Though the ST&LA had dwindled instead of growing, the De Leon movement was an irritant to the AFL leadership. The presence of Bohn, national organizer of the ST&LA, at the January conference and his signature to the Manifesto, was taken by most union organs as evidence that De Leon was attempting to use this need of metal miners, brewery and other workers for a class-wide industrial union movement, to build a bigger ST&LA which he could dominate. The discussion on the Manifesto running for months in the columns of De Leon's Daily People clearly showed that this was the hope and plan of those SLP members who favored participation.¹³ This hurt the chances for the new movement the more because of recent splits in the socialist movement.

Since most socialists felt it necessary somehow to get along with the unions, even when they were

hostile to socialist ideals, and since the interest in the labor movement that led a worker to become a socialist often led him to be active enough in his union to become an officer of it, the switch of the only socialist party in the country to a policy of devoting most of its effort to an attack on the existing unions, created a demand for a socialist movement less doctrinaire than De Leon's and able to get along with the unions as they were. Debs' conversion to socialism after the Pullman strike provided this movement with its most popular and effective exponent. He turned the remnants of his American Railway Union into the Social Democracy of America, which by merger with defections from the SLP, in 1901 became the Socialist Party of America. Between the two parties raged such a war as can be found only between competing radicals. The more Marxian and "class struggle" tendencies in the young Socialist Party were focused around the *International Socialist Review*, a monthly magazine issued in Chicago and edited by Simons, who also attended the January conference and signed the Manifesto. All this put the proposal for a new union movement to end organized scabbery and Civic Federation hobnobbing, in the middle of vociferous arguments between different schools of socialists. Most socialist papers condemned the new effort then and throughout its formative years, chiefly, as Debs repeatedly insisted, not because of any principle or sound argument, but out of personal hostility toward De Leon.¹⁴

These circumstances not only prevented the proposals of the Manifesto from being considered on their merits, but beset the new union with internal quarrels that almost killed it in its infancy. From the advantaged view of hindsight it seems plain that had neither Simons nor Bohn attended that January conference, and had these extraneous political quarrels been sidetracked, it would have been much better for the IWW and the labor movement.

An indirect good was the preservation of the industrial jurisdiction of the Brewery Workmen.

Trautman, editor of their paper, was deposed for his participation in this new venture; the issue went to referendum of the brewery workers, so that according to Trautman, with 10,481 votes cast for him and only 9,157 against, the AFL Executive counsel bought his ouster by restoring the charter revoked in 1904 in turn for counting out enough of these votes. The threat of the IWW was again to preserve industrial union jurisdiction for the brewery workers in 1908 and 1912.¹⁵

To the Industrial Union Congress June 27, 1905 came 70 delegates empowered to install the Western Federation, the American Labor Union, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a total membership of 50,827 according to the memberships claimed by each. Also came 72 delegates without power to install, and 61 individual delegates able to install only themselves. With great oratory and repeated assurances by Debs and De Leon that here was common grounds for all socialists to meet, they launched the Industrial Workers of the World, with little more actual backing than at that November conference of six men, minus the hopes then held of including the Brewery Workmen. There could be no blindness to the difficulties ahead; it was started because there was obvious need for a union of, by, and for the working class, and hopes that it might so conduct its affairs that locals and internationals would join, and great masses of unorganized workers become organized through its efforts.

General Sources: Brissenden's "IWW" is the best work available as yet, but covers the story with fullness only up to 1913, and sketchily to 1918. Gambs' "Decline of the IWW" purportedly taking up where Brissenden left off, indicates no such familiarity with the subject as Brissenden had. The story of the IWW in short is given rather well in several chapters of Vol. IV of the History of Labor in the United States, that volume being written by Perlman and Taft. For the Western Federation of Miners, see Jensen's "Heritage of Conflict" which is a detailed history of that union, but takes a rather hostile attitude toward IWW from the year 1906 on. "Bill Haywood's Book" contains much information. Bound copies of the Proceedings of the First Convention of the IWW are available from the SWP. A series in the *Industrial Worker* in 1950, entitled "Hard Rock Miner," considers the relations of the IWW and the WFM and SLP in great detail. Another series, "The I.W.W. Tells Its

Own Story," starting in *Industrial Solidarity* December 23, 1930, and continuing in *Industrial Worker* to August 2, 1932, gives the story in much more detail than it is given in this book up to 1919. In 1945, to mark the 40th anniversary, the *Industrial Worker* ran a series, "The First Forty Years," and much other commemorative material, largely written by those who had participated in the making of the IWW's history, in issues from June to September. Because of space limitations, this booklet has avoided detail on those aspects where detail is readily available; and in these footnotes confines reference usually to items not included in the already published accounts.

1. In article Aug. 1906 in *The Worker*, a Socialist publication, reprinted in *Daily People*, Aug. 12, 1906.

2. Quoted from Pinkerton, one of its delegates to 2nd Convention, in *Daily People*, Nov. 4, 1906.

3. Re Estes, *Daily People*, Feb. 23, 1905.

4. Re Sherman and United Metal Workers, *Daily People*, June 3, 1905.

5. Barou: "British Trade Unions," p. 15.

6. Trautman in *OBU Monthly*, October, 1937.

7. Sources: *Daily People*, March 9 and April 30, 1905, and Perlman & Taft, Vol. IV, pp. 363-365.

8. See Jensen, "Heritage of Conflict," p. 60.

9. All was not friendly between ALU and WFM, according to Trautman in *IUB*, Feb. 22, 1908.

10. Membership of American section of the ASE seems about 4,000; Trautman reported to 2nd convention that for one year its tax to ALU had been \$2,688.13.

11. The Manifesto has been frequently republished, as in Brissenden's "Launching," in "Bill Haywood's Book," as a separate leaflet on several occasions, and is currently available as first item in Kornbluh's "Rebel Voices."

12. Editorial, *Daily People*, Feb. 3, 1905. For the general history of American radicalism in 19th century see both Vols. II and IV of the "History of Labor in the United States," and David's "The Haymarket Affair."

13. Examples: *Daily People*, Jan. 26: "With the conception of a Socialist Union comes the cessation of the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, and the struggle for working class supremacy begins." Feb. 3, W. Cox argued, "The new economic organization must be affiliated with SLP or party must fight it." March 19 issue showed how completely SLP dominated ST&LA. March 31, Olive M. Johnson writes: "It is impossible that the ST&LA can desire a separation of the political and economic organization of labor . . . or even passively submit to it." April 1 issue, H.J. Schade proposed that the initiation fee of the new union be used for subscription to *Weekly People*, and E.J. Rounier argues: "The Constitution of the SLP designates any union not under the control of the party as pure and simple. The SLP insists that the economic organization be controlled by the political one."

14. Debs wrote in *Worker*, Aug. 1906 (reprinted *People*, Aug. 12, 1906): "It may be that De Leon has designs upon the Socialist Party and expects to use the I.W.W. as a means of disrupting it . . . if he succeeds, it will be because his enemies in the Socialist Party, in their bitter personal hostility to him, denounce the revolutionary IWW and support the reactionary AFL and thereby play directly into his hands."

15. Same sources as Footnote 7.

II. Getting Started — 1905-1908

Though the founding convention of the IWW ended with declarations of affiliation by bodies that gave it a claimed membership of about 52,000 to start with, it did not start with this membership. Apart from the individuals who had joined, it started out with the 1100 members the American Labor Union entered on August 1, and the \$817.59 that John Riordan of the ALU had left after winding up the affairs of the ALU. This was a substantial let-down from the 16,750 that ALU had reported to first convention. Sherman's United Metal Workers entered 700 members, not the 3,000 it had claimed. When the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance entered 1200 members, this with the UBRE and individuals and miscellaneous groups brought the membership for September to 4,247. By that time individual recruiting was under way and raised the membership to 5078 in early October and by Nov. 1, to 7,800. It stayed at about that level until the membership of the Metal Department doubled in February and again in March to 3000 bringing the total on April 1 to 13,266.

This growth in the Metal Department was almost entirely in Schenectady among General Electric workers. Punch Press Operators Union No. 224 of that city was one of the bodies represented at the first convention. Now with the aid of an SLP group and others in a Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society, it promoted the IWW idea in this plant employing 17,000, some two thirds of whom were under various AFL contracts. The IWW in the summer of 1906 built up a membership of about 2,500 among these workers, taking over some craft locals intact, and keeping them as 17 craft affiliates of its Industrial Council of Metal and Machinery Workers. The favorite method used in this first auspicious organizing campaign of the new union was to sit down until grievances in a department got ad-

justed. This tactic was devised to end the run-around that management and business agents had been giving the men on their grievances, and it was practiced also by the AFL union members in the plant. On hourly rates they drew their pay while staging sitdowns lasting from a few minutes in some cases to most of a shift in others.¹

Strikes, almost entirely in the east, steadily drained the organization's resources, with no promising development outside of this in Schenectady, which led to the first stay-in of the century in December, noted later. In some of these the AFL sent in scabs. In Youngstown the tanners and slaters, previously divided in four crafts, joined the IWW and struck; the employer wired the AFL for scabs, and these were sent despite the protest of the local Painters. The AFL replaced IWW strikers in Yonkers and San Pedro. In contrast the IWW bricklayers in Cleveland walked out in sympathy with the building laborers of the AFL and refused to desert them even when offered a pay boost and a closed shop contract. In St. Louis and Butte an AFL boycott was put on IWW products. The Machinists, the Hat & Cap Makers, the Leather Workers, and the Carpenters all decreed no IWW could belong to their organization or work on jobs that they controlled.

On February 7, 1906, Moyer and Haywood, president and secretary of the Western Federation, were kidnaped, along with a friendly non-member, Pettibone, by government officers and taken to Idaho, charged with the murder of former governor Steunenberg. From that date to their trials in the summer of 1907 the IWW was preoccupied with agitation on their behalf and with raising funds for their defense. It raised \$10,982.51 and secured the services of Clarence Darrow. Meanwhile the Western Federation was for the first time in its history free from strikes, and the new IWW beset with them, yet concentrating on this defense case which, while it got much newspaper space, called no attention to the new union, but only to the Western Federation

and its past struggles. The WFM was not actually a part of the IWW until after its convention in June of 1906, when it entered 22,000 members. Haywood's imprisonment gave the right wing in the Federation control of its offices and a deal was worked out between these right wing forces, commonly called the "Denver Triumvirate," and Charles Sherman, President of the IWW, aiming to make the forthcoming second convention, in Sherman's phrase, "the Waterloo of the revolutionists." Sherman, the first and only president of the IWW, nominated by Moyer, had been elected at the first convention, chiefly because he stood nowhere, while all those who had taken definite positions felt it would be in the interests of harmony to decline the nomination.

The founding convention, amid its radical oratory, had elected an administration predominantly on the more conservative side, and provided for a system of departmental autonomy that entrenched the position of these conservatives. Simons warned at the first convention: "The men in one of those departments where we have a union today may go in there and adopt the name of that department and seize its machinery. . . . A little handful of men can control the machinery of that department and keep up such a hubbub as to keep all opposition out." Sherman's United Metal Workers, which proved to have only one executive beside himself, did that with the Metal Department and kept out the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Dictatorship developed in the Transportation Department whittling it down to almost nothing by the second convention, through refusal to furnish dues stamps to those opposing the departmental heads; these ousted men sought a hearing and Sherman refused to do anything on the grounds of departmental autonomy. The only friends of the rebel railroaders were the two radicals in the administration, Trautman, the secretary who weakened his position by traveling, and "Honest John" Riordan, the one rebel on the Executive Board, who stayed in the office but had to content himself with

writing "graft" across the checks drawn for the junketing trips of those who acted the customary role of labor leader.²

The second convention was supposed to have been held in May; then it was postponed so that the Western Federation could convene first and be duly installed. Had it been held then it might perhaps have ironed out these growing headaches but on the urging of Debs and his Terre Haute local, it was further postponed in the hopes of early trials for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, both to conserve funds for their defense and to make it a victory celebration for their acquittal.³ When it was seen that their trial could not come until after Supreme Court had ruled on the kidnaping and related issues, it was called for Sept. 17, 1906. The delegates assembled expecting it to be a short affair, and after ten days spent in wrangles over the seating of delegates from these dictator-ridden departments, many of them were out of funds. Sherman later explained in the Chicago Record-Herald of October 7 how he had planned to handle the "revolutionists":

"We believed we could starve them out by obstructive tactics, but at the end of the tenth day, De Leon had a resolution passed that they be allowed \$1.50 per day as salary and expenses while attending the convention. That was more money than any of them had earned in their lives and they were ready to stay with him until Christmas."

These remarks came rather poorly from one who in addition to his salary of \$150 per month, turned in expense accounts that even his cronies on the Denver Triumvirate could not swallow, and who, it later developed, was planning to make a fortune from control of the Fraternal Supply Company furnishing badges, buttons, etc. to WFM and IWW. Providing expenses for the delegates cost the IWW \$450, and won by a vote of 380½ to 251. The Sherman group argued this clearly violated the provisional constitution's provision that delegates should bear their own expenses, and the socialist

and general labor press denounced it as the "coup of the proletarian rabble," and pictured it as a De Leon victory over the socialists. Actually SLP followers had only 60 votes at the convention while followers of the Socialist Party had 158, and the division was not between these two parties but between those who wanted to make a union in the accepted patterns and those who wanted to build an instrument for the emancipation of the working class. Of the five delegates from Western Federation, two, Vincent St. John and Albert Ryan, were consistently with the rebels.

With "starve out" tactics foiled, the convention soon attended to its business and ended Sherman's position by abolishing the office of president. When the new executive board went to the offices at 146 W. Madison they found that Sherman and his allies had hired the Mooney-Bohlen Detective Agency to hold it against all comers. As Trautman reported to the 1907 convention:

"With no records or documents left, without addresses of unions or individuals, scarcely in possession of enough cash to communicate the outrageous proceedings to those who were expected to rush to the organization in its hour of need, with the whole press controlled by socialist party individuals, with one notable exception, as well as the capitalist mouthpieces, hurling their invectives against the 'tramps and beggars' and the 'proletarian rabble,' it certainly was a hard task to carry on the work and duties mapped out by the convention, which had adjourned a few hours earlier under the most favorable auspices."

St. John got an injunction against Sherman, but the funds were tied up. After long delays Sherman allowed the portion that had been raised for the defense of the Idaho cases to go to the Western Federation, and when the settlement was reached on Sept. 27, 1907, most of the rest of the funds went to the two lawyers. The "St. John-Trautman-De Leon faction" opened offices at 212 Bush Temple and won in the courts. Soon nothing was left of the

Sherman faction which held the old address until June 1908 and then sold its assets to the Socialist Party for \$250, while Sherman and Kilpatrick went on pay as speakers for the Hearst Independent League. Later Sherman was given a job with the Western Federation and still later a clerical job for the Socialist Party.⁴

Though the rebels won in the convention and in the courts and among the scattered locals, they lost the promising start in Schenectady and also the Western Federation.

In November 1906 some draftsmen at General Electric asked to join the IWW and were provided with a circular to solicit members in their department. They organized three dozen and then the three most active were fired. The IWW decided reinstatement or no production. On December 10 their 3000 fellow workers folded arms and stayed in without working. The next morning the draftsmen walked out followed by five thousand including many who belonged to AFL or to no union. Soon antagonisms between pro-Sherman and anti-Sherman forces, between radicals and conservatives, between supporters and opponents of De Leon, between the AFL and the new union broke up the early solidarity. The new draftsmen local withdrew on the 14th, the electrical workers on the 18th. GE was much concerned over invasion of its white collar force and threat of IWW to organize other GE plants. By December 20th when 200 new employees had been hired, the IWW called the strike off.

The craft structure of the industrial council and the dissension over the rift at the second convention wrecked the local organization. For a while there were two IWW bodies competing at the plant, the pro-Sherman Industrial Council, and its ousted locals 1, 34, 50, 55, 58, 76 and 77, which James P. Thompson, organizer for the rebel majority, reorganized in General Electric Workers Industrial Union No. 1. While some IWW support has existed among workers at this plant to this day, the IWW has not since then made any notable local history, despite the IWW sympathies frankly expressed for

many years by General Electric's colorful "wizard," Charles P. Steinmetz.

The Executive Board of the Western Federation promptly issued a referendum after the 1906 convention asking: "Shall the acts of the 2nd annual convention of the IWW be held as unconstitutional and illegal?" This carried and the WFM refused to pay per capita to "either faction," even though the Sherman faction existed only on paper and could be given life—and pay its debts—only with WFM per capita. The 1907 convention of the Western Federation by majority supported this position, but manifested the enduring need for a class-wide union that had led it to bring on the scene in succession the Western Labor Union, the American Labor Union and then the IWW, by adopting a new preamble (by 283 to 66 votes) re-stating the same principles as were in the IWW preamble, and concluding, "Therefore, we the wage slaves employed in and around the mines, mills and smelters of the world, have associated in the Western Federation of Miners, Mining Department of the Industrial Workers of the World."⁵ It issued at the same time a call for a conference of "the contending factions of the IWW, the United Brewery Workers, and all other labor unions ready to accept the principles of industrial unionism as formulated in the Manifesto issued at Chicago, June 2, 1905, to convene Oct. 1, 1907." The instructions to the delegates for the proposed conference included that the joint body assume no debts of either faction, for Sherman's debts were extensive; that no officer of either side could become an officer of the new body; that departmental autonomy was to be preserved, for the provisional constitution adopted in 1905 gave the GEB the power to pull out all members in support of any group on strike, and the miners needed to protect themselves against this, though the experience with the Metal and Transportation departments had shown the need of some right of appeal to the general organization. It was felt that this proposal was an idle gesture, and it was almost impossible to get

any to accept as delegates to the conference. It was repeatedly postponed. Haywood was acquitted a few weeks after this convention, and on Dec. 17, along with the other members of the Executive Board of the Western Federation sent an invitation addressed "To the Officers of Both Factions of the I.W.W." reading in part:

"As executive officers of the Western Federation of Miners we are determined to demonstrate to our membership, the membership of both factions of the I.W.W., and the working class generally, that we are not responsible for the continued dismemberment of the Industrial Workers of the World."

This call for a conference to be held April 6, 1908 was printed in full in the IWW paper, the Industrial Union Bulletin for Jan. 25, 1908, and flatly rejected. In rejecting it, the IWW, though its coming break with De Leon was already quite clear, evidently agreed with the arguments he was making in speeches and in his paper that ever since the founding of the IWW there had been a conspiracy to put it in the hands of those who would tame it and turn it from its declared purpose, and that this was the latest effort in this scheme.⁶

This decision ended the long struggle of the Western Federation to build a class-wide union. Thereafter it rapidly grew tame, futilely trying the approach of not antagonizing the employer in an industrial situation where that approach could not work, and steadily became more innocuous until the re-awakening of American labor in the mid-thirties. Having gone back into the AFL in 1911, after invitations as early as 1907, it changed its name to International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. Already in 1908, two days after the April conference that never conferred, the Denver Triumvirate fired Bill Haywood. He had had no connection with the IWW other than as chairman of its first convention, and now went speaking for the Socialist Party, and in 1910 represented it at the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, toured Europe lecturing,

and joined the IWW upon his return to America in the fall of that year.

Goldfield, 30 miles from Tonapah, in the silver region of Nevada had its 1500 gold miners solidly organized in Local 220 WFM—a progressive local built largely of active unionists deported from the Federation's battles in Colorado and Idaho. In February, 1906, an IWW local of newsboys was formed. Local 70 gradually organized the miscellaneous workers in the town, winning a strike of the Western Union messenger boys in May. In August, the Tonapah Sun declared war on the IWW, and the miners boycotted the paper so that it sold out to the Goldfield Tribune. Following the battle with Sherman at the September convention, these locals steadfastly supported the St. John faction.

In mid-December Local 220 tried to get \$5.00 established as low for all work in and around mines. The small leasers, largely former members of the Western Federation, were already paying this scale. They wanted to get all the ore out they could before their leases expired on Jan. 7; but the Florence and Mohawk Combination, owned back east, did not want this scale established and threatened to attack the small operators on the stock markets if they did not play ball. Thus work was stopped until two days after Jan. 7, when the scale was set at \$5 minimum below ground and \$4.50 minimum on surface.⁷

Once the big operators won out over the smaller, there was a more controlled production and many miners were laid off. They wanted to get some work out of the building boom, but the AFL carpenters objected to miners working even on the Miners Union Hospital. The Miners then demanded that carpenters working at mines carry WFM cards. The Mine Owners, recently re-organized on a straight anti-labor basis sided with the AFL, and locked the miners out March 10 to April 21. AFL organizers with sawed-off shotguns vainly tried to get miners to sign up for working the mines under AFL charters.

On the second day of the lockout, Silva, a restaurant proprietor, refused to pay a waitress her wages, and the IWW local struck his place. As M. R. Preston was picketing it in the evening, turning away prospective customers, Silva grew enraged and came out brandishing a gun. According to the parole board seven years later, Silva advanced on Preston for twenty-five feet, threatening to shoot, before Preston drew and shot in self-defense. (It was the custom to go armed.) Many were arrested, including St. John. Preston and Smith, the IWW delegate, were convicted on a conspiracy charge, though the parole board belatedly said there was no evidence of conspiracy. The Socialist Labor Party made Preston its vice-presidential candidate that year, over his objections, and though he was not a member of their party.⁸ About a week before St. John's arrest, the Chicago Journal of Finance forecast that soon he and other radicals in Goldfield would be arrested. The intent seems to have been to prevent this camp from sending radical delegates to the WFM convention; this miscarried, and also a plot to lynch the victims, to prevent which miners stood guard around the jail house.

After the lockout had been on 10 days it was decided to have the miners and the IWW local of town workers meet separately. They had been merged early that year in what seems to have been an effort to submerge a radical minority. Though now separated they stuck together. Mahoney, acting president of the Western Federation, came to settle the dispute. He found three-fourths of the businessmen in town had locked out the IWW, and that the AFL had sent in scabs. His concern was the miners, where the mine owners took the stand that they would not deal with a miners union connected in any way with the IWW, or that got involved in the troubles of the town workers. Mahoney evidently convinced them that the Western Federation would win out against the IWW. The lockout was settled, recognizing Local 220, affiliated with

both WFM and IWW, at the mines and with wages and other terms the same as before the lockout.

Throughout the summer the IWW step by step got rid of most of the AFL scabs around the town, and the amicable Third IWW Convention increased respect for the IWW. In October both Tonapah and Goldfield Locals of the WFM—along with various others—passed resolutions in favor of continuing support for the St. John-Trautmann IWW.⁹ How the WFM had been working meanwhile to undermine the IWW was explained in the following statement made by the Federation's counsel, Judge O. N. Hilton (later retained by IWW on Joe Hill appeal and in Mesaba Range cases), to the Goldfield Chronicle during the Federation's last unsuccessful bid for the good graces of the Mine Owners Association there:

"Already we have accomplished much along the line of weeding out the undesirable trouble breeders, and we propose to continue the work until such time as there remains only a hard working force of good miners who will not be interfered with or led by undesirables. Last summer when I was in Goldfield, I spent \$1200 on transportation for a number of members of the organization whom I thought it was best to send away from camp. These men are now away from here and there remain but a small number who, we believe, should have no hand in affairs here. If our proposition is received and accepted, I dare say that there will be no more trouble and that Goldfield will remain a union camp and a camp only of good well-intending miners."¹⁰

In October the big nation-wide financial crisis had hit. The Mine Owners asked Local 220 to permit part of the wages to be paid in checks drawn against ore in transit. The union was willing if the owners would guarantee eventual payment. While this was being negotiated with the mines in operation, an effort was made to kill St. John on Nov. 5, but the bullets hit another. When Mine Owners refused to guarantee payment to miners digging gold,

the miners struck, Nov. 27. The Mine Owners got the Governor to ask Theodore Roosevelt for Federal troops. There was no National Guard as the top layers feared that if one were formed it would consist largely of union men. The Legislature was not called as required for a request for Federal aid, as it was felt the Legislature would not make such a request. Roosevelt sent in troops, and on the day they arrived, the Mine Owners cut wages and announced a policy of yellow dog contract. A Commission investigated and reported there was no need for Federal troops, but Roosevelt kept them there until Jan. 29, when the legislature enacted a state police bill. On the same day the Mine Owners announced the mines would run open shop.¹¹ WFM job control was over. Soon the rich ore played out; Goldfield eventually became a ghost town, but with Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 353 of the IWW holding out and keeping some spark of unionism alive until the First World War.

A sawmill strike in Portland, Ore., starting March 1, 1907 and involving 3,000 men for 40 days, marked the first west coast progress of the IWW. There was a general public sympathy and a favorable press treatment of the demand for shorter hours and a minimum of \$2.50 a day. A feature article on the strike, "The Story of a New Labor Union," by John Kenneth Turner in the Sunday Oregon Journal, was reprinted as a leaflet.^{11a} A quickie strike pulled at a busy time swamped the IWW hall at 298 Burnside with a demand for union cards. In two weeks 1300 had enrolled. Soon the mill owners made a closed shop contract with the AFL, but the AFL managed to get no men past the picket line. Turner wrote of it: "Absolutely no violence, no lawbreaking, and no crying of 'scab.' Just one man was arrested for trespassing, and he imagined that he was standing in a public street. Other strange features were the red ribbons, the daily speech-making, and the night and day shifts of organizers who received not a red cent for their services." The AFL issued public statements denouncing the strike and the

IWW, and quoting extensively from the WFM Miners' Magazine in their attacks; yet WFM locals sent in over a thousand dollars. The strike committee had to send wires to send no more funds as their conduct of the strike kept expenses down: those not needed for picket duty were urged to go out and spread union doctrine on the various lumbering and construction jobs then in full swing. This was the seed from which sprang the IWW of the northwest.

As sideshoots grew a local of workers building a sewer and another local of harborcraft workers. In Tacoma the IWW smeltermen struck, and despite dissension over the WFM split, they won the 8 hour day and a 15% wage boost, but left the IWW. IWW lumberjacks struck in Humboldt County, Calif., and IWW bakers in San Francisco about the same time. In Montana the IWW had started organizing lumber workers and struck; the AFL gave them opposition, and as most of the logging was on Indian reservations, the bureau agents kept IWW organizers out.

In the east the IWW made progress prior to the panic in the fall of 1907 at American Tube in Bridgeport and in the textile industry, laying the foundations for its phenomenal victories five years later. In Bridgeport organizer French had started a local in June 1907, and when on July 15 the American Tube refused to alternate shifts, the local was ready to organize this indignation into an effective strike, with speakers in the various languages used, and a committee that rode bicycles up and down the parades of strikers around the two plants of the company. There the Machinists co-operated, happy to do so as these unorganized workers had helped them win a short time before. Victory in August came to a local that had enrolled 700 skilled and 1,000 unskilled among these workers.¹²

The IWW got its start in textiles in Skowhegan, Maine. The local there of Marston Mills workers demanded a 10% boost to be effective New Years 1906, but settled for 5% then and 5% in July if

conditions warranted. The manager tried to get rid of the active unionists. The entire force had met and decided upon policy; when fifty were put on notice by the manager, all walked out, including the boiler room crew who blew off steam and pulled their fires. This was Jan. 21. President Golden of the United Textile Workers offered "union scabs," and inserted his endorsement in ads through New England press for other scabs. IWW won on April 23 with re-instatement of all, abolition of fining system, day's pay instead of piece rates for poor work, shop committee to meet with management twice a month on all grievances.¹³

In Paterson, N. J., scene of a more noted strike in 1913, the IWW struck a number of silk dye-houses in March 1907, over the discharge of members. Private detectives, uniformed police threatened and arrested the strikers, but after a short time the local press announced a "pleasant surprise" for the 6,000 dye-house workers of a dollar a week pay boost, without mention of the strike or union.¹⁴ The union grew during the strike to a thousand members and in the fall tried to organize the American Locomotive plant there, resulting in a short strike of 300 workers. In November the IWW struck the international Stehli concern at Lancaster, Pa., and despite police interference came through the strike intact.

As a result of these activities in textiles, the General Executive Board called a convention in Paterson, May 1, 1908, to found the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, the first industrial union, not a local, that the IWW had built. Progress was also made in the garment industry, with a local of cloakmakers in Chicago, a strike of 200 pressers in St. Louis, and a 12-week strike against Ratner Brothers in New York, white goods, which cost \$2,012 but was defrayed locally by picnics, vaudevilles and other benefit affairs.

This eastern organizing—including a charter to the already striking flint glass workers of Marion,

Ind., and a strike of 200 car foundry workers in Detroit — was in territory where De Leon held strategic advantages, and it was plain shortly after the peaceful third convention that a fight must be made to keep the IWW from becoming a tail to De Leon's kite. The decision to launch the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, with James P. Thompson, an able exponent of non-political industrial unionism, as organizer, was shaped by a desire to keep this development out of De Leon's hands. From even before its first convention the IWW had faced an opposition based largely on hostility to De Leon and his record of disruption in the labor movement. Its Industrial Union Bulletin had printed each week in large type across the front page that it was independent of any political party; but its readers could find in the Daily People discussion of its internal affairs and advice how to vote on its referenda.

The conflict grew hotter in the fall of 1907 over a question in economic theory: Does a rise in wages cause a rise in price such that workers achieve no real gain? De Leon said it did. In common with many radical politicians he was inclined toward such a conclusion as it focused attention on the abolition of the wage system rather than on union demands, and support for the conclusion can be obtained by misinterpreting the experience that in periods of rising prices workers are most moved to demand wage boosts and find it easiest to obtain them. The argument to the contrary by James P. Thompson and James Connelly, who was here from Ireland and helping the IWW, appeared in the Industrial Union Bulletin. It followed the Ricardo-Marx analysis that price is a monetary expression of value; that value is not altered by how it is distributed among wage earners and others, but it is determined by the real or labor cost of production; that it can be changed only by changes in the amount of labor required for production. They supported their position by the practical consideration

that employers oppose wage boosts, while they would profit by them if De Leon's position were correct. It may have been theory, but it probed deeply into the question whether workers should consider unions worthwhile or concentrate on political activity.

The General Executive Board met in New York Dec. 22, 1907. Ever since the 1906 convention the rule had been that no GEB action was to be kept secret from the membership. Connelly appeared before it with a plan that, if acted upon promptly, might have brought 12,000 New York longshoremen, then independent, into the IWW. Action was hampered when De Leon induced the Board to go into secret session to try Connelly on his charge that his articles on economics constituted heresy. Even the SLP members of the Board felt all this was ridiculous, but indignantly rallied to their leader when the Board, in accordance with the rules, published its proceedings in *Industrial Union Bulletin* No. 49.

This brought the quarrel with De Leon to a head all over the country—and for that matter in the industrial union clubs that had been formed in Britain and Australia. Among the western membership there was a hearty disrespect for politicians, and the hard times starting in October 1907 had not abated IWW agitation in the west. An exceptionally enterprising organizer in that field was J. H. Walsh. In July 1907 he got enough support in Alaska to start the *Nome Industrial Worker*.¹⁵ Coming down coast he found that the employment sharks provided a major grievance about which something might be done. They had tie-ins with bosses on out-of-town work to fire the men they furnished after they had worked a week so that they were back to buy another job. To reach these workers and build a concerted refusal to patronize the "shark" and thus force the employers to hire directly, street meetings in the skidroads were necessary. The Salvation Army ran interference with

these meetings, and IWW speakers could not speak louder than the big bass drum. Walsh and his fellow workers hit upon the device of making parodies to be sung to the music furnished free by the Army. Thus the tradition of the "singing IWW" grew out of this conflict with the employment sharks. One satiric refrain, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" was particularly popular as its music was the customary "theme song" for the Army meetings.¹⁶ Walsh headed a group of delegates to the fourth convention, who traveled by box car, stopping at division points to soap-box and sing and sell the song cards preceding the IWW song book. Their most popular ditty led the unappreciative De Leonites to call them "the Bummery."

The convention met Oct. 1. De Leon's credentials were challenged on the ground that he represented a Store and Office Workers Union instead of belonging to the Printing and Publishing Local that as an editor he should have joined. De Leon argued for his seat on the contention that workers should be organized according to the tool each worked with, and he worked with a pen as did office workers. This was not accepted as sound industrial unionism. The convention then proceeded to recommend a change in the Preamble to the membership. Its second paragraph then read, as De Leon had insisted as a condition for co-operating in the first convention:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

When the present form of Preamble was accepted by the convention, the De Leon followers bolted, held a convention of a few eastern locals at Paterson, and founded what was known as "the Detroit IWW." De Leon followed up with attacks on the IWW as "slum proletarians" for which the GEB formally expelled him. The "Detroit IWW," like the

ST&LA of earlier days, carried on chiefly as a union duplication of SLP membership, changed its name in 1915 to Workers International Industrial Union, and gave up the ghost in 1925.

In one sense this is the launching of the IWW. It is from here on that it exists as an organization with its own distinctive character. The Brewery workers were not in it or likely to be; the Sherman tendency was out; the Western Federation was gone, and now the De Leon forces that had alienated so many unionists. The five thousand members it had after this 1908 convention were no longer divergent groups trying to live together but a compact organization of men attached to the IWW rather than to something else, largely rebels who had been organized by the new union, but who had long experience in the struggle with the employer, and many of whom were very familiar with all the fine points that radicals argue about. This was the IWW that was to add something new to the American labor movement.

1. On Schenectady see Trautman's report to 1907 convention; *Industrial Worker*, Vol. 1, No. 7—Chicago, 1906 series; *Solidarity*, Feb. 17, 1931, and *Industrial Worker* summary, Aug. 18, 1945.

2. *Industrial Union Bulletin* reports of 2nd convention; see also Hardrock Miner series, *Industrial Worker*, July 1950.

3. *Daily People*, May 26, 1906.

4. *I.U.B.* *Bulletin* editorial, June 27, 1908.

5. Jensen: "Heritage of Conflict," chapter 11; WFM Preamble, quoted p. 189.

6. For details of conspiracy charge see Hardrock series, July 21, 1950 and for their substance, July 28.

7. To Goldfield, Brissenden and Jensen each devote a chapter; see also *Harper's Weekly* of June 22, 1907; St. John's account in *I.U.B.* No. 6.

8. Parole account, *Solidarity*, June 6, 1914.

9. *I.U.B.* No. 35 and 37.

10. Quoted *I.U.B.* No. 45, Jan. 4, 1908.

11. Details in Jensen's "Heritage of Conflict." 11a. Reprinted *I.U.B.*, April 13, 1907, in full.

12. Detailed accounts in *I.U.B.* Nos. 22, 23 and 27, quoted in *Solidarity*, March 3, 1931.

13. *I.U.B.* No. 1, March 2, 1907, quoted extensively in *Solidarity*, March 10, 1931.

14. *I.U.B.* No. 2, quoted *Solidarity*, *ibid.*

15. *I.U.B.* No. 32.

16. There are conflicting claims to authorship of "Halleluja." Walsh in *I.U.B.*, April 4, 1908, says it was made up in Spokane hall, and is quoted *OBUMonthly*, March 1938; various other claims to prior authorship in sundry versions exist; one in pocket edition "Treasury of American Folklore," p. 386.

III. Big Fights of a Small Union—1909-1911

The hard times following the financial crisis of October 1907, the conversion of the previous SLP support into open enmity, added to the definite loss of the Western Federation and the collapse of the promising campaign in Schenectady, all put the I.W.W. in a tough spot. Yet it grew and its secretary, Vincent St. John, figured a total membership of 9,100 in 1910 and 12,834 in 1911. Of these, 4,397 were in the textile industry, 2,000 were metal workers, 1,800 were engaged in railroad construction and 800 in lumbering.¹ It is possible that to avoid embarrassment he may have about doubled these figures. In any case the IWW of these years was a small union, yet it put up some memorable fights, winning free speech in Spokane and elsewhere, defeating the big steel companies in McKees Rocks and in the Chicago area, prodding the AFL into action in many places, and yet with enough surplus energy to take on a civil war in Mexico. During these two years, the distinguishing characteristics of the IWW were definitely developed, perhaps most clearly in the argument with W. Z. Foster over his proposal to "bore from within."

The I.W.W. was small, but widely spread. A list of locals² in January 1910 shows 11 locals scattered through California; 3 in Oregon, all in Portland; in Washington besides locals in Aberdeen, Bellingham and Anacortes, four each in Spokane and Seattle; in British Columbia, four. In Montana there were locals at Anaconda, Butte, Great Falls, Kalispell, Billings and Missoula; in Wyoming at Cheyenne; one in Denver, one each at Globe and Phoenix, Arizona — these locals all showing that some hold had been maintained in Western Federation territory. There were three in Minnesota, and one each at Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis and New Orleans. East of the Mississippi there were locals

in Chicago, Muncie, three in Ohio, 12 scattered through Pennsylvania; three in New Jersey; five in New York City and one each in Buffalo, Yonkers and Brooklyn; two in Rhode Island and three in Vermont.

Thus over the map it had local organizations agitating, looking for opportunities and spreading its literature. Its official organ, the Industrial Union Bulletin, ceased in March 1909, but the membership in Spokane began at the same time to issue the Industrial Worker. With only one major break, 1913-1916, it continued there, or in Seattle, or in Chicago to the present time. On Dec. 18, 1909 Solidarity, also a weekly, appeared at first as the official organ of the Pittsburgh District Council, but issued at Newcastle, Pa. Later it moved to Cleveland, and in 1916 was brought to Chicago as official organ of the I.W.W., appearing with minor breaks and changes of name, until it was merged with the Industrial Worker when it too was moved to Chicago in 1931.

The strike at McKees Rocks (Pittsburgh suburb) got the IWW started in steel. It started June 28, 1909, as an unorganized protest against a pool system of payment at the Pressed Steel Car Company, U.S. Steel subsidiary, by which the foreman got the pay for his gang and distributed as he saw fit, which meant with considerable favoritism. That day 50 riveters walked out; half returned and the other half got fired. A third of the passenger car department staged a protest, and most of them were fired. On July 1, some of the porch department walked out and united with the discharged workers to picket the works. All came out except the tool and crane departments which were under Machinist contract. AFL policy in the industry was against organizing the "unskilled foreigners"; Secretary Morrison of the AFL passed through town and turned them down. Among these foreigners, however, were men who had been in the Russian Duma in 1905, some who had been members of the Metallarbeiter-Verband, and Italians who had been in the

great resistance strikes.³ Some of these asked Trautman for help.

In their own preliminary organization two committees developed. One, called the "Big Six," was elected to take charge of the strike. The other developed of itself from among those previously active in the radical movement of Europe, and was referred to as the "Unknown Committee." This committee is credited with taming the Cossacks and with sending 60 strikers inside to bring out the 350 scabs who were living in the plant, and thus winning the strike.

Two troops of State Constabulary, commonly called Steel Cossacks, had treated the strikers with customary brutality, seriously wounding 76 by the end of July. On Aug. 12 when they killed Steven Horvath, one of the strikers, this "Unknown Committee" is reported to have written them: "For every striker's life you take, a trooper's life will be taken." One can neither verify nor refute this much-told story. Ten days later as strikers returning home from their meeting were crossing the O'Donovan Bridge, the constabulary attacked them. Four strikers and three troopers were killed. Secretary Trautman reported in the first issue of *Solidarity*: "Then the chief of the cossacks called off his bloodhounds. After that no striker or deputy was killed. Organized and disciplined 'physical force' checked the violence and wanton destruction of life." Following victory in the strike, six men, charged with participating in this riot, received sentences of 60 days in the workhouse. These light sentences may indicate that many in the community shared the view expressed by Trautman. The socialist press of the area, heartily supporting the strike, contributed to this favorable attitude. Now that the I.W.W. was definitely non-political, relations with the socialists were sporadically more friendly.

The McKees Rocks strike ended the "pool system," improved the shop rules, secured a 5% wage increase with another 10% to be paid 60 days later.

Its indirect results were much greater. Steel depended on a supply of labor from Europe, much of it obtained by glowing misrepresentation. The IWW gave the facts of life as encountered by steel labor to the European labor press, and this diffusion of information became a major factor to raise wages. Trautman reported to the Fifth Convention: "From data collected in several mills, the statement of a general increase of 15% and a reduction of five hours of working time per week for 350,000 workers would in sum total about express the results of the upheaval of workers in McKees Rocks." At the same time the AFL, appealing only to the skilled and preferably the Americanized workers in the industry, was losing strike after strike.

The IWW continued to win in steel, with victories against Inland Steel and Republic Steel, both at East Chicago, Ind., and another against Standard Steel Car in East Hammond.⁴ At Standard the IWW had been organizing quietly, but when the committee representing the riveters got thrown out of the place for presenting a grievance, a strike was called. Special deputies, recruited from the red-light district in West Hammond, began an orgy of brutalities on Jan. 24, 1910, when the strike had been on a week. Resenting abusiveness, the strikers' wives formed a league for self-defense, and effectively stopped scabbing despite the arrest of 12 of the women. On the 24th, all officers were jailed early in the morning, but the picketing became even more effective, and at ten the company sent word to the committee in jail that it would accept all demands except immediate increases. Next day the strikers marched back to work in a body to make sure of no discrimination.⁵

The Pittsburgh District Council grew. It held its second convention in McKees Rocks Jan. 8, 1910, with 26 delegates from five locals, electing Joe Schmidt to assist Joe Ettor as organizer. Its organ, *Solidarity*, was edited for 90 days from jail, since it had neglected to specify its ownership, but it missed no issues while edited by men enjoying

free board and room. It weathered efforts through that spring and summer to take away conditions won at Pressed Steel Car, including an attempted strike by company pets.

Organizers were kept there, and organization developed in other local industries, yet they were unable to keep the union among these victorious strikers more than a year. There are at least two explanations for this. One is that the growth of unionism is a widening of the occupational area in which unionism comes to be taken for granted; unionism first appears as organizing for immediate grievances, usually to strike, and only gradually among the workers lacking a skill that they might monopolize, has the feeling developed that organization should continue between strikes. The IWW has always had to do its organizing on the periphery of the occupational area in which unionism has become an accepted practice; and its "failure to achieve stability" there has also been experienced by all other unions in the same field at the same time. It was not until the mid-thirties that permanent organization of all occupations came to be taken for granted widely throughout industry.

Another factor was pointed out by Secretary Trautman to the Fifth Convention. Referring to a 10% increase just obtained at Republic Steel, he said:

"While we cannot oppose too much the time-contract system of the craft union movement, in this instance and in others that cannot all be recounted, all of the enemies of the IWW used the fact of our not having anything 'black on white' as an entering wedge to pull the workers away from the organization through which they had been able to win the strike."

Originally the IWW had put no restrictions, except requiring G.E.B. approval on contracts, and much of the discussion at the founding convention as to what constituted an industry proceeded on

the assumption that industry-wide action would depend on the structure of the industrial union making contracts. The tradition of no contracts with specified duration had come from the Western Federation, and persisted until changed in 1938 to permit each Industrial Union to make its own regulations on this matter. Some Industrial Unions have persistently forbidden such agreements. Provisions adopted in 1946 ended the requirement of GEB approval, but stipulated that no agreement should provide for a check-off or obligate members covered by it to do any work that would aid in breaking any union's strike.

A strike of inside fabricators at Hansel & Elcock Construction, Chicago, on May 8, 1910, won 8% increase and Saturday half holidays, after the crowd, first fed with speeches in Polish, Lithuanian and other languages, while AFL organizers looked on in bewilderment, turned down the AFL proposition to divide the 46 craftsmen away from the 246 lesser skilled that it was willing for the IWW to have. Trautman's report of the victory stated: "The strike-breakers that came back with the strikers dismissed themselves within 24 hours when direct action methods were applied by the victorious strikers."⁶

This is the earliest instance noted in IWW publications of the term "direct action." Its meaning here may have been either ostracism or fisticuffs, as no further details are given. About this time the terms "sabotage" and "passive resistance" appear in the IWW press for the first time, in reporting an IWW strike of 580 men and girls against Lamm & Co., Chicago clothiers. There the IWW had been asked to aid an unorganized strike, and when scabs were brought in, "workers in other firms where the material for the strike-bound firm was made, 'sabotaged' their work to such perfection," to quote *Solidarity* of June 4, 1910, that the company yielded to all demands except that for the reinstatement of the man whose discharge had led to the walkout in the first place. Trautman advised them to go

back to work and use "passive resistance" methods to get the man back too. Here this meant putting so little heart in the work, out of regret for the absence of this fellow worker, that the employer decided to cheer them up by re-instating him. (For subsequent twists given to these words, see below Chapter VI.)

In Pittsburgh the district council set out to organize the meat packing plants. First it won gains from the big outside packers who wished to avoid a strike there. Later a general walkout was forced on the union and it struck all plants in the area, winning a reduction to 10 hours with an 8% pay boost, and shop control for a while in six plants. A less successful strike of the period was its first venture into the auto industry with a walkout against Parish, auto frame makers, in Reading, Pa. The men went to work in other shops and the strike petered out.⁷

Out west the IWW grew chiefly among out-of-town construction workers and lumberjacks, men on whom the employment sharks preyed. They worked on jobs with "one gang coming, one gang working and one gang going," and the more rapid the turnover, speeded up by firings, the more fees there were for the shark to split with the boss-man who did the hiring and firing. The IWW urged that the men should collectively refuse to patronize the shark and thus force direct hiring by the employers or through agencies that charged no fee. There were 31 employment sharks operating in Spokane in 1909, and occasionally, against IWW advice, the fleeced men set out to wreck the employment shark's office for he sometimes took a man's last dollar for jobs that did not exist. The Spokesman-Review of Jan. 18, 1909, gives this picture:

"Hurling rocks and chunks of ice through the windows of the Red Cross Employment Agency, 224 Stevens St., several members of a noisy mob of between 2,000 and 3,000 idle men were about

to attempt to wreck the place about 6 o'clock last evening, when James H. Walsh, organizer of the IWW, mounted a chair in the street, stemmed the rising tide of riot and pacified the multitude. In the opinion of the police had it not been for the intervention of Walsh, a riot would surely have followed, as the rabble was worked up to such a pitch that its members would have readily attempted violence. Walsh discouraged violence and summoned all members of the IWW to their hall at the rear of 312 Front Ave. The police dispersed the rest. . . . At the hall Walsh warned the crowd against an outbreak. "There were a lot of hired Pinkertons in that crowd," he said. "All they wanted you fellows to do was to start something and then they would have an excuse for shooting you down or smashing your heads in. . . . You can gain nothing by resorting to mob rule." ⁸

Throughout that summer as employment picked up, IWW street meetings, with the songs that had been born for this special purpose, turned the fury of more and more fleeced men into the constructive channels of building One Big Union. The sharks got the City Council to forbid street meetings in the area they infested, despite the several occasions on which these meetings had prevented riots. The IWW approached the City Council and leading citizens, pointing out the unconstitutionality of this ordinance, and that it would mean worse operation by the sharks and possible riots. Still meetings were forbidden, and the Industrial Worker of October 28 sent out the call: "Wanted—Men to Fill the Jails of Spokane." A communication to all IWW locals stated: "Nov. 2, Free Speech Day—IWW locals will be notified by wire how many men to send if any. . . . Meetings will be orderly and no irregularities of any kind will be tolerated." The City Council arranged for a large rock pile on which to put the free speech fighters to work.⁹

The first day of the fight for free speech, man after man mounted the box to say, "Friends and Fellow Workers" and be yanked down, until 103 had

been arrested, beaten and lodged in jail. A legend runs that one man, unaccustomed to public speaking, uttered the customary salutation, and still un-arrested, and with no police by the box, paused, with nothing more to say, and in all the horrors of stage fright, hollered: "Where are the cops?" In a month over 500 were in jail on bread and water. The Franklin School was used for overflow, and the War Department helped subvert the Constitution by letting the city use Fort Wright to imprison those upholding the First Amendment.

In succession, eight editors of the local Industrial Worker got out an issue and went to jail. The police tried to destroy all copies of the Dec. 10th issue in which Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who had delayed her arrest by chaining herself to a lamppost while she spoke, charged that the sheriff was using the women's section of the jail as a profitable brothel, with the police soliciting customers. The Industrial Worker was moved to the quieter city of Seattle, until May 1910 then back to Spokane.

The constant arrests; the police brutalities; the appearance of men in court matted with blood; the disrepute into which Spokane had fallen in the more enlightened portion of the nation's press; the widely-known evil practices of the employment sharks; the mounting cost to tax-payers; the boycott on Spokane merchants by men in many camps—all these made it harder for the city fathers to continue. Feeling was for the prisoners. On the rare occasion when they were marched through the streets to where they could get a bath, citizens showered them with Bull Durham, apples and oranges. On March 4 came victory—the release of the prisoners and the right to speak. Soon the licenses of 19 of the more offensive sharks were revoked, and the practice of direct hiring of men grew rapidly. IWW reputation boomed.

On the heels of this free-speech fight came another in Fresno, Calif. There the IWW was organizing agricultural workers, Frank Little in charge, and the police, to oppose the policy of holding out

for higher bidders, forbade three or more workers to talk together on the streets. Street meetings had not been part of the organizing campaign, but now there was a free speech fight. An influx of IWW's camped on land furnished by a friendly socialist—until the camp was burned one night by the vigilantes—and held surprise meetings to get some of their case to the public before each speaker was arrested. The jail was a forerunner of Hitlerian horrors, but this fight, too, was won.

Since IWW advocates frequently used the soapbox to spread their ideas, even where no definite organization campaign was afoot, these successes tended for a while to sidetrack the IWW into fighting for free speech on its own account. The 1912 fight in San Diego, where there was almost nothing to organize, is a case in point.¹⁰ Similar enthusiasm took many members into the army supporting Magon in the civil war in Mexico. On Jan. 29, 1912, what is described as "an IWW army" took Mexicali and later Tia Juana, opening the jails as first order of business. They lost the war, but in July a number of Mexican unions confederated and adopted the IWW preamble.¹¹

Elsewhere the IWW was trying to build up the global jurisdiction that its name implied; Tom Mann organized branches in South Africa; it was growing in Australia and New Zealand. James Roe, a one-armed telegrapher, attempted to launch it in Hawaii, but died or was killed in jail. In England a number of clubs, termed the Advocates of Industrial Unionism, formed a movement around the paper, *The Industrialist*. In the American melting pot, the IWW issued papers in various languages that were mailed to kindred spirits in mother-countries: *La Union Industriale* (Spanish) at Phoenix, Arizona; *Solidarnosc*, in Polish, at Buffalo; *Emancipation*, organ of the Franco-Belgian Federation which consisted chiefly of textile workers; and the friendly *Proletarian* in Japanese, in San Francisco. On the international field, the IWW had challenged the AFL as a body denying the basic union principle

of class struggle, indirectly at the International Socialist and Labor Congress at Stuttgart in 1907, and again through Wm. Z. Foster, its credentialed delegate, with the backing of the French CGT, at Budapest in 1910.

On Foster's return he urged a switch in policy to "boring from within" the AFL. The proposal was debated in the press and definitely turned down.¹² Arguments ran that the IWW could busy itself with the 9/10 of the working class that the AFL had not organized; that to bore was to get kicked out; that the rebels in the AFL stood a better chance if outside it, there was the IWW to point to, to get into if they got kicked out or left in disgust, and to maintain a press promoting their ideas; that vested interests and basic structure of the AFL would make the IWW impotent inside it; and that many of the IWW had occupations for which the AFL had no unions in which to bore. The few who supported Foster withdrew with him to found the Syndicalist League of North America, a very small propagandist society.

IWW relations with other unions formed a varied pattern. In San Diego, AFL carpenters refused to build a stockade to imprison free speech fighters. In Detroit the IWW did much of the work in the AFL's 8-Hour League and the McNamara Defense. In Philadelphia, where the AFL divided the men at the locomotive works into 17 different crafts, they struck, and the small IWW local, No. 11, went out with them, June 8, 1911. Through dual membership in other unions the IWW had a majority on the joint committee, had access to various unions to seek support, and wound up reporting: "Instead of driving the men to use different tactics, we were showing them how to finance their fight, and this will not win." In New York the IWW organized the Western Union messengers, then the local organizers turned them over to the AFL on the grounds they could provide better halls and more help, but that strike flopped. In Brooklyn the IWW organized a

number of shoe factories, enhanced their prestige after winning several victories by refusing to go back until the cutters, organized in a Knights of Labor local, had won too. This was a revolt against the policy of Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers, who peddled the union label to employers in return for a check-off even with wages lower than in non-union shops. In this fight many AFL bodies supported the IWW instead of the AFL affiliate. The IWW ended 1910 with a large number of shoe shops on strike, but settled these strikes one after another from Jan. 22 on, until at end of February only four plants were struck, involving 800, with 2,200 organized back at work. One reason for this was to use available funds for the defense of Buccafori, a striker who had killed his employer after the latter had knocked him down on the floor and kicked him. Bill Haywood, also returning from Europe at this time, renewed his interest in the IWW at this time and spoke for the Buccafori Defense. His talk, "The General Strike," was issued as a pamphlet.

These big fights of a little union 1909 to 1911 laid the foundation for its substantial growth and bigger battles of 1912.

1. From table furnished Brissenden, p. 70, op. cit.
2. List from *Industrial Worker*, Jan. 15, 1920.
3. Duchez in *International Socialist Review*, October, 1909. A more detailed account of McKees Rocks is given in Perlman & Taft, "History of Labor in U.S.," Chapter XXIII.
4. *Solidarity*, issue No. 52, Vol. I.
5. *Solidarity*, Jan. 29, 1910 et seq.
6. *Solidarity*, issue No. 25.
7. *Solidarity*, issue No. 51 et seq., and more detailed summary in series, "IWW Tells Own Story," *Solidarity*, May 26, 1931.
8. Quoted *Industrial Union Bulletin*, Feb. 7, 1909.
9. Story of Spokane free speech fight from IWW papers, Spokane papers and *International Socialist Review* of the period.
10. See detailed series in *Industrial Worker*, July 16-Aug. 9, 1947.
11. Lorwin: "Labor and Internationalism," chapter 12.
12. Discussion starts *Solidarity*, Nov. 4, 1911.

IV. The Textile Workers

Between January 1912 and the tough times that set in again toward the end of 1913, the IWW, with a series of good fights and substantial victories, won widespread recognition as the most forward thrust of the American labor movement. These were the years of victories in Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Little Falls and other textile centers, ending in the hopeless fight at Paterson; of lumber battles in Louisiana and Gray's Harbor, Washington; of railroad construction strikes with thousand mile picket lines; of expansion into auto and other metal working industries; of fighting for the Pittsburgh stogie makers and the rubber workers of Akron; of the accession of longshoremen and seamen to start its Marine Transport Workers; and of sensational trials arising from its fight in Lawrence, Louisiana and the hopfields of California—trials that added to its fame as much as did the strikes that generated them.

A persistent myth about the IWW is that it plunged into strikes without previous organization, bringing out contented workers with spell-binding oratory, won great victories, then deserted the workers to repeat the process elsewhere. The myth is groundless.

Prior to its fame at Lawrence the IWW had been organizing textile workers for seven years, and these constituted roughly half of its membership. It had followed up its initial victory in Skowhegan, Maine, with organization and a victorious three month strike at Mapleville, R. I., in 1907. By next year it had eight textile locals and these were formed into its first national industrial union with James P. Thompson as organizer. These withstood the depression, and in 1910 were all in good standing, and during the years in which strikes had been opportune, had added three more locals.¹

This stability and steady growth of the IWW textile workers is the more remarkable since few of these workers could bargain through their union, and nowhere did it have "union security" in any form. They were men and women who had been educated into unionism with lectures on the history of the labor movement, with study classes in economics, with union fundamentals handed them in leaflets and strike talks. Social activities and dramatic clubs, for most of their halls had stages, helped cement them. The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers of the IWW was held together by an understanding of what industrial unionism could accomplish, and its members were willing to transmit this vision to their fellow workers as volunteer organizers and leaflet peddlers. They aided various strikes of the small independent unions in their field and steadily built the reputation of the IWW.

Lawrence local 20 had been formed in 1906. It almost died in 1907 but was brought to life again with aid from the National Industrial Union formed in 1908 and from a more thriving local nine miles away in Lowell. By 1910 it owned its own hall, and there the third convention of the Industrial Union was held over Labor Day. In January 1911, on invitation, it joined a newly formed Alliance of Textile Workers Unions of Lawrence with the reservation that it would not be bound to any action contrary to IWW principles. That summer the companies started changing the production system from one in which weavers ran 7 looms at 79 cents a cut to one in which they ran 12 at 49 cents a cut, giving them an average boost in weekly wages from \$11.06 to \$11.76 for almost double production. The IWW called a strike of the weavers against Atlantic Mills. It won, and the independent Lawrence Weavers Protective Association brought its 500 members into Local 20 on October 1.² On November 2 organizer J. P. Thompson was brought back to Lawrence for a two month campaign, and throughout November expounded union fundamentals to enthusiastic

noon-day meetings. Stickers and circulars were issued in support of various small strikes called by other organizations, all urging a shorter workday and the One Big Union idea. Plainly the IWW was no flash in the pan when the big strike broke upon Lawrence in January 1912.³

Lawrence had a population of 85,892 of whom at least 60,000 depended upon mill wages. Almost everyone over 14 worked in its textile mills. The average wage was 16 cents an hour. About 15,000 got only 12 cents. With lost time the prevailing work week of 56 hours yielded an average pay of only about \$7. Their labor had yielded such profits that they had more than paid for the mills in which they worked: Pacific Mills inside ten years had paid dividends alone amounting to 148 per cent of its investment.⁴

Jan. 1, 1912 a state law became effective reducing the work week to 54 hours. Without a pay boost this meant 32 cents less a week for those working 56 hours, and 32 cents then bought 10 loaves of bread. For some with still longer hours it meant a still bigger reduction. Wages were so close to starvation that many expected the weekly pay would not be cut. When the first pay envelopes for the year were distributed on January 11, some workers in the Washington Mills went through the plant calling their fellow workers to walk out with them. The strike was on.

Local 20 had not planned for a strike until summer, but seeing how feeling ran it called the entire local textile industry on strike the following day, and sent for Haywood, Ettor, J. P. Thompson and others to come in. By the middle of January 16,000 were out, and by the 27th 25,000, headed by a strike committee of 60 elected from the ranks of the strikers to represent both each major occupational group and each of the 16 major languages spoken. From these 60 various detail committees were elected.

The first few unorganized days of the strike were disorderly. On the 15th militia and pickets clashed

at the Pacific Mills. Once the IWW organized the strike it amazed all observers by the orderliness with which it was conducted, the only violence that of the police and National Guard who were there at a cost of \$4,000 a day, or almost four times what it would have cost the companies not to have cut the weekly pay.

Golden of the United Textile Workers came at once to break the strike, but failed completely. The rather diminutive AFL Central Labor Council refused to recognize the 25,000 textile workers striking under the banner of the IWW, with the result that the Molders Union withdrew in disgust leaving that sedate body without a presiding officer.⁵

On Jan. 20 a plant of dynamite was discovered. Strikers were accused, but soon it was shown that it had been planted by a John A. Breen, member of the Board of Education. On conviction he was fined \$500. On Jan. 29 a peaceful parade of the strikers was charged by the militia, and officer Oscar Benoit firing into the crowd, hit striker Annie Lo Pezza, killing her. At once three organizers, Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso, were arrested as accessories to murder, and held without bail to keep them from strike activity. They were acquitted Nov. 26 after a three week trial. Nothing was done to Benoit or those who had ordered the vicious and needless attack on the parading strikers.

The view of the militia is disclosed by the remarks of an officer to a writer for Outlook: "Our company of militia went down to Lawrence during the first days of the strike. Most of them had to leave Harvard to do it; but they rather enjoyed going down there to have their fling at those people."⁶ Harry Emerson Fosdick quotes a Boston lawyer: "Any man who pays more for labor than the lowest sum he can get them for is robbing his stockholders. . . . The strike should have been stopped in the first 24 hours. The militia should have been instructed to shoot. That is the way Napoleon did it."⁷ During the nine week conflict 335 strikers were arrested,

of whom 320 were sentenced on minor charges most of their convictions being reversed on appeal.

Feeding these impoverished people for 9 weeks would have been an impossible task if it had not been for the help of the Franco-Belgian Co-operative that had its own bakery, and donated its services and also much material. Appeals to labor at large brought in donations totaling \$74,011.39, but this figures out to only 33 cents per week per striker. A cotton broker, James Prendergast, connived with a minister and judge to tie the strike relief up by alleging donations made without a name or address to which to send a receipt, and the contention that the strike funds were not properly handled. At the time the funds amounted to about \$8000, but these were withdrawn all but 48 cents to save them from seizure. Later an accountant appointed by the court certified that the IWW had spent some \$3000 more on strike relief than it had received, including donations from its own locals. The charge then shifted that some of this money had gone to buy railroad tickets for strikers' children sent out of town. This was dropped when the Boston Local of the Socialist Party testified that its donation of \$3000 was intended for whatever strike purpose it could best serve. The IWW was cleared in the courts, but the SLP, which, throughout this wave of textile strikes interfered, masquerading under the name IWW, issued a pamphlet again accusing the IWW of these exploded charges.

These railroad tickets had been bought to send strikers' children to sympathetic families away from hunger-and-militia-ridden Lawrence. This was a new strike tactic in America. The children liked it and were effective reminders of the strikers' needs in the communities to which they went. They traveled in guided groups, each child with an identification card signed by its parents. This went well until Feb. 24. That morning parents and friends assembled to see a group of children off on the seven o'clock train. When it pulled in, the militia

crossed bayonets across all doors. The children had their tickets clutched in their hands and some who tried to run to the train were clubbed down on the platform while police beat the strikers in the station. "There was a hideous struggle" reported Solidarity. "The women fought and kicked and scratched with the mad frenzy of mothers fighting for their young. The police choked them and clubbed them and knocked them down. Finally the officers pitched the women and children into a great arsenal wagon and drove them off, a screaming, fighting wagon load, to the police station where the little ones were booked as neglected children."⁸ Since this was interference with interstate commerce, the U. S. Senate investigated and brought forth two fat volumes on the strike.⁹

On March 13 a rank and file committee that could talk shop better than the company lawyers met with American Woolen that raised its previous best offer of a 5% flat increase to a 21% boost or 2 cents an hour for those getting 9½ cents, ranging down to 1 cent for those getting 20, along with other improvements in reckoning the pay and bonus. Next day a mass meeting on Lawrence Common accepted these terms. Eight companies that refused were still struck until they gave parallel gains. There were sympathetic increases in mills elsewhere.

The impact of this strike on thinking about American labor was expressed by Harry Fosdick in Outlook of that June: "Wages have been raised, work has been resumed, the militia has gone, and the whirring looms suggest industrial peace; but behind all this the most revolutionary organization in the history of American industry is building up an army of volunteers. The I.W.W. leaves behind as hopelessly passé, the methods of the American Federation of Labor."¹⁰ Others felt the same way about it.

Strike methods and oratory both contributed to this impression. Speakers talked of a day when the endless haggling with employers would be replaced

by an industrial democracy in which those who did the work made the industrial decisions. They explained that the solidarity in the strike and the solidarity of labor toward the strike were steps, not only to two cents more per hour, but to the organized competence of labor to run industry for use instead of profit. The exodus of children to sympathetic homes was part of the strategy of making the working class feel as one. The endless chain picketing, devised in this strike when regular picketing was stopped, so that strikers walked one after another around the entire mill section of town, made each worker in that line feel that however helpless he might be as an individual, as a link in that chain he tied up industry. The democracy that welded these workers of 16 tongues together, and that enabled them to determine strike policy, was a foretaste of what labor, rightly organized, could do.

The Lawrence strike was followed by other textile strikes.¹¹ In Lowell 18,000 textile workers struck immediately after it. In New Bedford in July 15,000 textile workers responded to the call of the IWW to support the independently organized weavers who had struck against the fining system. The various craft unions refused to act jointly with the IWW but the 15,000 stayed out until the weavers on their own account had returned. In Little Falls, N.Y., a major center for knit goods and underwear, the state law limiting female labor to 54 hours per week became effective Oct. 1, 1912 and produced an unorganized walkout at the Phoenix and Gilbert Mills on the 10th, much like that in Lawrence. The IWW organized the Polish, Austrian and Italian workers, but had less success with the \$6.40 a week "Americans." To hamper the strike, meeting places were denied and outdoor speaking prohibited. The socialists from Schenectady, including Mayor Lunn, furnished most of the force for the free speech end of the fight and won, not only their constitutional rights, but considerable support from the English-speaking workers. On Oct. 30, when a thug struck a girl picket, a fight broke out with the result that

organizers Legere (an actor) and Bochino got convicted of stabbing a detective "in the seat of the pants" and sojourned at Auburn until July, 1914. There were hundreds of individual arrests, and a mass arrest of strikers meeting in the Slovak Sokol Hall. On that occasion the police broke heads, musical instruments and furniture alike. Next day other strikers paraded, playing the Marsellaise and International on their broken instruments, and requested troops to curb the police. The request was denied. When, shortly after this, children were sent out of town, and truant officers attempted to stop them at the station, they had papers in proper legal form to assure their departure. On January 3 the strike was ended on terms arranged by state mediators, reinstatement for all, increases to range from 5 to 18%, no one to get less for the 54 hour week than for 60 hours.

A week later when the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers held its fourth convention, it was proud of its achievements. Then came Paterson.

Paterson was an old silk center, with some big firms and about 290 smaller ones. Its technology lagged behind that used in the newer silk towns, like Allentown, Scranton and other places where miners' wives and daughters worked on high speed looms. (Their wages averaged \$7.01 in 1912; male earnings were lower, only \$6.06) The industry was beginning to trustify. Haywood said: "The strike would undoubtedly have ended much sooner had it not been for the desire of the richer manufacturers to see the smaller ones starved out and driven into bankruptcy. . . . The competing Pennsylvania mills are largely owned by the same interests."¹² Under these circumstances victory required industry-wide solidarity; it could not be attained by lone action in the technologically backward center from which the industry was moving.

When the 4-loom system was introduced into the Doherty Mills in Paterson late in January 1913, the weavers, unorganized, came out spontaneously. In

Paterson the IWW had a substantial local, including such capable organizers as Ewald Koettgen and Adolph Lessig, silk workers themselves. The weavers asked their help, and they took the gamble of trying to make the strike industry-wide. On the last day of February the local struck the 1930 mills and dye-houses in Paterson, and, with the aid of socialist locals at or near the more modern silk centers, sent strikers and organizers to bring them into the fight too; but there had not been the necessary preparation, the fight was confined to Paterson. There 25,000 struck until September 24; 1473 were arrested; five were killed. Outside labor support brought in \$59,957.79 for strike relief, and this time to prevent rumors, the funds and expenses were checked by a public accountant. A pageant staged by John Reed, using the strikers to portray their struggle, toured eastern cities; the poster design was later used on many editions of songbooks and other pamphlets. But all this could not win in the old silk center against modern technology in other towns, with the better looms owned by the same large interests. By the time the strike was given up, hard times were on their way again, hitting, as they often do, the textile industries first. The IWW spent the last cent it could raise on this fight, and it almost did for the IWW as the Pullman strike of 1894 had done to Deb's ARU.

In April and May, 1913, while the Paterson strike was on, the union engaged in a struggle in Ipswich, a town where the previous fall the IWW had won prestige by action enabling workers to collect \$60,000 in back wages held from those who had quit without giving two weeks' notice. Arrests, police clubbings, and the impossibility of getting any place to meet except a churchyard, made the strike a dead issue when an ordinance was passed forbidding meetings in churchyards.

The National Industrial Union of Textile Workers persisted until March 11, 1916.¹³ Then the General Executive Board put its remaining members in

directly affiliated locals until it should have a membership of 5000 or more. Since then there has been only a scattered membership in that industry and a few minor efforts at organization. Already at its 1913 convention, full of success, the older members whose persistent plugging had built it up in the lean years of 1908-1911, refused to accept nominations. The GEB reported to the 10th convention that immediately following the Lawrence strike "a campaign of slander and insinuation was launched against the officers and most of the old active workers." That 1913 convention resolved that only those who had worked in the textile industry should serve it as organizers, though the organization had been built largely by organizers from other industries. But most important factor was the unemployment and hard times that set in late in 1913. The policies of the 1913 convention, the friendship of the socialists and these hard times all combined to undermine the newly grown union. Despite the arguments over "sabotage" and the unseating of Haywood from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in 1912,¹⁴ actual relations were friendly, and the harm done by the socialists was evidently done unwittingly, even though its policy right along had been and still was to favor the AFL. With hard times the socialist activities appeared to offer a better outlet for whatever aspirations for a new social order these workers had retained from their strikes and past experience. Dropping the old guard of organizers as strangers to the industry pushed them in this direction for they could have mapped out a program to make the union serviceable to its members no matter how hard the times, just as it had survived the bad years 1908-1909. While many had been organized for brief periods during the strikes, and while every effort, short of contracts, was made to hold them after the strike, post-strike locals were small. In Lawrence it was claimed that 10,000 out of the 25,000 strikers joined the IWW, but by the

fall of 1913 the Lawrence local had only 700 members.¹⁵

To some extent this decline of the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers came from the difficulty of hitting the right balance between an industrial union program so different from prevailing thought that it struck most workers as alien, and a program so confined to job unionism that it lacked the spirit and vision necessary to hold workers together, as they had been held in 1908, when jobs disappeared and strikes were out of the picture.

Throughout the years since some of the old bat-tlers and some younger textile workers who shared their vision have maintained Textile Workers Industrial Union 610 of the IWW, mindful of the need for industry-wide bargaining to cope with geographical shifts and persistently low wages even as in the days of Paterson. They may yet provide the union the textile workers need, for their need very plainly has not yet been met.

1. For general story of the period, see series "IWW Tells Its Own Story" for greater details, and articles by Chas. Miller who actively participated in these strikes, in *Industrial Worker*, July 1945.

2. *Solidarity*, Nov. 18, 1911.

3. Report of Organizer J.P. Thompson to 7th convention of IWW.

4. Chas. Miller, series July 1945, *Industrial Worker*.

5. *Solidarity*, No. 114.

6. Al Priddy in *Outlook*, Oct. 1912.

7. H.E. Fosdick in *Outlook*, June 15, 1912.

8. *Solidarity*, No. 114.

9. They are 62nd Congress, 2nd session, Senate document 870.

10. *Outlook*, June 15, 1912.

11. Details of these strikes are in papers of period and summarized in "IWW Tells Its Own Story," *Solidarity*, Sept. and Oct. 1931.

12. *International Socialist Review*, May, 1913.

13. Proceedings, 10th Convention IWW, p. 73.

14. See below, chapter VI, on ideological conflicts of period.

15. Levine, *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept. 1913. Winston Churchill's novel, "The Dwelling Place of Light" depicts the Lawrence strike fairly well.

V. The Pre-War Crest

(Period 1912-13: Union activities outside of textile industry)

While the IWW was building a name in the textile industry it fought some great battles among Canadian construction workers, Louisiana loggers, Washington saw mill workers, on the docks of Philadelphia and Duluth, in auto and other metal industries, in the Pittsburgh cigar industry, and for hop-pickers in California. Its rapid extension — much like that of the Knights in 1884-86 — was possible only because it developed the organizing abilities latent in its ranks. It had not yet developed the program of "every member an organizer," and the job delegate system that grew in 1915 out of its activities in agriculture, but had as organization staff all its General Executive Board members, four national organizers, and 16 organizers with "voluntary credentials," weekly listing them in its papers and warning that no others were accredited organizers for the IWW.

The prestige of Lawrence resulted in victories in other fields: a victorious one week strike of molders and others at National Malleable Casting in Indianapolis in March, 1912; the organization of a successful strike of piano and organ builders in New York in April and May. Again in May a two week strike against American Radiator in Buffalo won boosts and better hours there and brought other nearby plants to do likewise so that over 5000 benefitted. In June the IWW won increases at Warner Refining in Edgewater, N.Y., and at Corn Products Refining at Shadyside, N.J.¹ In Peoria in June occurred one of the few events that give some substance to the myth of the IWW blowing into town, fomenting a strike and pulling out again. Visiting organizer James P. Cannon there turned a socialist meeting into a local of workers at Avery Implement. A cou-

ple of the boys were fired, and the rest pulled the whistle without any preparation for strike or getting many organized. It took aggressive picketing to make the strike click, and pickets got arrested, including Cannon's fellow evangelist, Tom Moore, who sent out a call from jail for "jail material and lots of it." It threatened to turn into a free speech fight to rival San Diego, but, to prevent this, new organizers came to town and arranged a settlement including the release of all in jail, and the evangelists departed.

Along a five hundred mile stretch where the Canadian Northern was penetrating the mountains of British Columbia, six thousand "dynos and dirt-hands" struck on March 28, 1912.² They soon tied up everything from Hope to Kamloops, and before it was over the IWW had another strike of similar size on the construction of the Grand Trunk. Some organization had been built among these men in the summer of 1911 as they flocked into the area waiting for this work to open up. Those doing preliminary work for the sub-contractors, and others camping along the right of way waiting for work, sent for organizer J. S. Biscay to unionize them so they could start the big job with union demands. Their competition had brought down wages on this preliminary work to \$2.25 a day. By Sept. 6, 1911 over 900 had been organized into Local 327 and the men on a 160 mile section decided to hold out for higher pay. The contractors asked for the army to force the men to work, but didn't get it. Local business interests hoped for a wage boost and business men even donated funds for Local 327 to build its hall in Kamloops. Organization had reached over 2000 or a third of the men before the big strike began.

This was the first time the IWW had to establish its "thousand mile picket line," extending not only over 400 miles of construction, but much further to employment offices in Minneapolis and San Francisco. The IWW kept many from shipping, and sent its missionaries among those shipped to induce them

to quit en route, and the railroads were left holding many old suit-cases filled with bricks and newspapers by those taking the trip part way.

The contractors after finding that neither violence nor the remote recruiting of scabs could break the strike, hit on "station work," a form of subcontracting by small groups of "self-employed" workers, with "piece work" rates that appealed to many of the strikers. The strikers were now divided first over whether or not to accept station work at any rates, and secondly, if so, how those rates should be set. Solidarity weakened and the strike ended with minor improvements, and earnings at station-work were no doubt raised by the strike and the sense of unionism. (A similar use of the "gyppo" system of piece work had much to do later with the decline of the IWW in Washington forests; and in post-mortems many on the scene later argued that the effective tactic would have been to accept this payment-by-results system but at rates that gave the employer no advantage over day-work. In both instances, to introduce it, much higher earnings were permitted than men made by it once it was established.)

This and the strike on the Grand Trunk lasted until late fall. Both were well supported by the labor movement of western Canada. The British Columbia Federationist served it as a regular weekly strike bulletin.

It was at this time that the term "Wobbly" as nick-name for IWW came into use. Previously they had been called many things from International Wonder Workers to I Won't Works. The origin of the expression "Wobbly" is uncertain. Legend assigns it to the lingual difficulties of a Chinese restaurant keeper with whom arrangements had been made during this strike to feed members passing through his town. When he tried to ask "Are you I.W.W.?" it is said to have come out: "All loo eye wobble wobble?" The same situation, but in Vancouver, is given as the 1911 origin of the term by

Mortimer Downing in a letter quoted in *Nation*, Sept. 5, 1923 with the additional information: "Thereafter the laughing term among us was 'I Wobbly Wobbly,' and when Herman Suhr during the Wheatland strike³ wired for all foot-loose 'Wobblies' to hurry there, of course the prosecution made a mountain of mystery out of it, and the term has stuck ever since." Mencken in his *American Language* doubts this explanation. Some credit the term to Otis of the *Los Angeles Times*, an avid opponent of the IWW. Some lingual difficulty seems most likely to have been behind it, for in its sense of vacillating it fits no accusation ever made against IWW, and about the only meaning of wobbly that could conceivably fit is that of "wobble saw," a circular saw mounted askew to cut a groove wider than its own thickness.

In February 1912 the second national industrial union of the IWW was formed, the Forest and Lumber Workers. That summer the young Brotherhood of Timber Workers, centered in Louisiana joined it as an autonomous division. In contrast to the northwest, the Louisiana lumber worker was a "homeguard," often a "sod-buster."⁴ Previous efforts from the Knights on had failed to give them stable organization. In 1902 around Lutchter they had formed a union, won, and dissolved. Again they had organized in 1907 to resist a wage cut, holding out longest around Lake Charles, and the union had died again. In 1910 the Brotherhood was formed, "swarming" around some 90 IWW's and "red" socialists—that is those who preferred Debs to Berger and Lee—and from the beginning was attacked by the lumber barons as IWW and alien. Its fights were lockouts, not strikes, and it was a revolt of the local people, including farmers and preachers and merchants and doctors, against the outside capital that was walking off with the riches of the area. (During its fights the lumber interests said they would deal with a respectable AFL union, yet in 1919 when AFL Carpenters tried to organize around Bogalusa, a mob of deputized thugs killed three at the union hall and

stopped it.) The Brotherhood organized black and white workers together. It sent fraternal delegates to the 1911 IWW convention; its convention in May, 1912 was addressed by Haywood, and by referendum it joined the IWW that summer and was duly installed at the 1912 IWW convention.

The lumber companies opposed the Brotherhood with off-and-on lockouts, discrimination and "tin-panning," or the raising of such a din by beating circular saws that speakers could not be heard at union meetings. On July 7, 1912 at the cross-roads in Grabow, A. L. Emerson, president of the Brotherhood, held his audience together through such a "tin-panning" until shots came from the office of the Galloway Lumber Company, killing three. In the ensuing fight several more were killed. No company thugs were arrested, but 58 union men were lodged in the "Black Hole of Calcasieu" until after a two month trial they were acquitted in December. The jury was much influenced by the frank admission of state witnesses that their story had been framed in the offices of Congressman Pujo. Their victory in court was greeted with general jubilation by all southern labor.

After the strike the American Lumber Company discharged all who had testified for the defense, and, expecting further discharges of union militants, Emerson asked the 1200 workers involved to line up on one side of the road, and those who wanted to risk a strike to cross the road. The 1200 Negro, Mexican, French, Italian and native white workers crossed in a body, and a seven month fight was on that the Brotherhood lost. It had one more skirmish at Sweet Home, in December 1913, also lost. The Brotherhood persisted until 1916, but had been virtually killed by the blacklisting of 5000 members. They went west and later helped organize the oil fields of Oklahoma.

On March 4, 1912 the Forest & Lumber Workers Union of IWW struck all the sawmills in Hoquiam, Washington, and within a few days the strike had

extended to Raymond, Cosmopolis and Aberdeen, tying up mill operations throughout the Gray's Harbor area. The demand was a wage boost from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per day. When the Mayor of Aberdeen tried to turn city laborers into deputies to break the strike, most of them quit. The Aberdeen Manufacturing Company turned out a load of heavy clubs to crack strikers' heads; the strikers went into the plant and seized them.⁵ A Citizens' Committee prevailed on the Aberdeen Trades Council not to endorse the strike. This Committee was headed by bourgeois direct actionists whose vigilantes raided the union hall, arrested strikers, clubbed many in town, and kidnapped hundreds more, whom they took into the surrounding swamps, clubbed and left there. At Hoquiam these vigilantes put 150 strikers into box-cars for deportation, but the Mayor and the railroad workers stopped them. There were mass deportations of Greek and Finnish workers in particular from Raymond. Hindus were brought in to scab, but refused. Finally the Citizen's Committee recommended a raise to \$2.25, but preference for native born American workers. The companies agreed, and the strike committee called a meeting and recommended that the men go back with this gain, and build organization for a further fight.

Next year, in May, the Forest and Lumber Workers, IWW, put out a ballot in all logging camps in that area on whether or not to strike for the following demands: a minimum of \$3 for 8 hours; "clean, sanitary bunkhouses without top bunks and having springs, mattresses and bedding furnished free of charge, all camps to be supplied with baths and dry rooms"; end of employment fees. Though the vote ran 85% to strike, the strike was called off July 3 for lack of pickets.⁶ A similar short-lived strike in the Missoula region also failed. The lumber worker was doomed to remain an unwashed timberbeast until 1917.

In August, 1912, Local 101 of IWW, tobacco workers, won short strikes in its old battlefields of

Pittsburgh and McKees Rocks, making the Penn, Zasloff and Webster companies revoke a cut. It followed up with a strike against Standard Cigar in both towns, precipitated by a fire in one of its factories that killed four girls and injured 17 others. The union had overcome a prejudice stirred up by the company between the McKees Rocks girls who were mostly Jewish and the Pittsburgh girls who were mostly Irish, and thereby won an 8 hour day, wage boosts ranging from \$3 to \$4 per week, and a clean-up of the shops and greater protection against further fires.⁷

The following summer the employers in the "hill district" of Pittsburgh, where the three for a nickel variety of stogies were made, locked out the IWW when it struck a member of their association, Dry Slitz Stogie. Twelve hundred were locked out, and the IWW called the remaining 800 stogie workers out. It was an unfavorable time, the beginning of the summer slack season, but the IWW held these workers, mostly girls, together to victory. The lack of organization in this field points up the craft viewpoint. In the nineties the stogie makers had organized, but been turned down as outcasts by the Cigar Makers, and for a time were part of the Knights. When the machine-made "four for a nickel" variety came in, this union turned these down too. The IWW welcomed them all. In the Labor Day Parade the IWW local entered a float depicting child workers and tuberculosis in the Dry Slitz factory. On Sept. 4 the agreement binding employers into an association ended, and many made separate offers. The IWW demand had been 12 to 15 cents for stogies, per hundred, and soon all settled at 11 to 14—all but Slitz. It had moved out of town.

In Akron on Feb. 10, 1913, 150 Firestone tire builders walked out when their piece rates were cut 35%. This led to a six week strike in which the local socialists and IWW with the aid of Haywood and other outside speakers competed with John L. Lewis, then an AFL organizer, and William Green,



Solidarity staff in Newcastle jail, 1910. L-r, 1st row: G. Fix and V. Jacobs; 2nd row: B. Williams, E. Moore, A.M. Stirton, C.H. McCarty. See p. 44.



San Diego free speech fight, 1912. See page 51.



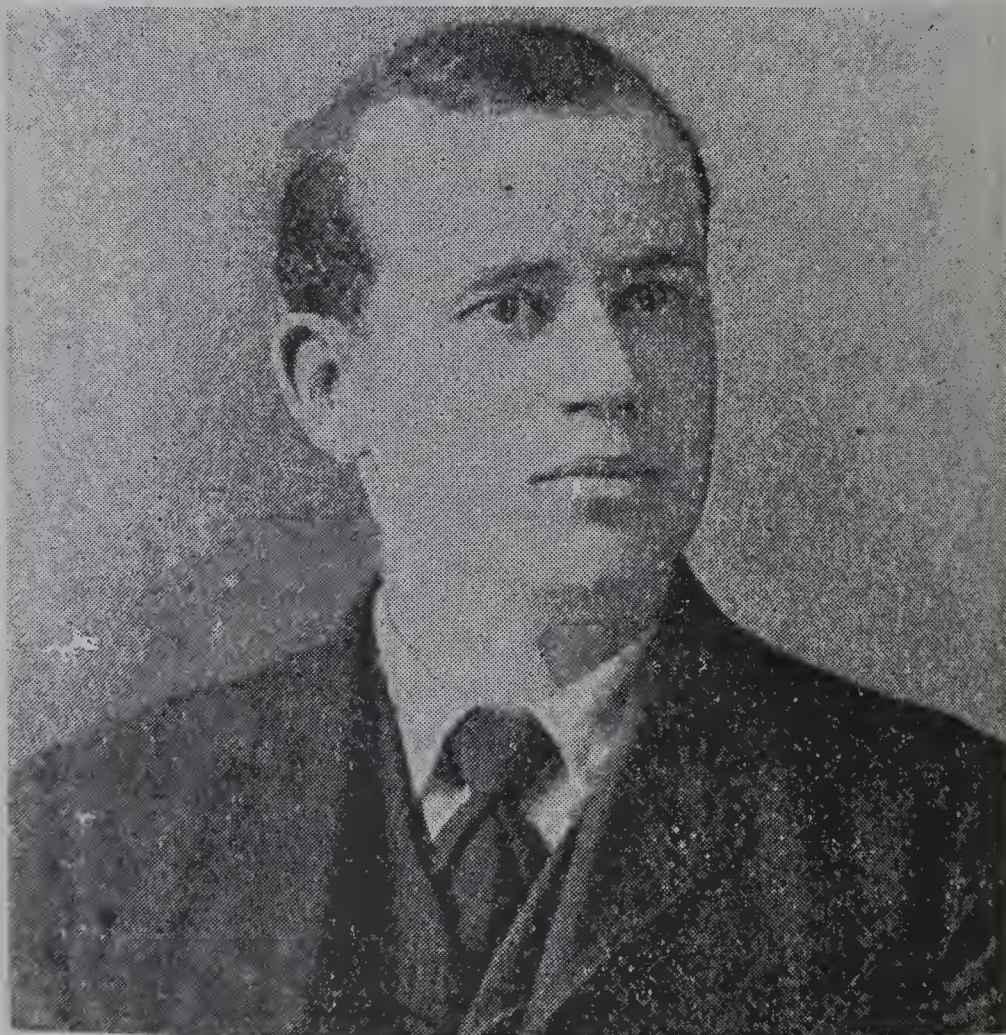
Pat Quinlan, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Adolph Lessig and Bill Haywood, Paterson, 1913. See page 61.



Families with hop picking bags, Durst ranch, See page 78



Knit goods strike, Little Falls, N.Y., fall 1913. Ben Legere's hand on shoulder of Matilda Robbins (Rabinowitz). See pages 59-60 and 74.



Vincent St. John, general secretary 1908-1914.

then an Ohio State Senator, the one side to organize the rubber workers industrially, the other to stam-pede them back to work rather than see the IWW grow.⁸

It was an unorganized industry. Unionism had been held back by craft claims of Boot & Shoe Workers. When the Amalgamated Rubber Workers, AFL, was launched in 1902, Akron rubber workers welcomed it, while the companies launched an Employers' Association and fought it by discriminatory discharge, espionage through Corporations Auxiliary Company, "voluntary" increases, and company unionism. The Amalgamated had lost its push by 1904 in a major defeat in Trenton.

When these 150 tire-builders walked out, unorganized, they soon brought the rest of the Firestone tire-building department after them. There was an IWW local of 50 or 60 members, closely associated with the Socialist local, and the hall they jointly used was offered as strike headquarters. In a short time they brought out the entire local rubber industry, about 20,000 workers. It was a revolt against industrial poisoning, lack of sanitary facilities, and especially the speed-up and Taylor system of which Sieberling boasted. No one had expected this spontaneous revolt, yet it was orderly. The Akron Beacon-Journal of February 14 said: "It is safe to say that no strike was ever started so peacefully or with less excitement," and again on the 17th "With the factories depleted," it commented, "throughout Akron there is only praise for the very orderly way in which the strikers have behaved up to date."

The Mayor promptly asked for the National Guard. The Governor instead sent in the State Board of Arbitration, and Senator William Green, later president of the AFL, set up a committee to investigate, and the AFL sent in John L. Lewis and other organizers to take over. The AFL issued a statement explaining that it had intended to organize in Akron earlier, but had been delayed "on account of the enormous work devolving upon its organizers in

textiles and iron and steel, as the result of interference . . . by the people who have assumed control of the strike in the rubber industry."

It took the strike committee of 100 close to two weeks to iron out a wage scale acceptable to all occupations. The AFL drew up its own wage scale, but withdrew it as workers protested against the obvious inequities in it. Later, as in regular Mohawk Valley formula style the loyal citizens were equipped with badges and clubs to crush this "invasion of alien unionism," and with meetings and picketing stopped, a back to work movement was promoted to the tune of clubbings, then, says Roberts in his study of the Rubber Workers, "The AFL put it self in the unfortunate position of aiding the back-to-work movement, thereby helping defeat the strike."

The dirty work of the AFL went deeper than that. The issue was whether or not there was to be collective bargaining. Sieberling who had done much with his stop-watch to promote the strike, hurried back from his Pacific cruise to say he would deal with no union, and to denounce the strikers as anarchists. Organizer Bessemer replied that in the common usage of anarchist as an extreme individualist, Sieberling's refusal to deal with a union made him the leading anarchist in town. The entire managerial side in its dealing both with the State Board of Arbitration and with Senator Green's Committee, made it clear that there would be no collective bargaining. Yet the AFL forces, including Green's committee, made much of IWW aversion to contracts as though this could prolong the strike in an industry whose management refused contracts. On the contrary, the IWW proposals were workable ways to settle the strike and achieve some progress in industrial relations. Since the companies refused to deal with any union, the strike committee proposed instead:

"The right of employees to present grievances collectively by committees of their own selection,

composed of employees of each factory, to negotiate with each manufacturer, should be established for the adjustment of all grievances in the future. The right of workers to organize in labor organizations of their own choice should not be infringed upon."

This was a workable basis for unionism and collective bargaining without official union recognition. (In most instances the criticism of IWW for not making contracts in these years falls equally flat for almost identical reasons.) The language of the proposal, considering its adaptation to the specific circumstances, later acquired a familiar ring, in the proposal by which Gompers broke up Wilson's Industrial Conference of 1919, and later incorporated in section 7-a of NIRA to go on down into Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts. It appears to have originated in this proposal made by the executive committee in an IWW strike on March 7, 1913. The committee also proposed that the 8 hour day it demanded could be introduced gradually. Probably the greatest damage the AFL did to the rubber workers was their denunciation of the IWW as an impossible organization that could not carry on collective bargaining. This and the similar line of Green's Committee did much to ease the conscience of the Citizen's Police Association, and its recruitment in churches and YMCA. The employers refused to meet even with committees of their own employees insisting that strikers were not employees, and issued statements that made the local AFL inclined to pull a general strike. At that point the sheriff put the city under martial law, the more loyal AFL local leaders joined in the back-to-work movement, police clubbing grew, and on March 31 the IWW called off the strike by a vote of 140 to 58—a marked contrast from the thousands who had gathered in Perkins Park to hear Haywood say: "We are standing in the shadow of a monument of John Brown to discuss and fight a greater problem than he ever faced." The strike is usually called a defeat. It did not establish the collective bargaining it aimed at, but it

did stop the 35% cut that precipitated it, and so properly cannot be called a defeat.

The following January a startling disclosure was made by James W. Reed, secretary-treasurer of the Akron local in an affidavit that he had hired out as a spy in 1908 to look out for labor agitators at Diamond Rubber, and that during the years 1912-13 almost all officials of the local had also been in the pay of this Employers Auxiliary Corporation, an industrial espionage outfit.⁹ While few knew of this, several of those involved attended the Jan. 14 meeting, and a picture of all was taken first, and then the story disclosed. The incident shows the futility of such espionage in an organization of the IWW type, where the strikes are handled by committees of strikers and not by the secretaries or other officers. Thus there seems to have been no great harm done by the spies, and instead a rather good technical performance of the clerical duties to which they were elected.

In the auto industry of Detroit the IWW had a small local, No. 16, which for several years had sought members by speaking in parks about social evils or distributing occasional leaflets without much success. In the spring of 1913 it too began to concentrate on industrial unionism at factory gates, and it began to grow. An able speaker was Matilda Rabinowitz, one of the four national organizers, who had come to Detroit originally to raise funds for the Paterson strike. She was a little woman and after one noon-day meeting a police officer complained: "You take advantage of us because you are a woman." Within the one month of May Local 16 grew from a mere skeleton to a promising start of 200.

In June Studebaker changed from weekly to monthly pays. There was dissatisfaction over this and members of the local in the Delray or west end plant of the company sent in a committee to ask about it and to report to a meeting for all Studebaker workers that the Local had called for June 14.

All the committee got for an answer, was the discharge of one of its members. The Sunday meeting elected another committee to see management; it got told that the company would give its answer in a week. The men feared that week would be used to thin out union ranks, and struck on the morning of the 18th at Delray. They all held a meeting in an adjacent vacant lot and marched in a body the seven miles to Plant No. 1, arriving there at noon and bringing out its 2000 workers. Next day the men from both plants brought out plant No. 5 bringing the total on strike to about 6,000 or a tenth of the local auto workers at that time. They accepted the police restriction of 30 pickets to a plant, but somehow the urge to soap-box turned the strike into a free speech fight, and it seems the entire strike evaporated into this evangelistic activity.¹⁰

Industrial unionists in the local then went to work on the three companies providing most of the wheels for the auto industry. First they won a short strike at Metal Wheel, gaining a 10% boost, a 9 hour day and better sanitation. This enabled them to get similar gains by strike threat next day at Toledo Metal Wheel, and on July 29 by a four hour strike at Foyer Brothers.¹¹

The IWW in Detroit must be distinguished from the still-born faction of De Leonites who left the IWW in 1908 and were known as the "Detroit faction." The factual Detroit IWW plugged along, but found it could not build a strong union in autos, though neither were AFL nor independent attempts successful either. This period should make plain that in all these fields—textiles, rubber, autos, out-of-town construction, and whatever the IWW hit—it was there simply because all those who disdainfully spoke of IWW instability, had proven even more unable to organize than were the Wobblies. The IWW did not leave Detroit, but has been there ever since, though many workers it has organized and won gains for have deserted it.

In 1911 the IWW had gone on record against "bor-ing from within." The urge, and often the need, to belong to whatever union one's fellow workers were in, led, of course, to many IWW members belonging to other unions in those fields where they had organization. In three fields this resulted in efforts to alter union programs: in the Western Federation of Miners, among the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of New York, and in the maritime industry. On the New Years Eve that ushered in 1913 a strike accredited by press to IWW started among the members of the Hotel & Restaurant Workers, AFL, first at the Astor, and soon extended to other leading hotels. The New York Times of the period makes much of accounts that Elizabeth G. Flynn urged an end to tipping and an exposure of food adulteration or that Ettor urged strikers to poison food of patrons, which he plainly did not advise. A running fight between AFL and IWW in that local field ran through the year.¹²

In the spring of 1913 the Marine Transport Workers of the IWW was launched. In February the Marine Oilers, Firemen and Watertenders moved to affiliate with the IWW.¹³ No such event occurred, but the desire for industrial organization led a number in this and other maritime crafts to build up an IWW organization that by 1916 was to have considerable to say about conditions aboard ship on the Atlantic coast.

In Philadelphia on the docks the IWW found a chance to build its first clear example of stability, a longshore organization that lasted from 1913 to 1925 and exercised job control through most of those twelve years.¹⁴ About May 10 the small Philadelphia local got wind that the unorganized longshoremen were in a mood to organize and favored the IWW. An organizer was assigned to the job, but he could not find those who had such ideas. George Speed of the IWW was addressing a meeting of sugar workers, and a group of longshoremen came in and asked would he organize

them. He said he would and got it settled that in this industry where Negro and white workers had regularly been pitted against each other, a union would have to unite them, and got them to formulate the demands they felt the union should go after. Word of these demands spread along the 20 miles of dock like prairie fire, and resulted in a strike which the IWW had not called. But the response to its appeal for Negro and white workers to stick together so took the company by surprise and so shattered its customary means for keeping these Negroes, Poles and Lithuanians apart — through threats to assign docks to men of another hue—that the strike was won in a short time. In the early stages of the strike, the strikers calmly deliberated on the proposals of both AFL and IWW and chose the Wobblies. After the strike the AFL with booze parties and a press accusing the IWW of mismanaging the strike, tried to recover but the MTW-IWW held the fort and grew.

An effort was made to build this Marine Transport Workers on the Great Lakes, where the AFL had just given up a three-year strike, but the only Lakes success was on the docks at Duluth and Superior, where an IWW strike put in the safety devices still used on the ore docks. On the Superior docks two workers were killed through what their fellow workers felt to be company negligence. Organizers Leo Laukki and J. P. Cannon were there and built up strike sentiment, and were soon joined by Frank Little. Many of the workers were Finnish and at this time the Finnish socialists were leaning toward IWW views, and had founded the daily paper *Socialisti*, made into an IWW paper in 1916, and still published as an IWW Finnish daily, *Industrialisti*,* in Duluth. With this support they spread the strike to the ore docks of the upper end of the Lake. On August 8, GEB member Frank Little was kidnapped and taken to a farm 35 miles out in the country and held there until newspaper reporters caught the trail and rescued him. He got back in time to make a dramatic entry, haggard and unshaved, at

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a strike mass meeting in the Duluth Armory. The demand for safety equipment was won, the strike called off and other concessions obtained in the settlement were spread by the Finnish socialists to other docks.

In this period of active industrial organization there were many smaller strikes not mentioned here. One strike of workers employed by Utah Construction near Soldier's Summit, Utah, resulted in a mass deportation from the camp, an incident that later became part of the background of the Joe Hill case.¹⁵

Another sortie that achieved fame out of its aftermath was the strike at Durst's hop ranch at Wheatland, between Marysville and Sacramento, Calif.¹⁶ Durst advertised for pickers to flood the market. Some 3000 camped on his land, whole families, waiting for a chance to work, though the earnings averaged only \$1.28 a day and tents were rented to them for 75 cents a day, and all groceries were to be bought at his "pluck 'em" store. The camp had no facilities for garbage, nine crude toilets, and five wells, garbage-contaminated and usually dry. To the thirsty pickers he sold a mixture of citric acid and water for five cents a glass. Dysentery and other sickness was common. Among them a few, perhaps a hundred, had IWW cards, for the IWW had been making repeated efforts among west coast agricultural workers. These called a meeting to consider strike action Sunday noon, Aug. 2, 1913, using a dance pavilion to speak from. On it Dick Ford took a sick baby from its mother's arms and said, "It's for the life of the kids that we're doing this." At that moment two cars filled with drunken deputies, brandishing their guns, broke into the peaceful meeting and proceeded to arrest Ford. The crowd hollered, and some drunken deputy started shooting. Before it was calmed down, two strikers and two of the sheriff's group lay dead. Hop-pickers believed that one of the wounded strikers, a Puerto Rican, had grabbed the gun of a deputy before he died and evened the score.

Hundreds of hop-pickers were arrested, "investigated" and put under pressure to turn state's evidence, but among all these 3000 starvelings not one such could be found. At the trial in 1914, Ford and Suhr were convicted of the murder of Deputy Sheriff Riordan. In 1928 Ford was released on parole and promptly re-arrested on orders of District Attorney Manwell for the murder of his father, the other officer killed in the scrimmage. The trial resulted in such an exposure of the previous miscarriage of justice that both Ford and Suhr were liberated—fifteen years too late.

Thus ends the story of the pre-war crest of the IWW. Focusing its attention on industrial activity, it had jumped from the approximate 4,000 members of its first six years to have an average membership, as reckoned by per capita of 18,387 for 1912, and 14,851 for 1913.¹⁷ A figure for all who were members at any time during those two years would be at least double, and probably quadruple these figures. In 1912 it had been almost consistently winner in its fights; it won some in 1913, but was progressively less successful. When hard times hit in the fall of 1913, they fell on an organization that had spent its resources on Paterson and Akron, on the trials arising from Paterson and Wheatland and Louisiana—a union in bad shape to face tough times and with many enemies, both in and out of the labor movement.

1. *Solidarity* of period, especially issues 122, 128 and 148.

2. British Columbia accounts from IWW press and *International Socialist Review* of period.

3. See Wheatland strike, end of this chapter.

4. For account of Louisiana lumber, see Jensen "Labor and Lumber" (Farrar & Rinehart, 1945), pp. 87-92; also Spero & Harris "The Black Worker" (Columbia Univ. Press, 1931), chapter 15. This account taken largely from writings of Covington Hall, including article in *International Socialist Review*, Sept. 1912, reports in IWW press, 1912-1914, series on Louisiana in 1945 *Industrial Worker*, July 14, 21 and 28, and unpublished mss., "Labor Struggles in the Deep South."

5. *Solidarity*, No. 119. For general account of strike, Jensen, "Labor and Lumber," p. 121, etc., and Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 349 (1924), though Jensen repeats confusion of 1913 woods strike with 1912 mill strike. Woehlke in *Outlook*, July 6, 1912, has a story of strikers scaling fences around Lytel Mill to pull out scabs that is not corroborated by accounts or memories of participants. Account of end of strike, *Solidarity*, No. 124.

6. *Solidarity*, No. 178.
7. Pittsburgh cigar: *Solidarity* Sept. 7, 1912, and No. 198; extensive account by Cooper in *Survey* for Nov. 29, 1913.
8. For details of Akron read "The Rubber Workers" (Harper's, 1944) by Harold S. Roberts, senior economist National War Labor Board. Other data taken from *Solidarity* and *ISR*, April 1913.
9. Affidavit given in full, *Solidarity*, Jan. 17, 1914.
10. *Solidarity* No. 127.
11. *Ibid* Nos. 184 and 192.
12. *Solidarity*, through Jan. 1913, and *N.Y. Times* 1913, see own index.
13. Grover Perry in *International Socialist Review*, May 1913.
14. Spero & Harris, "The Black Worker," chapter 15, give the more commonly held account of IWW start on Philadelphia docks, based on reminiscences. This follows record in *Solidarity* by McKelvey, Oct. 4, 1913; also *N.Y. Times*, May 13, 1913, for May strike.
15. Soldier's Summit account, *N.Y. Times*, June 13, 1913, p. 13.
16. For details of Wheatland read Report of Executive Secretary of State Housing and Immigration Committee, by Carlton Parker, published as appendix to his book, "The Casual Laborer." (The rather Freudian analysis of migratory workers in this book has struck some of them as much like the distorted descriptions of primitive peoples by well-meaning outsiders, including even anthropologists.) Both the story of Wheatland and a record of the failure of AFL attempts to organize agriculture in California is given in Williams "Factories in the Fields," Little Brown & Co., 1939.
17. Figures from table in Brissenden, p. 354.

VI. "Those Bomb-Throwing I Won't Works"

The hard times that set in toward the fall of 1913 cut down chances for job organization and strike activities and turned the attention of the IWW toward agitation, particularly among the unemployed. The first effect of the war in 1914 was to cut jobs further. Joblessness, this war for trade and dynastic ambitions, the breakdown of international socialism, the evils of militarism and conscript armies, the obvious need for world-wide working-class solidarity—all these gave soapboxers much to talk about, and audiences to talk to.

When the IWW again became effective in industry, it was in new fields: lumber, metal mining, oil fields, agriculture, construction projects, and its area of influence, outside of the Philadelphia waterfront and east coast shipping, was chiefly west of the Mississippi. The pre-war depression and early war years make a definite break in the story of the IWW, the more so because of a change in its reputation. Before this, it had been derided as being ahead of its time and had been called the "International Wonder Workers." After this break in its story, it was ridiculed instead as the "I Won't

Works" and depicted as a bunch of bums with bombs in hip pockets, advocating violent sabotage.

This weird reputation has no relevance to the facts, but it became so widespread and such an influence on its subsequent history, that the history of the myth must be told alongside the history of the actual organization. Perhaps the simplest answer to the myth is the finding of an extensive study issued by Johns Hopkins University in 1939:

"Although there are contradictory opinions as to whether the IWW practices sabotage or not, it is interesting to note that no case of an IWW saboteur caught practicing sabotage or convicted of its practice is available."¹

Brissenden, whose studies should have enabled him to know better, writes in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* that the Socialist Party was so deeply incensed by the sabotage propaganda of the IWW that its national convention in 1912 put a provision into its constitution excluding those who advocated sabotage. This is a widely accepted opinion. The facts indicate instead that IWW discussion of the subject developed as a consequence, not as an antecedent, of this Socialist Party action, and that the roots of the entire hullabaloo lie not in any American situation at all, but were transoceanic migrations of earlier quarrels between socialists and other theorists in Europe.

Prior to the May 1912 convention of the Socialist Party, the only reference to sabotage or kindred ideas appearing in any IWW publication is to sabotage and direct action in Chicago strikes in 1910 mentioned in Chapter 3. The connotation of sabotage there is that of malingering or inefficient work. The currently accepted sense of malicious destruction is a later development, attaching itself to an absurd etymology. As Veblen in his "Engineers and the Price System" and other scholars have pointed out, the relation of sabots or wooden shoes to sabotage is this: the use of wooden shoes persisted among French peasants after industrial workers had shifted to leather shoes; the clumsiness of

peasants, particularly when they entered industry as strikebreakers, led to their being called saboteurs, in much the sense that "hayseed" was once current here; and defeated strikers going back to work and expressing their discontent by work as bungling as the strikebreakers had done, referred to this imitation of the sabot-wearers as sabotage. The alternative derivation, to support the connotation of destruction, alleges a practice of kicking a wooden shoe into a loom, and thus involves the unlikely picture of the culprit with one shoe off, one on, standing by the damaged loom trying to deny his depredation.

The entire story of these disputes about violence, physical force, sabotage and direct action is a tale of strange fantasies told in words that keep changing their meaning. Not only has "sabotage" shifted in meaning from malingering to malicious destruction, but "violence" in the earlier discussions was an accusation against unionists that they violated the social concord of democracy by refusing arbitration; "physical forcism," dead as a social program since the decline of Johann Most's influence after 1886, was a DeLeonite epithet used to imply that any radical movement lacking an electioneering program must therefore anticipate the overthrow of government by force of arms; and "direct action," used originally to contrast action by workers for themselves with action for them by legislative or other representatives, has been contorted to cover all the implications of mayhem and destruction implied in these other terms.

The background of the IWW myth lies in France. (The background of the actual IWW is American industry.)² A class-struggle unionism had grown in France whose leaders, as Lewis Lorwin says, were "annoyed and hampered by the overshadowing prestige of the political socialist groups and by the disruptive competitive bidding of these groups for the loyalties of the workers."³ Their Confederation Generale du Travail developed as antidote a philosophy hinging on the doctrine of union

self-sufficiency: that whatever workers needed done for them, they could do for themselves through their unions by union action. This CGT philosophy was one of world labor solidarity, and thus anti-patriot, anti-militarist and distrustful of all government. It projected an increasing competence of organized workers to determine what should be produced, with union quality-control, and where it should go, and pictured the final showdown with the old order as a social general strike, with folded arms, that would so demoralize the old order that soon all or almost all sections of society would be happy to see the resumption of the work necessary for social survival by union workers producing for use under their own direction.

There was no scope in this program for the politician. All parties seeking the labor vote felt the urge to attack it, and the more so because then, even more than now, mid-19th century Utopianism had left as a hangover the notion that every program should be a complete procedure for performance in some social vacuum where nothing but the specified program itself went forward.

Liberals and reformist socialists, believing that the role of government is to settle all conflicts in the general interest, urged arbitration of industrial disputes and assured workers that they could get a better settlement that way than by striking, and without any trouble, if only they would elect friends of labor to office. French liberals argued that even the most peaceful strike, if it stopped work the community needed done, or stopped income that the shop-keepers needed, did violence to the social concord and was a crime of "lèse démocratie." In 1906, Sorel answered these arguments with a series of essays, "Reflections on Violence," emphasizing the demoralizing influence of compulsory arbitration or of statism in general, and urging that the will of the working class to create the good world could develop only from daily practice of a class struggle ethic. This was the content of the term "violence" in this dispute between French radicals,

and it continued as the content in British discussions, such as Ramsay MacDonald's articles on syndicalism; but when this discussion moved to America where labor disputes had often become pitched battles, "violence" was taken to mean Most's "physical force."

The more Marxian wing of the socialists used a different attack. It conceded that in times of business activity, strikes could be effective but argued the final battle might come instead when masses already unemployed could not effectively strike. To counteract this argument, the syndicalist movement elaborated various forms of possible sabotage: that of the "open mouth" by which workers let out trade secrets or disclosed the wrong-doing of employers, particularly in the foodstuff industries; that of "misdirection" of shipments; that of giving employers the services of "hands" only, if workers were to be treated and hired and paid only as "hands"—and sundry other forms of the "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency." There was disagreement among syndicalists as to the effect of these practices on proletarian morale and the development of labor's ability to create a good world, but the syndicalist consensus was that by the discriminating choice and adaptation of these means, the morale of capitalism could be shattered and organized labor emerge as a constructive force. This became official CGT doctrine in 1897.

In the socialist movement of pre-war years, particularly throughout Europe, there were internal power disputes presented as conflicts of theory as to the nature of the state, the relation of politics to unionism, the determinants of historic development, the choice of programs of reform or programs for the simple abolition of capitalism, acceptance of posts in capitalist governments, attitudes toward nationalism and war, and whether to oppose war by a general strike or by parliamentary action. While there was no neat polarization on these issues, in a general way all socialists denounced syndicalists as sinners, and the gradualist-reformist socialists

denounced the doctrinaire-"impossibilists" as sharing the sins of the syndicalists.⁴

In America, the fact that many of the "doctrinaires" were out of the Socialist Party and in the SLP delayed the breaking out of this dispute until 1912. Then the IWW replaced the CGT as the goat. Those who hoped to catch support by catering to the AFL pushed through the new Article II Section 6 by a vote of 191 to 90, which read: "Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled. . . ." In consequence of this, Haywood was recalled from the National Executive Committee of the SPA in February 1913. On local levels, IWW and Socialists remained as friendly as ever, often sharing halls. In 1917 the Socialist Party rescinded Section 6.⁵

The argument over violence led to a resolution adopted at the 7th Convention of the IWW, September 1913:

"At all times it is the rulers who, being in power, are in a position to determine in great measure just how and when the struggle will be fought. . . . It is the employing class and their agencies who provoke violence and then cry out the loudest against it. . . . The program of the IWW offers the only possible solution of the wage question whereby violence can be avoided, or, at the very worst, reduced to a minimum. If the ruling class of today may decide, as their prototypes in the past have decided, that violence will be the arbiter of the question, then we shall cheerfully accept their decision and meet them to the best of our ability—and we do not fear the result."

The weird reputation that the IWW acquired in this period is the outcome of this right-left quarrel inside the socialist movement, combined with a depression situation that led to "sensational soap-boxing." Although many writing in the IWW press were familiar with the European labor press, the

only portion of CGT philosophy prior to the 1912 convention in IWW publications were statements by Vincent St. John supporting the doctrine of union self-sufficiency. In other literature a reference exists to a pamphlet issued by Trautman in Pittsburgh in 1912, entitled "Direct Action and Sabotage," but no mention of it occurs in the IWW press. In February of 1913, *Solidarity* ran a series of articles on the CGT by Leon Jouhaux, with editorial comment that it was necessary to get a clear picture because of misrepresentation in socialist and capitalist press, and pointing out that the IWW was not anti-parliamentary but non-parliamentary, asking the politicians only to leave the labor movement alone. Later that year as Andre Tridon's "New Unionism" came out, the IWW press promoted its circulation, and took note of translations from the French being issued of Pouget's "Sabotage" and Pataud and Pouget's fictional description of the general strike, "Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth". In Spokane, on his own account, an IWW speaker, Walker C. Smith, issued a booklet on sabotage and it was advertised in the IWW papers in 1913; this was followed by another booklet describing sabotage by Elizabeth G. Flynn issued in Cleveland in 1915. For neither of these could the IWW be properly held responsible. It was this irresponsibility of the Cleveland autonomous "IWW Publishing Bureau" that led to its dissolution next year and the consequent move of *Solidarity* to Chicago. For a while a few internal critics of the IWW in Los Angeles, who attacked IWW policy as "centralist" issued a paper "The Wooden Shoe."

Soapboxers found that talk of sabotage gave their audiences a thrill, and since the dispensers of the above publications were happy to send them for sale on commission to all who would handle them, there was nothing to stop spielers, whether they were IWW members or not, from procuring these booklets, mounting a box, talking about the IWW, taking up a collection and selling the literature. The actual effect on IWW practices was evidently

nil, as shown by the Johns Hopkins study given at the start of this chapter; but its effect on the popular conception of the IWW was definitely damaging. There are curious consequences of this disparity of practice and reputation: in one IWW strike after another local papers commented on the amazing orderliness and peacefulness of the strike despite the "known fact" that the IWW was notoriously violent everywhere else; the imprisonment of hundreds of exceptionally non-violent men for allegedly aiming at the violent overthrow of organized society; or the confusion of the North Dakota farmer who regularly hired IWW help and who made the distinction: "The IWW's I know are swell fellows, but them alleged IWW's I read about in the papers are holy terrors."⁶

IWW ideas on violence have been shaped by practicality. Organizers regularly pointed out to strikers that if they used violence or induced violence toward themselves, they handicapped their strike by putting the police openly on the side of the scabherders; and that the violent strikes of labor history are almost regularly the lost ones; that violence was often found to be the work of employer agents. At all times their concept of the "social revolution" in an industrial society was that of industrial action, not violence. In February of 1913 when a mysterious explosion in a New York roominghouse occupied by radicals (incidentally not Wobblies) led to much talk of dynamite in the local press, Joe Ettor wrote in the *Call*: "The IWW has neither advocated nor participated in violence against the social order. The general strike is the method we favor for overthrowing the capitalist system, and that is the only kind of force we are in favor of." E. G. Flynn took exception to this stand; Ettor and others replied with arguments that there was too much talk of violence and it would be best to stop it. But there was no puzzle why strikers felt like punching scabs in the nose; and when McNamara of the Structural Iron Workers, which had systematically blown up scab-erected bridges, always with certainty that no

lives would be lost, was induced by the promise that his fellow workers would be let off, to "confess" to blowing up the Los Angeles Times Building (which evidently went up from a defective boiler), the IWW frankly called him a victim of the class war and, with all his friends deserting him, provided him to his death in San Quentin with tobacco money.

Before the IWW got back to substantial organizing, war came. The IWW stuck to the position that had been typical of the labor movement in peace. When Gompers wrote his "Labor in Europe" in 1910, he did not hesitate to concur with the CGT slogan "the workingman has no country" or to assert that "workers will forever refuse to kill one another merely because authority has put them in different uniforms."⁷ Because the IWW did not change its tune with the new winds of war, it became the wartime bogey of the propaganda press, which picked up all the canards that had developed about the IWW and broadcast the cartoon conception of the Wobbly as a bomb-toting "I Won't Work."

1. History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States, by Eldridge Foster Dowell, Ph.D., John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1939, Series LVII, No. 1, p. 36.

2. Both Levine, in 1913 article cited next note, and Brissenden in both his books on IWW and in article in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, point out the native American origins of IWW, and its industrialist program a response to the more developed American industry.

3. In article "Direct Action," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

4. Socialist background of this period given in W.E. Walling, "The Socialists and the War," Holt, 1915, or L.L. Lorwin, "Labor and Internationalism," McMillan, 1929.

5. James O'Neal and C.A. Werner, "American Communism," Dutton, pp. 29 and 37. Theoretical differences in SPA given in John Macy's "Socialism in America," Doubleday, 1916 (very readable with considerable information bearing on IWW).

6. For a positive presentation of IWW philosophy, see Frank Tannenbaum: "The Labor Movement," Putnam, 1921, or the section on Syndicalism in Bertrand Russell, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," or pamphlet "IWW in Theory and Practice" by Justus Ebert.

7. Gompers: "Labor in Europe, esp. p. 274 et seq.

The data and place of publication of the following material is significant of the migration of the content of the questions discussed in this chapter: Sorel, "Reflexions sur Violence," Paris, 1906; Roller, "Die Direkte Aktion," Berlin, 1910; R.A. MacDonald, "Syndicalism," London, Constable, May 1912; Arthur D. Lewis, "Syndicalism and the General Strike," London, Unwin, 1912; Levine, "Syndicalism in France," Columbia University Press, 1912; A.W. Kirkaldy, "Economics and Syn-

dicalism," University Press, Cambridge, 1914; in America the following, in 1913: John G. Brooks, "American Syndicalism"; Spargo, "Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism"; Hunter, "Violence and the Labor Movement"; Tridon, "The New Unionism," and the following scholarly accounts: Levine, Sept. in *Political Science Quarterly*, and Brissenden, "The Launching of the IWW," University of Berkeley Press, and in 1914, Hoxie, "Truth about IWW," in *Journal of Political Economy*.

Fictional treatment of IWW follows similar diversity later, ranging from Zane Grey's poisonous "Desert of Wheat," Harper, 1919, which helped send many Wobblies to jail, to such sympathetic treatment as Upton Sinclair's "Oil," Boni, 1927. Winston Churchill's novel, "The Dwelling Place of Light" uses the Lawrence strike of 1912 as general situation with a rather neutral treatment. Eugene O'Neill's "Hairy Ape" has a scene in IWW maritime workers' hall that realistically dramatizes the conflict of myth and reality; Stavis' "The Man Who Never Died" is a somewhat Stalinoid drama of Joe Hill, with very informative preface. Probably favorite IWW fiction has been Jack London's "Iron Heel," 1907, and "Dream of Debs."

VII. Hard Times — 1914-1915

When the pre-war depression hit in 1913, IWW members were as jobless as any. Inclined toward collective action, they felt their chances for food and a place to sleep were better if they went after these necessities organized. First notes of their activity among the unemployed are in the various organizations that grew spontaneously in different cities. In some instances the IWW substantially directed these. In other instances it formed unemployed auxiliaries with dues usually at a nickel a month. Soon these began the collection of food and the provision of lodging for their members, not only to meet creature needs, but to escape the demoralizing influences of the soup-lines and missions, and to provide a sociability and sense of solidarity that was needed as much as soup. By September 1914 when the 9th Convention met, it was agreed that it was folly to join parades to City Halls where there was nothing to eat anyway, but that the unemployed should be organized to give them union principles, to enable them to go after what they needed, and to prevent their being used to batter down wages.

There were various outcomes: free speech fights; fire-hoses turned on "unemployed armies"; a bus-boy became a college professor; "Solidarity Forever," marching song later of millions of American

strikers, came to its author, Ralph Chaplin, out of an unemployed demonstration in Chicago;¹ Henry Ford announced \$5.00 a day minimum; the hall of Butte Mine Workers Union No. 1 got blown up; in Sioux City a group of jobless men descended upon a banquet at which the Chamber of Commerce was considering their plight, and relieved their plight by eating the banquet. Probably the chief consequence for the IWW was that their activities laid the foundation for building a substantial organization of agricultural workers, and thus later for substantial victories in western lumber and other industries.

Early in March 1914 a big snow storm hit New York City. The IWW agitated that the unemployed should not shovel the snow for less than 30 cents an hour. Shelter from the cold was important for the penniless. A bus-boy, Frank Tannenbaum, led a number of jobless men to the Church of St. Alphonsus on West Broadway, to sit there for the night; but a fight developed and Tannenbaum was sentenced to a year on Blackwell's Island. Agitation for his release merged with protests against the Rockefeller Ludlow Massacre and the brutal treatment of the striking Michigan copper miners as major issues at the unemployed demonstrations, including the Union Square riots of April 6. (Tannenbaum went ahead with his education, and his early book "The Labor Movement," especially in its opening chapters, is an outstanding constructive statement of basic IWW attitudes.)

In Detroit on February 12, 1914, the IWW staged an unemployed demonstration in front of the Employers' Association to demand a municipal lodging house; about 3000 jobless gathered before the police started cracking skulls.² In December Organizer John F. Leheney formed the Unemployed League as an IWW auxiliary which set up kitchen in a former church building donated by the Unitarians. There it combined public forums with mulligan stew and found that even with a shortage of Wobly speakers, the IWW points could be made by

systematic Socratic questioning of invited orators. This IWW effort managed also to maintain close cooperation with the AFL.³ With street meetings and leaflets the Unemployed League steadily argued that to get rid of depression it was necessary to cut the hours and boost the pay; Ford's policy of \$5.00 minimum has been attributed to this pressure.

On West Coast the trend was to participate in other organizations of the unemployed. There were frequent arrests at the daily mass meetings held in 1914 at 5th and Howard, then a vacant lot, in San Francisco. Kelly's Army was starting its parade eastward and at Sacramento got chased off the sandlots with fire-hoses.⁴ When the millionaire hobo Eads Howe obtained the San Francisco Civic Auditorium for an Unemployed Convention (February 18th to 23rd, 1915) the IWW participants took substantial control from the big names, on the grounds that the term unemployed meant workers seeking work, and not the habitually idle, rich or poor.⁵ Taking it over yielded nothing much but resolutions on behalf of various imprisoned workers, as the McNamaras, Niles, Ford and Suhr, and Pancner.⁶

In Butte hard times brought the automatic blacklist system to a head. It had been started in December 1912 by connivance between the companies and the copper clique, as those in Butte Miners' Union who sought to propitiate the companies were called.⁷ Under the new scheme all miners had first to go to the Butte Mutual Labor Bureau, maintained by the companies, and get a rustling card without which they could not apply for work at the mines. The militant and especially the pro-IWW element which up to 1912 had exerted a healthy influence in the Butte WFM local could readily be deprived of employment by this scheme—an objective common to some of the local labor union leaders and management. However so many of the more competent miners were in the red-tagged group that it had not been practicable to try to get rid of them until slack times had set in. The separation of the

WFM from the IWW in 1908 had set it out on the futile path of trying to imitate the union-company collaboration of various AFL unions in a field where management was not inclined to collaborate with even the most supine of unions. In 1913 the Moyer faction had brought it back into the AFL where it was to be the International Mine Mill & Smelter Workers. The rustling card, the affiliation with the craft-separationists, the futility of discarding militancy as shown at Hearst's Homestake and elsewhere, and distrust over handling funds for the Michigan copper strike, all produced dissension and a substantial decline in members in Butte Miners Union. When the latter insisted that all miners show their cards to go to work, dissidents launched a new organization, the Butte Mine Workers' Union, often called "Muckie McDonald's union." The IWW forces supported the new venture, and the Socialists, who administered Butte in 1914, were also friendly. The dispute between the two organizations was used by company provocateurs to rid Butte of miner unionism—and it stayed that way until the spontaneous rebirth of unionism after the Speculator disaster of 1917. In the dispute, against the instructions of the new union, a mob was led against the old union hall; shooting broke out evidently from inside the hall; dynamite was obtained from the mines and the old hall was blown up with 26 separate blasts, Miners Day, June 13, 1914. Many accused the IWW of this, but even the editor of the Western Federation Miners' Magazine wrote that he had reliable information that the dynamiters were gunmen of the Waddell-Mahon agency.⁸

In Sioux City the IWW opened up a hall in October 1914 as it was a strategic point for new plans to organize the wheat hands. IWW activity on behalf of the unemployed led to a series of skirmishes and free speech fights, in which IWW had the backing of a substantial local Socialist movement. The Sioux City free speech fight was "good stage." Every night crowds of about a thousand witnessed a Wobbly mount his box and talk until arrested; 82

were in the stockade by mid-April. The police started a rock-pile and led the prisoners there. They sat down in passive disobedience. A fight developed with police over this refusal to work and over the burning of lousy blankets issued to the prisoners; three cops got laid out with a pop-bottle. Public sentiment grew for the Wobs, and as more free speech fighters arrived, the City sought terms, proposing that the men would be freed if they would promise to leave town. The men insisted that whether they went or stayed was up to the individual preference of each. They were released and, as a final gesture of contempt for the rock-pile, they gathered the ingredients for a mammoth mulligan stew, built fires there, cooked the stew in Standard Oil cans, and ate their "victory banquet" on top the rockpile.⁹

More significant was the beginning of organization among the wheat hands. Kansas City Local 61 set out in earnest in the spring of 1914, aiming at \$4.00 a day, but pushed the going wage only to \$3.00 from a previous \$2.50. Organization of agricultural workers had been attempted by AFL and other unions without success except for an independent local of sheep-shearers.¹⁰ The 1914 experience showed how the problem shaped up, and what structural changes would be needed in the IWW to handle it. Reduced to bare elements, building unionism in a factory or on a construction project amounts to getting men together, agreeing on terms of employment, and enforcing the terms by collective refusal to work on lower terms. Here the job was the vast wheat belt of America, running up into Canada. The job seekers gathered in box cars, rode empty gondolas, huddled in hobo jungles, idled around the one Main Street of a thousand towns and villages. But hardly any lived in the wheat belt; they came into it from outside. It was too big a job for Kansas City Local 61. It would require the coordinated effort of IWW members all around the wheat belt, organizing the job-seekers as they came in, and proceeding inward with the new recruits to maintain wages and enforce union terms.

The 1914 convention arranged for a spring convention of the locals directly concerned with such a campaign for Kansas City, April 16, 1915. This led to several new developments which soon became the general plan of operations throughout the IWW. Up to this point IWW members had been members of locals, with these locals occasionally, as among the Textile Workers, banded together into a National Industrial Union. Membership cards were issued by the secretaries of the locals, but no secretary of Local 61 could write cards all over Kansas and the Dakotas, nor was there reason for forming local unions scattered through this area. Thus one organization was set up—the Agricultural Workers Organization 400 (later changed to Agricultural Workers Industrial Union 110) with a national secretary issuing blank cards and dues stamps to job delegates, and an organization committee to be responsible for operations everywhere in that industry. This system of industrial union secretaries issuing organization supplies to local secretaries and even more to job delegates, soon became the regular IWW pattern in all industries.

The new organization was tempted into free speech fights, but soon learned to avoid these as distractions from its main job, organizing, raising the pay and cutting the hours. It did find it was necessary to clear the jungles and freight trains of hi-jacks and card-sharps. At first the policy was to get the job-seekers to withhold their labor waiting for farmers to meet the union demands. Soon they found this meant that the work got done by "wicks" below union scale. Policy then changed to going on the jobs at the going wage, then pulling a quickie strike at an opportune moment for their demands.¹¹ This often resulted in benefits to their successors rather than themselves, but, if acted upon generally, as later it was in the lumbering industry, it became of mutual benefit to all workers.

To achieve better conditions, it was necessary to deter those who would not co-operate with the union

from reaching the harvest fields. Since they rode box-cars, this meant keeping them off unless they joined or talked like union material. Soon many train crews aided them by asking all free riders for their red cards, or else, get off. This speeded up initiations, so that for quite a few years, up to 1925, the dues collected by the Agricultural Workers ran to about half of the total dues collected while initiation fees were an even more disproportionate share of the total. A further consequence was that the process of sifting out the non-unionists or "wicks" was the more complete, the further one penetrated the wheat belt. This difference gives some measure of the union's effectiveness. In the interior of the wheat belt a 10 hour day prevailed, and on the fringes the day was sun-up to sun-down, and wages in the center of the wheat belt were usually double those on the fringe. This sort of organization remained effective to about 1926, when the wide use of the combine, previously restricted to Kansas, cut down the labor market, and the cheap second hand car brought in the wicks on rubber tires in a manner difficult to organize. The net effect of the IWW on agriculture is perhaps most clearly shown in the statistics in Louis J. Ducoff's "Wages in Agriculture in the United States" issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1944. These figures show that if farm wages in 1943 bore the same ratio to industrial wages that they had during World War I, they would need to have been 80 to 85% higher. That difference is attributable to the fact that the Wobs were there in World War I, but not in World War II and largely because union demands had made it pay to mechanize agriculture.

Looking backward in 1945 one of the IWW organizers active during the First World War period, Joe Ettor, wrote in a series of articles "The Light of the Past"¹² that this relatively easy way of obtaining about 15,000 initiation fees per year had sidetracked the IWW from other fields of industry that might have yielded more permanent results. Others point to the fact that many of those re-

cruited in the harvest field became active for the IWW elsewhere, and that the large amount of literature circulated in these harvest drives resulted in an understanding of IWW unionism that both made for a readiness to respond to organizing efforts elsewhere and for some insistence that other unions come closer to IWW ideals.

The most popular piece of IWW literature was the little red song book. In box car, jungles and on the job, its songs were sung, until even the farmers and their boys were singing them too. Many of the more favorite songs were written by Joe Hill. When it became known that he faced death on flimsy and unconvincing evidence, public concern developed into international proportions comparable only to that shown in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. A grocer (an ex-policeman) had been shot along with his son by masked men who, according to the remaining son, had entered his store at closing time crying out "We've got you now." Since no theft was attempted, the obvious motive appeared to be revenge. However Joe Hill was arrested and convicted on the grounds that he had been wounded about the same time. Conceiving that the grocer may have shot, the lower and finally the Supreme Court of Utah proceeded on the strange logic that to have a bullet wound for which no explanation was offered by the defendant was as damaging evidence in this murder trial as the possession of goods from his store had it been a charge of burglary. However it is very doubtful whether the grocer shot at his assailants. Had he hit Hill, since Hill's wound went through his body and clothing, the bullet would have been in the store; but it wasn't. Further the bullet hole was high in Hill's chest but low in his coat, showing that he had been shot with his hands up. Also the bullets that killed the grocer and his son had not been fired from Hill's revolver.

To the IWW—and to many outsiders who investigated the case—there was no doubt that Hill was prosecuted because he was considered a dangerous

agitator, a writer of rebel songs that growing thousands sang, and out of vindictiveness for previous skirmishes in the mines of Utah, free speech fights in Salt Lake City, and particularly for winning a victory at Tucker against the Utah Construction Co. On November 19, 1915, Hill was executed, despite the protests of the AFL and the labor bodies of other countries, the objections of the Swedish government and the intervention of President Wilson. His funeral in Chicago was attended by an unexpected 30,000 mourners who blocked traffic for their long parade to the cemetery in an amazing demonstration of concern for a framed-up working stiff.

1. R. Chaplin, "Wobbly," University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 168.

2. *Detroit News*, Feb. 12, 1914, quoted in *Solidarity*, No. 215.

3. *Solidarity*, No. 272.

4. Account of Kelley's Army at Sacramento with good photos, in *International Socialist Review*, May 1914.

5. *Solidarity*, No. 269.

6. Niles was in San Quentin on trumped-up charge of horse-stealing and subjected to brutalities described in Jack London's novel, "The Star-Rover." John Pancner: Public Service Workers Local 111 had won the 8-hour day in all miner boarding houses in Tonapah, Nevada, except two, which it boycotted. Drunken thugs raided its hall July 11, 1914, tore down the boycott signs, and seized a member, threatening to lynch him. Pancner shot one thug in the leg and they fled; he was convicted on charge of assault with intent to kill.

7. Brissenden: "Butte Miners and the Rustling Card," in *American Economic Review*, Dec. 1920, and Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor in U.S.*, p. 257 (good summary).

8. *Miner's Magazine*, July 2, 1914, quoted in Jensen's "Heritage of Conflict," Cornell University Press, 1950, p. 336. Jensen gives detailed account, marred however by a bias that leads him to imply on page 347 that the IWW had an impossible three-month advance knowledge of this occurrence, on the basis of a letter from Leheney to Dan Liston, sent in care of Bradley, subsequently secretary of the new union, containing the statement, "Fearing that the hall may have been lost, am addressing this letter in care of him." The reference in letter is plainly to IWW hall, for Wobblies at that time might as well have used the Anaconda as a mailing address as the Butte Miners' Union. The dispute ended with martial law, despite objections of the Mayor, and the imprisonment of McDonald and Bradley on charges of deporting objectionables, i.e., requiring that they leave town. See also P.F. Brissenden's pamphlet "Labor Conditions in Butte," and *Solidarity*, Nos. 233, 254 and 255.

9. Sioux City affairs described quite fully by Wallace Short in *Survey*, Oct. 15, 1915; see also *Solidarity*, Nos. 263-264 and 273-277.

10. AFL lack of success in attempts to organize agricultural workers, detailed in Williams, "Factories in the Fields," Little Brown and Co., 1939, and in Jamieson, "Labor Unionism in American Agriculture," *Monthly Labor Review*, Jan. 1946.

11. The role of the IWW in devising and developing union techniques is roughly indicated in chapter 16 of Taft's "Economics and Problems of Labor," Stackpole, 1942.

12. Series in summer of 1945, especially issue of July 21.

13. Most complete account of Joe Hill available is the non-fiction half of Barrie Stavis "The Man Who Never Died," Haven Press, New York 1954. (The other half of the book is a fictional drama about Hill.) A summary of the evidence is given in special Hill edition of *Industrial Worker*, Nov. 13, 1948, answering attack on Hill by Wallace Stegner. A boiled-down version of same article in *New Republic*, Nov. 15, 1948. In Swedish there is Ture Nerman's "Joe Hill," Federatovs Forlag, Stockholm, 1951, giving his original name as Joel Haaglund, born Gavle, Sweden, July 12, 1887. Detailed account of funeral is given in Chaplin's "Wobbly."

VIII. Events of 1916

In 1916 the IWW became involved in an inter-union dispute in the Baltimore Garment industry. It had started a local for clothing workers there on May 1, 1911 which remained small until the spring of 1913 when the independent Lithuanian Tailors' Union joined it, followed a little later by a body of Italian clothing workers. By September 1913 it had control of some of the largest shops in the city, among them Schless Brothers four big shops. A fourteen week strike against Schless ended dismally when the United Garment Workers furnished scabs. For nearly two years the IWW remained ineffective in the Baltimore garment industry but began to grow rapidly again in 1915. The United Garment Workers (AFL) relied less upon the organization of workers and putting up a battle against employers than it did on the demand for union label clothing by other workers who did not question under what conditions or for what wages the clothing had been made. Consequent dissatisfaction led to a split and the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers after the 1914 convention of the UGW.¹ During the early part of this split the IWW was the largest union in the industry in Baltimore. IWW policy forbade time agreements with employers and it sought no closed shop. The pattern of unionism throughout the local industry was less like the current "sole collective bargaining agency" device and more like the pattern that until recently prevailed in Europe, with workers in the same unit acting through whichever union tendency they individu-

ally preferred. The IWW was the majority in some shops, the minority in others; in either case, though it competed with both ACW and UGW for members, it took action to defend members of either union. For this "it got about the same thing as the neutral Belgians" observed organizer E. F. Doree.²

Grief & Company had five plants one of which in the Coca Cola Building was three quarters IWW, the rest UGW with a few members of the Amalgamated. In 1916 the UGW and ACW began demanding closed shop and wanted the IWW to pull this plant in support of their respective demands. The IWW issued a circular stating:

"The IWW always has and always will work in conjunction and strike with any group of workers anywhere, whether organized or unorganized when they have a grievance against any boss, but will not permit itself to be used as a club by any organization to fight another union."

The Amalgamated sent pickets with clubs and knives to bring out the Coca Cola Building; other members rallied to the free-for-all to even up the odds with the result that ACW left them alone there.

Soon after this the pocket makers at Strouse—20 of them IWW and ACW—decided to strike for the abolition of the sub-contract system and a straight price of 15 cents a pocket. The ACW tried to settle for less, proposing to replace any who struck against its settlement. The cutters in the plant were UGW and decided to strike in support of the original pocket makers whether IWW or not. A long strike of 700 AFL and IWW followed with 300 ACW recruits inside working. The clothing industry in Baltimore went to the unions that bid against each other for collective bargaining agreements and the IWW faded out of the picture.

Organizer Doree pointed out to the 10th Convention that the IWW was handicapped by its provision that no time agreements could be made and that as

a result the IWW organizes, fights and lets other unions derive the benefits. However the reluctance to let agreements prevent sympathetic action continued this constitutional ban to 1938 when the constitution was amended to permit industrial unions to adopt their own regulations for agreements provided that nothing in the agreement obligated the workers covered by it to undertake any work that would aid in breaking any strike.

In contrast on the Philadelphia waterfront similar IWW policies achieved substantial union stability. The Marine Transport Workers there had a branch of 3000 members in the spring of 1916 and on May 20 with a parade of all 3000 members—and a band—to the three non-union docks, won union recognition (without any written agreement) and the same condition as prevailed on the docks previously organized. In June, with all docks now acting jointly, it struck and raised the scale to 40 cents for day work, 60 cents for night work and 80 cents for Sundays, holidays, Saturday afternoons and meal hours. The union branched out to other industries. Shoe Workers Local 162 won a strike in 23 shops. A local of coopers was organized, and a Spanish language local with a paper *Cultura Obrera*. An AFL local of lumber handlers left the ILA even though it meant leaving their treasury behind to join the IWW. In 1917 it began the organization of the sugar refineries.³

In Detroit workers at the Solvay Process plant struck without organization for a nickel pay boost, showers and lockers. A couple came to organizer Weber who arranged a meeting attended by 700 strikers. There was some difficulty over forming a committee, so it was decided to get the manager, Mr. Greene, to come to the meeting and negotiate with all. Mr. Greene said that only the back east directors could grant their demands and urged the men to return to work while he saw what he could do for them. Weber pointed out that the long distance lines were open to New York and said the

men would continue their meeting while Mr. Greene talked to the Directors. Soon he reported that they had been considering a one cent raise but agreed to the demands. Weber insisted this meant that penny plus the five cents just granted, showers and lockers. On these terms the men returned, but no permanent organization resulted. The local Auto Workers of IWW did better with a strike of 3000 against Kelsey Wheel, adding a tenth of them to its local.⁴

The most novel of IWW organizing campaigns was that of Jane Street among the housemaids of Denver. By persistent contact with them she compiled a card index by employer giving the "salaries paid in each of these positions, the number of people in each of the homes, the kind of work, the hours, and the characteristics of the mistresses," later adding a turnover record. The list soon grew to cover 2500 homes hiring servants with the pay going up largely because each time a girl managed an increase her successor would know of it and insist upon starting in at that figure. Both the Post and News in Denver ran cartoon-illustrated articles about the new union, implying it sabotaged the soup with too much pepper and won raises by putting too much starch in shirts. The union provided job information, employment service and social gatherings for the girls on their days off. It planned on having its own clubhouse in the residential area where girls could also stay between jobs, but it fell flat when its index list was stolen from its office. Unsuccessful efforts to imitate it were made in Seattle, Chicago and Duluth.⁵

In May 1916 the IWW began organization efforts on the Mesaba Iron Range on the urging of the Finnish Socialists who were strongly entrenched in that area. In Duluth they had a daily paper, the *Socialisti*, a residential labor college and a fine hall. Through the Iron Ranges they were responsible for the election of scattered Socialist administrations. They favored the IWW; some had participated in the IWW strike at Gray's Harbor in 1912 and others in the Duluth and Superior dock strike of 1913;

they had earlier been staunch supporters of the Western Federation, but had been alienated by its futile efforts at company collaboration and in particular its rustling card deal in Butte which first victimized several hundred Finnish Socialists over a Socialist proposal to tax mine tonnage for the benefit of the city.⁶ Though enthusiastic socialists their ties with the Socialist Party also had been loosened ever since Article 6 had been born over disappointment with the effect of the McNamara confession on the Los Angeles mayoralty campaign, and now they saw a chance to help build a union that would give them socialism on the job. In April the staff of Socialisti advised Walter Neff, secretary of the IWW Agricultural Workers in Minneapolis. that there was unrest on the range, and that if the IWW could provide organizers speaking English, Italian and the various Slavic tongues, it could assure the support of the Finns and Swedes. There were already Finnish speaking delegates, including Geo. Humon on the Range.

Before organization had proceeded far, a strike broke out at Aurora on June 2. It spread rapidly for the strikers paraded to nearby mining towns and when miners there struck, they did likewise. By June 14 the entire Mesaba range was out, 16,000 strong and 4,000 IWW cards had been issued. Demands had been formulated into one program: "\$3.50 per day for wet places; \$3.00 per day for dry places; \$1.75 for surface work; 8 hours to constitute a day in and around the mines; miners to enter and come out on company time; pay twice a month; Saturday night shift to be abolished and miners receive full pay; abolition of all contract work; all miners to be paid as soon as they quit work for a company." They had been working 10 to 12 hours per day and getting from \$1.38 to \$2.50.

The IWW tried to run a peaceful strike, but the companies recruited over a thousand thugs from various cities, often with the aid of police chiefs who had "something on them," to break up meetings and to prevent even small groups of miners

meeting on the streets. On June 9 as the miners were parading from Aurora to Biwabik, eight organizers were nabbed from their ranks by the company police. An Oliver Mining Company gunman shot a miner, John Allar, as he and some other miners stood talking to each other on a street in Virginia. There a Citizens Committee ordered all IWW's out of town. The Duluth Herald held that resistance to this illegal vigilante group which represented about two percent of the citizens of Virginia was a defiance of law and order. Company lawlessness overruled local administrations that allowed civil liberties. On July 6 a posse of deputies, led by one who had recently been a bouncer in a roadhouse, entered the home of Phillip Masonovich to arrest him and a miner who boarded with him, Joe Hercigonovich. Mrs. Masonovich objected, and was knocked down on the floor. Somehow two of the deputies got shot. According to a boy in the house they were shot by the previously mentioned roadhouse bouncer. The two Montenegrin miners already mentioned, and another, Joe Nicich, and others were arrested as directly participating and also a group of organizers who were not in the vicinity, Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett, Joseph Ahlgren, Joe Schmidt, Frank Little and James Gilday, on the theory that their speeches had led to the deaths of the deputies. No trial was held; though the coroner's verdict had been "death at the hands of persons unknown," Judge O. N. Hilton, who had been called in as defense attorney, arranged for the three Montenegrin miners mentioned to plead guilty to manslaughter and for the others to go free. It soon developed that this arrangement had been proposed by Elizebeth Gurley Flynn who was handling publicity, and that she had sacrificed these miners to secure the release of her friends among the organizers. Her connections with the IWW were promptly terminated.

In mid-August a meeting at Crosby brought out the Cayuna Range. Organizers were busy in the Michigan iron mining country. At Ironwood the

vigilantes drove eight organizers out of town. On August 16, Frank Little was arrested at Iron River, Michigan, taken out of jail, beaten, and threatened with lynching—with a rope around his neck—in a futile effort to make him lead his persecutors to the organizers speaking Italian and other languages. They knocked him in the head and he woke up dazed in a ditch near Watersmeet.

The labor movement felt obliged to support the strike. The Duluth Labor Herald, AFL, commented: "In 1907 there was a similar strike on the Iron Range. At that time there was a responsible labor organization supporting the strike. . . . Were not the same arguments being used in 1907 as are being used in 1916? Did not the press condemn the WFM as it condemns the IWW today?" On July 17 the Minnesota Federation of Labor convened in the strike town of Hibbing and promised support to the strike. The official organ of the Western Federation attacked the strike but its locals sent donations. Following the strike the State Federation attempted to organize the miners, but they wanted the IWW.

With mine production crippled, stock piles were shipped and then lower grade material. In Two Harbors the dock workers struck and stopped shipment; in Duluth a dock strike was broken by police; on the Allouez dock a 15% increase was promised if the men would stay at work. In Superior the coal dock workers struck for a 60% boost; Mayor Conklin told them he would help if they would join the AFL; instead they joined IWW.

There were tips that the companies were less reluctant to grant improvements to the miners than to grant them formally to the IWW; so in September with the Mesaba, Cayuna and Vermilion ranges out, the central strike committee discussed the proposal of going back to work with a strong organization, a market hungry for ore, and winning their points by action on the job. The proposal was referred to all locals; all voted in favor, and on September 19 the central committee called the strike off. A week

later it reported: "The men are returning to work and thus far there has been no evidence of any discrimination against them and none is expected as the mining companies confess themselves exceedingly hard up for help." On April 1 next year Metal Mine Workers held its first conference in the Socialist Opera House in Virginia. Reports submitted showed that the gains anticipated when the strike was called off were being won; there was a 10% increase and a promise of the eight hour day May 1. To make sure of it the miners decided on a 24-hour strike that day—but meanwhile America was taken into the war.⁷

At the same time the IWW was recruiting miners on a smaller scale in the copper country of Arizona and in the Joplin lead district. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania it had a dozen locals who held a conference at Old Forge, Feb. 6, 1916. They established a district organization committee, uniform dues and initiation fees and formulated uniform demands: abolition of the contract system; an 8 hour day with Saturday a half-day; \$4.00 for miners, carpenters, engineers and motor runners; \$3.50 for laborers; \$2.50 for mule leaders and \$2.00 for breakerboys. A strike in the Lackawanna region to enforce these demands was broken by the State Constabulary, and of course hampered by the fact that the miners were under a 4-year UMWA contract against which they were chafing.⁸ On June 14 a meeting of 268 members at Old Forge was raided by mounted troopers in a combination cowboy-and-Indian-and-Keystone-Cop manner. All were lugged off to jail and released by October for lack of any evidence against them, but the Scranton Republican on October 4 complained "The sheriff's opera bouffe at Old Forge has cost this county several thousand dollars."⁹ This terrorism prevented further IWW organization in the field, but IWW influence still had one effect: while bituminous miners were kept tied during the war years to their contracts, the anthracite field permitted upward adjustments.

The Agricultural Workers had a successful year.

Their policy had taken the form of announcing in the IWW press what wages it demanded for different operations and areas, and where these terms were met the farmers had no labor trouble. The more intelligent farmers realized that no gain came to them from beating down labor, so long as they were not put at a differential disadvantage with other farmers, and the experience of 1916 led the farm organization, the Non-Partisan League, to propose all-over collective bargaining for the next year, an outcome prevented only by the anti-IWW war hysteria. This fact is far afield from the bogeytales of sabotage. Harvest over, the AWO sent its members into organization efforts in the woods of Minnesota and the West Coast and the Western fruit area. In Yakima, Washington, the IWW was organizing among the apple pickers and opened up a hall. A few hours later the police closed it. The members started an open air meeting to discuss their grievance, and 60 of them were thrown into the city jail. This was lousy; they held a meeting, condemned it and proceeded to demolish it from the inside out. Police and fire department turned the fire hose on them, then marched them soaked to iced refrigerator cars and told a train crew to take them out of town. The train crew refused and told the vigilantes to get going. The men were released from the refrigerator cars and taken to the county jail, for the city jail was a relic. Protests from union officials resulted in permission to open an IWW hall and the release of the men.

A similar effort to drive the IWW out of Everett, Washington became a tragedy. The lumber barons ran the town through the Commercial Club and their lackey Sheriff McRae. They wanted no union IWW or AFL. On August 19 the striking Shingle Weavers were beaten by company thugs who waylaid them as they went over a trestle 30 feet above the water. When an IWW hall was opened, McRae closed it. On September 11th his thugs, sworn in at the Commercial Club, took IWW organizer James Rowan to the woods and beat him severely. During

October various groups of IWW members, totalling altogether about 400, were driven out of town by these organized hoodlums.

On October 30, forty-one members arriving from the wheat fields were taken to Beverly Park, beaten, forced to run a gauntlet over a cattle guard at a railroad crossing while the Commercial Club thugs beat them. A church committee investigated and found men's hair and skin still sticking to the cattle guard and the ground soaked with blood. On the advice of these ministers, the IWW issued a circular to the people of Everett announcing an open meeting for Sunday, November 5 at 2:30 and urging them to "come and help defend your and our constitutional rights." Wobs took passage on the steamer Verona, and the overflow came on the Calista. As the Verona drew in to the dock, the free speech fighters were on the side facing it. One lad, Hugo Gerlot, had climbed the mast and all were singing. At a signal from McRae his thugs on the dock and others hidden in a warehouse opened fire. Gerlot fell dead to the deck. At least five more whose bodies were recovered were shot. The pilot house was riddled with bullets, and without a pilot the engineer backed the vessel away through the bloody water, the Commercial Club thugs shooting at it until it was out of range of their highpower rifles.

As the vessels returned to Seattle, the men were arrested, and 74 held on the charge of having killed two deputies who were among those hidden in the warehouse where the men could not have even seen them. All demanded separate trials. During the trial of the first, Thomas Tracy, the lawlessness of the sheriff's thugs became a matter of record, and their plans to murder the free speech fighters; also that the two deputies had been killed by ricochet of bullets inside the warehouse; that the bullet holes in the boards of the warehouse all showed that the firing had been from inside it toward the Verona. Tracy was acquitted May 5, 1917. The others were released. But the bloodthirsty Commercial Club and its murderous hirelings were not even indicted."

Organization in the woods went ahead despite this terrorism.

The Duluth District is a winter logging area. On December 24th a meeting of 1500 sawmill workers in Virginia voted to demand a pay boost and the 8-hour day, and struck on Dec. 28th. They were soon followed by the lumberjacks who demanded a minimum of \$40 per month, free hospital treatment, and to go to and from work in daylight. In Idaho, a spring drive country, the men went to work at the going rate of \$3.50 for 12 hours, struck at the opportune moment, and won \$5.00 for 8 hours. The Seattle district was busy laying foundation for the history-making strike of 1917.¹²

Although the country had re-elected Wilson on the slogan "He kept us out of war," pressures were growing to bring America into the war. Through the British Empire, where the IWW had some degree of organization in England, South Africa and Australia, the IWW was already being victimized. The general viewpoint of its members was that the primary purpose of unionism is to prevent workers from being used against each other, and that a sense of their common interests should prevent them from shooting each other just as it should prevent them from scabbing on each other. The frank expression of this attitude in Australia led to the trial of its more active spokesmen for treason. They had been arrested in a raid on their headquarters by the militia on September 30, 1916. On December 3 seven were sentenced to 15 years, and others to 10 and 5 years. A press account states that one of them, Beatty, aged 30 when sentenced to 15 years "startled the assembly by saying that he had been sentenced thirty years ago to penal servitude for life, and that any sentence the court could pass would not trouble him." In contrast to America, these men were released promptly the war was over.¹³

The 10th Convention—the last before 1919—met in November 1916 with an organization well recov-

ered from the slump of 1914, and, as shown in the reaction to the Mesaba strike and the Everett tragedy, winning recognition from most labor unionists as a significant part of the labor movement. The two chief outcomes of the convention were the reorganization of its forces, and its stand on war. Out of the former grew substantial industrial unions: Agricultural Workers 400, Lumber Workers 500, Construction Workers 573, Metal Mine Workers 480, Metal and Machinery Workers 300 and a General Recruiting Union to administer both mixed and industrial locals that lacked an industrial union on a national scale, and to encourage the formation of industrial locals until enough of them existed to warrant the formation of an industrial union structure for them. (These were renumbered in a decimal system in 1919.) This was a swing from the decentralist tendencies manifest in 1913 and not to crop up again until 1923, and reflected the need to coordinate recent gains. To make its publicity more responsible, the IWW Publishing Bureau was moved to Chicago and the GEB held responsible for publications, with Solidarity as the official organ. On the west coast the Industrial Worker had been resumed; the Finnish Socialisti of Duluth, a daily paper, had changed its name and become an IWW daily, which continues to this day; for non-English readers there were the following: *Il Proletario*, *A Bermunkas*, *Pruslovy Delnik*, *Solidarnosc*, *Conscience Industrial*, *L'Emancipation* and *El Obrero Industrial*.

The IWW stand on war took form in the following resolution:

"We, the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby re-affirm our adherence to the principles of industrial unionism, and re-dedicate ourselves to the unflinching, unfaltering prosecution of the struggle for the abolition of wage slavery and the realization of our ideals in Industrial Democracy.

"With the European war for conquest and exploitation raging and destroying our lives, class

consciousness and unity of the workers, and the ever-growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim with patriotic and therefore capitalistic aspirations, we openly declared ourselves the determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism, or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class.

"We condemn all wars, and for the prevention of such, we proclaim the anti-militaristic propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and, in time of war, the general strike, in all industries.

"We extend assurances of both moral and material support to all workers who suffer at the hands of the capitalist class for their adherence to these principles, and call on all workers to unite themselves with us, that the reign of the exploiters may cease, and this earth be made fair through the establishment of Industrial democracy."¹⁴

1. Perlman & Taft: *History of Labor in the United States*, McMillan Co., 1935, being the 4th volume of the *History of Labor by Commons and Associates*, p. 312 et seq.

2. Doree's report on Baltimore in *Proceedings of 10th Convention*. Budish and Soule in their "New Unionism," give a very garbled account.

3. Philadelphia account taken from *Solidarity*, Nos. 330, 333, 340 and 348. The 10th Convention proceedings indicate friction between the MTW and the centralizing tendencies of 1916.

4. Solvay account, *Solidarity*, No. 329; Kelsey Wheel, No. 331.

5. Denver housemaids account, *Solidarity* No. 328; cartoons reproduced in *Solidarity*, No. 342.

6. A clear account of the victimization of Finnish Socialists by the copper trust unopposed by WFM is given in Perlman and Taft *History* cited above, page 258.

7. The account of the Mesaba strike is taken from *Solidarity*, and *Survey* of the period, *Proceedings of 10th Convention*, Industrial Commission and conversations with participants.

8. The two four-year contracts accounted Perlman & Taft, pp. 342 and 470.

9. The Old Forge arrest vividly described in *Scranton Times* of June 15, 1916, as quoted in *Solidarity*, No. 350.

10. Everett most fully described in book "The Everett Massacre"; also *Survey*, Jan. and May 1917, in two articles by Anna Louise Strong, and 30th memorial issue of *Industrial Worker*, Nov. 2, 1946, with detailed memoirs of Jack Leonard, one of the participants. For general background see Jensen "Lumber and Labor," Farrar & Rinehart, 1945.

12. Lumber strikes: *Solidarity* No. 364, and article by C.E. Payne in *International Socialist Review*, June 1917.

13. Full account of Australian arrests in pamphlet "Guilty or Not Guilty," by H.E. Boote, published by the Committee Appointed by the Labor Council of New South Wales to Secure a Royal Commission to Investigate the IWW Cases.

14. Minutes 10th Convention, 1916, page 138.

IX. The Fight with the War Profiteers

From the summer of 1916 through the summer of 1920 IWW efforts to improve job conditions met with an unparalleled campaign of terrorism. During this period the IWW won some of its most enduring victories and built up its strength to what is probably its peak membership of about 40,000 in 1923.¹

The campaign of terrorism was directed by employers anxious to resist unionism of any sort. At first these employers relied on their own plug-uglies and local vigilante movements; throughout this period this was the chief force the IWW had to fight. They were soon abetted by the local politicians and judiciary, all covered by the smokescreen of a subservient press. In March 1917 the Idaho and Minnesota legislatures passed the first Criminal Syndicalism laws, and the first victim of these was James Dunning, a Minnesota lumberjack convicted Sept. 29, 1917. From the spring of 1917 federal troops began herding off pickets, and in June several hundred sailors from the Bremerton Yards were given special leave and wrecked the IWW hall in Seattle; it was quite unofficial, yet before the event the Roseburg, Ore. News announced that these men had been given a few hours leave to drive the IWW out of the city. The Washington end of the government acted with at least outward propriety until September 5, 1917, and in August had assured the editors of Survey that Washington had receive no information on which to take action against the IWW despite horrendous stories in the press depicting the IWW as a gang of arsonists in the pay of the Kaiser.

That this campaign, masked with the patriotism that Johnson called the last refuge of scoundrels,

was the work of corporations fevered with high profits, is plain from the geography of the struggle and the acts and assertions of the corporations themselves. Where the IWW had already made employers take unionism for granted, as in Philadelphia, no campaign against it developed; the impetus to destroy the IWW came from the non-union fields it was invading: lumber, copper, iron mining and oil. Federal prosecutions were based on opposition to the war and interference with conscription; where the IWW had small propaganda locals there was evident sentiment against registration but where it was engaged in substantial union activities it avoided being sidetracked from the struggle with the employer by such issues; yet the men arrested were those engaged in practical union effort, and of them, all but one of draft age, had registered. The copper corporations fought the IWW with thugs, deportations and lynching, all on the pretext that the IWW interfered with war production; yet these companies were selling the government copper at 30 to 34 cents a pound which it cost 7 to 10 cents to produce, and to maintain the scarcity had to store away over three billion pounds of the essential metal;² moreover to fight the unions Phelps-Dodge kept the ablest miners out of the mines, thus restricting production.³ In the oil industry when the Tulsa tar-and-feather outrage, the federal raiding, the closing of halls by force, and the Wichita indictment had not stopped organization and a strike started in January 1918, the oil companies told the federal investigators that they would close down their wells rather than permit government interference with their labor relations.⁴ Or, as a large lumber operator told Robert Bruere: "We have fought the IWW as we would have fought any attempt of the AFL unions to control the workers in our camps, and of course we have taken advantage of the general prejudice against them as an unpatriotic organization to beat their strike."⁵

In these war years profits soared to where they equalled capitalization, but the average real wage, which had climbed from its 1914 base of 100 to 125

in 1916, fell to 116 in 1917 and did not get up to its pre-war level until after the war. Yet in those industries where the embattled Wobblies fought, substantial gains were won.

The foundations laid in 1916 enabled the IWW through 1917 to organize rapidly on several fronts. Efforts that had been made in the southwest oil fields now blossomed into an Oil Workers Industrial Union chartered January 1. When the Metal Mine Workers were chartered on January 29th they already predominated over the AFL Mine-Mill in the Globe and Miami districts of Arizona, and the Miami scale became the standard for bargaining in other areas. On the east coast the IWW was rapidly organizing seamen and a major chore for its MTW secretary in Boston was to make up menus for all vessels on the Atlantic run; these were stamped with the IWW seal, posted in every mess hall, and the stewards were instructed to abide by them.⁶ The U.S. Shipping Adjustment Board recognized the IWW as the bargaining agency for the Philadelphia longshoremen and on February 7th, 1918 asked that it provide a member for its three-man adjustment commission empowered to settle wage disputes. The General Executive Board wired that this was autocratic and the Shipping Board made an exception for IWW democracy and accepted the MTW representative on the understanding that he was at all times under the instruction of the union.⁷ As a result no strikes were necessary on the Philadelphia waterfront until 1920. At the same time on the Great Lakes where AFL unionism had been wiped out in the long strike of 1909-13 a fair start at organization was made, but with entrapment into war, arrests and hysteria stopped it.

A new national Industrial Union for General Construction Workers was launched at a conference in Omaha April 29th 1917. It conducted a strike on an irrigation project at Exeter, Calif. in April. On May 14 a short strike won complete job control on all grading jobs around Seattle, including the arrangement that all workers be hired through the IWW

hall. At Rockford, Illinois, an active construction local won a strike about the same time; here there was also a budding Furniture Workers' local, but both got strangled in the anti-draft activities that made Rockford briefly famous. Throughout the Inland Empire as construction work opened up in the spring, job delegates got busy recruiting. It was the age of the mule team and fresco for most of this work and the Wobbly mule-skinning clan was known to hold tightly enough together so that without formal agreements, their announcement of wage rates enabled the contractors to reckon their labor costs with certainty. Through most of 1917 the organization efforts of this Industrial Union 573 went ahead relatively unmolested, until Guthrie, Grant and similar large operators turned loose the same campaign of terrorism as had been loosed on their fellow workers in lumber, copper mining and the oil fields; yet their organization survived to be a major part of the IWW in post-war years as Industrial Union 310.

During the early months of 1917 there was wide apprehension that America would be taken into the war and that conscription would follow. A division of opinion grew as to how to apply the 1916 resolution on war. A minority that included many of the Finnish and Irish members in Butte and on the Iron Range, and GEB member Frank Little, and Clyde Hough, secretary of the Rockford Furniture Workers, and a number of propaganda locals, felt the IWW should concentrate on open opposition to the war and defiance of the draft. The majority felt this would sidetrack the class struggle into futile channels and be playing the very game that the war-profiters would want the IWW to play. They contended that the monstrous stupidity by which the governments of different lands could put their workers into uniforms and make them go forth and shoot each other was something that could be stopped only if the workers of the world were organized together; then they could put a stop to this being used against themselves; and that consequently the thing to be done under the actual circumstances

was to proceed with organizing workers to fight their steady enemy, the employing class, for better wages, shorter hours, safer and more sanitary working conditions, keeping in mind the ultimate ideal of world labor solidarity. There was no opportunity for referendum, but the more active locals took this attitude, instructing speakers to confine their remarks to industrial union issues, circulating only those pamphlets that made a constructive case for the IWW, and avoiding alliance with the Peoples Council and similar anti-war movements.⁸

Lumber Workers Industrial Union set out at its initial convention in Spokane, March 5, 1917 with the set of demands they aimed to achieve in lumber camp and sawmill. The lumber worker of that day was still the victim of the employment shark. He was a "timberbeast" set off from the rest of his fellow workers; he had to furnish his own blankets, and these with his working gear were enough to carry without ordinary dress clothes; as a result when he came to town he was permitted entry only to the dives that lived off him and so tolerated the caulk shoes his work required and that would soon tear up a floor; camps lacked shower baths or facilities for washing clothes, and the timberbeast was often a smelly, scratching specimen of humanity in town; at camp he spent his little leisure after a 10 hour day in a bunkhouse of double deck bunks, redolent with the acrid odor of sweaty work clothes drying. The Wobbly demands ran:

1. 8 hours with no work on Sundays or holidays;
2. Minimum wage of \$60 per month and board;
3. Wholesome food in porcelain dishes, no overcrowding; sufficient help to keep kitchen clean and sanitary;
4. Sanitary sleeping quarters, not more than 12 men in each bunkhouse; single spring beds and mattresses with good clean bedding to be furnished free by company; bunkhouse to be well lit and furnished with reading tables; dry room, laundry room and shower baths;

5. Free hospital service;
6. \$5.00 per day minimum for river drivers;
7. Two pay days per month by bank check without discount;
8. All men to be hired on job or from union hall; free transportation from place of hiring to job;
9. No discrimination.

Quick victories were won on the river drives in the short log country during last part of April. The 12 hour day was cut to 8 and the pay raised to \$5.00 from \$3.50. Militia raided the hall at Whitefish, Mont.; men were arrested for refusing to work, but the river drive strikes were complete victories. IWW plans for the woods had been for a July strike in the short log country, then later a strike on the coast, but events moved faster. Scattered victories along the hump between the two areas were won in May and "in camp after camp the union was moving from the hall to the bunkhouse." Spontaneous action started the wave of short log strikes on June 20th, general by July 16, on which date, in response to strike calls by both AFL and IWW the long log country came out solid too.

The use of federal troops in the lumber and other strikes lacked legal sanction. The National Guard had been called into federal service as soon as America was taken into the war, and so only federal troops were available. No record seems available that any governor or state legislature certified that insurrection or disorder beyond the capacity of the state to suppress required such intervention—though such certification is required by law. To the contrary "prosecuting attorneys in Montana and Washington and special agents of the Bureau of Investigation testified to the peacefulness of the lumber strike and the lack of violence and intimidation by the I.W.W." Though the law of 1878 provided that federal troops may not be used as a posse comitatus to federal law officers, War Department Authorizations to local army officers passed down the line of authority to platoon level, in effect pro-

vided for such service to sheriffs and district attorneys. Arrests could be made to protect public utilities essential to the war or for "acts in pursuance of prearranged plans contemplating violence." These pretexts were used to arrest strikers committing no offence. Those arrested were not subject to habeas corpus, as the local Councils of Defense agreed that the sheriffs should answer any such petition that "the prisoners are held by military power."

Concurrent with this general northwest lumber strike was the copper strike in Montana and Arizona. The repressive measures urged by the copper barons and behind the scenes moves in Washington shaped the novel and successful process of carrying the strike of the lumber workers back to the job. A correct depiction requires a switch of attention here to these copper miners, then a return to the lumber strike.

By June 1917 the IWW in Arizona had edged ahead of the old Western Federation, then known as AFL Mine Mill & Smelter Workers, but neither organization was in position to engage in effective bargaining. The Mine-Mill members often carried two cards and favored joint action by the two unions; most local officials didn't, yet were opposed enough to Moyer policy to want statewide autonomy. At Globe and Miami the two forces working together had pushed wages up to the highest in the industry. Early in June the IWW won a 12½% pay boost at the Humboldt smelter at Prescott and in the mines at Mayer with a short strike. Mine-Mill had given notice to the Clarke interests that it wanted a wage boost at Jerome and a contract with check-off. The IWW called a mass meeting there, explained that it would support any strike for improved conditions, but opposed the check-off and contract, proposing instead that where two unions were involved a policy of no discrimination and a grievance committee elected by all workers would protect all miners. The men were solid for this policy, and the company promptly met these de-

mands, including the Miami scale. At Swansea the same company granted the same demands after the IWW had staged a strike for one half shift.¹⁰

At this point things began to move in Butte where there had been no miner unionism since the turmoil of 1914. On June 5 many Irish and a number of Finns were arrested for demonstrating against the draft. On the 8th came the Speculator Mine disaster. With flames blocking the shafts men rushed to the bulkheads that separate the level of one mine from adjoining levels of the next mine. To save a few dollars for iron manholes in them required by safety law, they had been concreted solid, and 190 miners were burned to death. Indignation resulted in a strike on June 11 and a new union, the Metal Mine Workers, formed to ensure mine safety, end the rustling card and espionage system, and bring wages up with the high cost of living. The new union was unaffiliated; the miners would have none of Moyer's Mine-Mill, nor of the handful still liquidating the assets of old Butte Miners' Union No. 1, and the IWW avoided any action that would jeopardize their solidarity. The AFL however would not let them use the Carpenters' Hall, so they met in the hall of the Finnish Socialists. On the 18th the AFL electrical workers, as the result of a long standing dispute, walked out and soon were followed by other AFL crafts. The miners and electrical workers cooperated and to July 20th issued a joint strike bulletin. Arizona miners quickly saw that with Butte struck, a strike throughout Arizona was the best help they could give to restore unionism to the Butte mines and to settle their own grievances, particularly their safety demand of two men on all piston and Leyner machines, two men in all raises and stopes, and no blasting in raises, stopes or drifts during shifts. By June 26th IWW organizer Grover Perry could wire: "Bisbee, Jerome, Miami and Swansea strike in support of Butte; other camps await call." On the 27th the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council resolved 44-28 that the new mine union was "in the best interests of organized labor"

though the AFL crafts still disowned it. There was some talk of getting an AFL charter, but Mine-Mill's jurisdiction prevented that and the miners were told they would have to join Moyer's union as individuals—which they didn't.

With Arizona mines tied up tight, the federal government sought a settlement by its Conciliation Service, to which it appointed former Governor Hunt, who had been re-elected but had been temporarily counted out by the copper companies for his friendliness to unions. The IWW insisted that settlement should be nationwide so as not to leave the Butte miners holding the bag, and proposed that the government could save a lot of money by granting union demands and taking over the mines. Since the government was paying Phelps-Dodge three times the production cost of copper it was horrified and denounced the IWW as working for the German government. Then working on a plan laid out by a German army captain for him, Walter Douglas, head of the Phelps-Dodge Copper Queen Division, set out to rid Arizona of Wobblies. On July 10 at Jerome, the company officials with a posse of business men and a handful of Mine-Mill members, rounded up those they considered IWW agitators and jailed them. A Mine-Mill organizer secured the release of 37 of the 104 on his assurance that they weren't IWW's and the rest were shipped to Needles, sent back and released. At Bisbee before dawn on July 12 a similar posse rounded up the strikers as they prepared for break-of-day picketing, and searched homes until they had a total of 1164, not counting the three they killed, marched them to Warren, held them in a ball park until they could be put into cattle cars and shipped to the desert. They were packed tight standing up, parched with thirst, and many had been clubbed in the round-up. After 36 hours of this torture they were put into a detention camp at Columbus, N. M. All was carried out under the direction of Mr. Douglas of Phelps-Dodge.

Scattered strikes continued in Arizona, but with many of the more experienced Wobs at Columbus or in jail at Prescott and Tombstone (for protesting these outrages), settlements were made for wage increases and other improvements, leaving the Copper Queen run with imported scabs, and the Butte miners fighting the copper trust alone. There on August 1, again in the dark early hours, a gang came to the boardinghouse next to the Finn Hall where Frank Little lay in bed, his leg recently broken, and dragged him to the Milwaukee railroad trestle where he or his already dead body was hanged. Instead of intimidating the miners, it put them the more solidly behind the IWW whose spokesman Frank Little was. His funeral was the largest Butte had ever seen, even the AFL unions joining the procession with their banners. On August 11, Federal troops began to patrol the streets. Phelps-Dodge stirred up additional wrath when, upon taking over a coal mine at Gallup, N.M. it declared open shop, and subsequently deported the UMWA coal miners. William Green of UMWA threatened a national strike of coal miners unless these men were protected in their right to return. The fight between labor and the war profiteers everywhere (the AFL had of course far more strikes than the IWW) was threatening to demolish the fabric of lies against the IWW woven by the press and to lead to recognition of the IWW as spearheading this fight with the profiteers in the areas where it was most competent to do so. On August 25 the new union in Butte, by this time thought of usually as pro-IWW, by a picket line closed the Anaconda smelter and the Anaconda shut down what mines it had been able to operate and its smelter at Great Falls. On September 5th federal authorities abruptly changed face and raided IWW offices and halls across the country all at 2 p.m. central standard time and seized all records—over five tons of them.

This was the situation that led the lumber workers to switch tactics. By September 1 the short log

country had been out from eight to ten weeks in different sections and the west coast six weeks. On the coast the IWW had been hesitant about calling the strike because most of the workers had gone back nearly broke after the July 4 holiday. In the short log country in particular repression had been rough. At Troy, Mont., Frank Thornton had been put in a wooden jail and the jailed burned down. All halls had been closed, Spokane being the last to remain open; as it was being closed and the authorities at one end were taking possession, at the other jacks were still lining up to have their cards written out. In Klamath Falls strikers had been kangarooed, local lawyers refused to defend them, while lawyers from out of town were told to travel. In Portland when strikers were arrested, the MTW answered by tying up river transportation. Arrests for vagrancy and other charges grew on the coast, and in its issue of August 15, the Industrial Worker pointed out that if this continued the strikers would be compelled to shift to a new kind of strike—one on the job where the police would not be so handy to club them. On August 31 the District Organization Committee for the Seattle District carried the following motion: "That we ask all branches and picket camps to call a meeting for September 7th to determine the sentiment in regard to transferring the strike to the job for the purpose of enforcing the eight hour day. We wish to impress on the minds of the membership the importance of understanding this motion clearly. The meaning of the motion is that if we did transfer the strike to the job we would only work eight hours and quit. Kindly inform the District Office of the results of your meeting of Sept. 7."

The nationwide raids of Sept. 5 ended any doubts about the proposed tactic. To the employers it seemed that the men were accepting defeat; the lumber workers who had discussed their tactics, and agreed upon them almost unanimously, went to the camps as they opened up. Some took their own whistles with them, blew them at the end of eight hours and

went in to camp. If they were fired, the next crew did the same. In some they soldiered on the job; in others they played "dumb"—but whatever their form of the new tactic, they were eating and sleeping on company territory, away from the police, and the employers did not know what to do. Senator Borah explained: "The IWW is about as elusive a proposition as you ever ran up against. . . . It is intangible. . . . You cannot reach it . . . it is simply an understanding between men."—and it could not be jailed.¹¹

The case of the lumber workers was clear. The President sent Carlton Parker as a peace envoy and he said they should have their demands. Secretary of War Baker and the Governor of Washington urged the 8 hour day. But the west coast operators said no. As the strike on the job tactic was enforcing the 8-hour day in camp after camp, the operators of the Inland Empire passed a resolution calling on the government to establish the 8-hour day for industrial peace. The Spruce Division headed by Colonel Disque of 4-L fame announced it officially May 1, 1918—but the lumberjacks knew that they themselves had got it. They had celebrated May 1 1917 with a big parade to strew Joe Hill's ashes. They observed May 1, 1918 with a bigger celebration in camp after camp, burning the old bedding rolls so that the companies had to furnish bedding or have no workers. Where double deck bunks persisted, the top sections got thrown out. By a continuous battle, intermittent but never lost sight of, the process of "conditioning the job" went on to the transformation of the shunned timberbeast of 1916 into the respected lumber worker of 1919, eating the best and dressed the best of any worker in the country, and also sobered up. The IWW had changed not only the conditions of the timberbeast, but also his wants and habits. A wage boost can at times be taken away—but not the habits and standards of an entire occupational area; the gains of 1918 have

withstood depressions, wars and complete disorganization to this day.

In the copper strike no such permanent victory was achieved. Following the raids of Sept. 5, 1917, it seems that the higher brackets of labor leadership effectively clamped down on sentiment in their ranks favorable or even tolerant toward the IWW, though to that date its prestige in the labor movement had been gaining. In the Butte, Anaconda situation, on Sept. 11 the AFL staged a meeting to urge the return to work; the Butte miners were left out, and their strike and their new union faded out by December 28th. Once the new union had given up, the IWW job delegate system felt free without imperilling solidarity to build for itself, and achieved sufficient strength by September 1918 to pull short strikes protesting the convictions in the IWW and Socialist cases, and by March 1919 there were over 5000 in the Butte IWW local. In Arizona the Mediation Commission set up machinery for union representation, but with the proviso that those belonging to organizations refusing to make contracts or disloyal to the government be excluded. Thus the commission by excluding the IWW slapped the war-profiters on the wrist for their lawless interference with production, and gave them exactly what they wanted.

The espionage charges, to support which the nation wide raids were made, had nothing to do with espionage, and were an improvisation hit upon after other plots to wreck the good work of the IWW had proved ineffective. The first scheme was to rely upon the new deportation provisions enacted in 1917, which allowed deportation for beliefs acquired by the foreigner during his stay here. Deportation procedure was felt to have the stealthy advantage of permitting no "snail-paced court trial," little or no publicity, and putting the burden of argument on the deportee. It was felt that extensive deportation arrests would intimidate enough to prevent the IWW from using the war to establish decent working

conditions. This snagged on three facts: the Wobs didn't get scared; most of them were native born; and the employers didn't want them removed from the labor market, but only wanted to stop them from having any voice in that market. Use of federal troops got snagged on the same facts. Western governors proposed that all IWW agitators, without any bother about court procedures, be apprehended and secretly interned somewhere so as to "mystify and frighten" the remaining members. This plan was considered and then given up for the program said to have been formulated by former governor John Lind of Minnesota for the state Commission of Public Safety—arrest all officers, editors, etc., under the wartime provisions of the Espionage Act.¹² IWW membership lists secured from the raids were given to Samuel Gompers to arrange for general blacklisting.

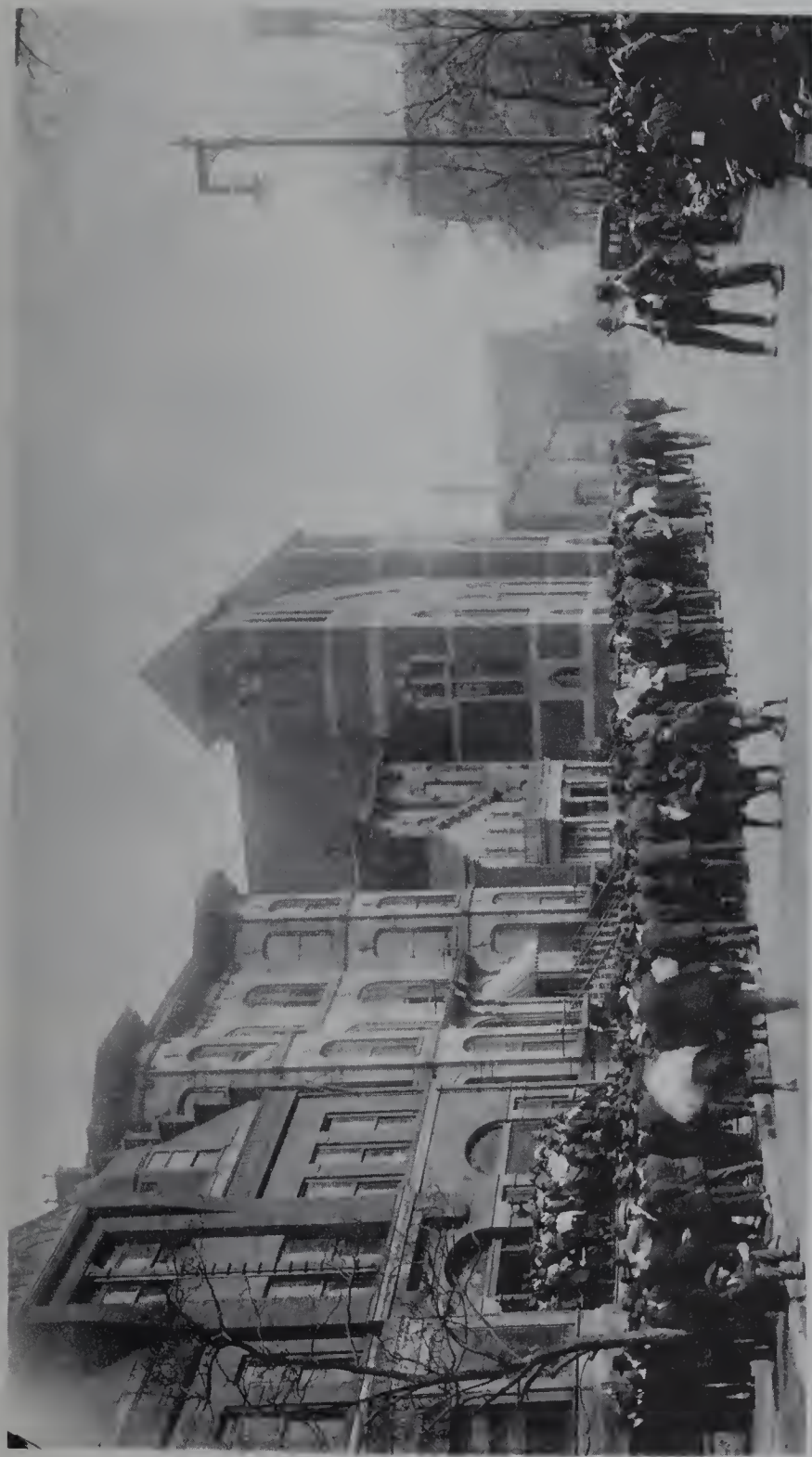
On the basis of the five tons of "evidence" seized in the September raids, indictments in Chicago, Sacramento and Wichita were issued against those whom the advisers to the federal government considered the back bone of the IWW.¹³ These were charged in many pages that the IWW was interfering with the war by strikes, sabotage and discouragement of conscription. The strikes were legitimate disputes not with the government but with the profiteers who were milking the government. The evidence of hostility to conscription dated from pre-war days when it too was not unlawful. The alleged sabotage consisted of unsupported tales as far back as 1911 by company henchmen. The defense objected that if charges were to be based on these tales, the accused should be tried in the district where the offense was alleged so that witnesses could be secured and cross-examined, and all this within a reasonable time of the commission of the alleged offenses. But this and the old literature were admitted by the court as evidence of the "frame of mind" of the IWW, and the court conceding that these alleged acts were not within federal jurisdiction, let them go before the jury without



One base for 1917 spring drive: Sand Point, Idaho, Nov. 26, 1916.



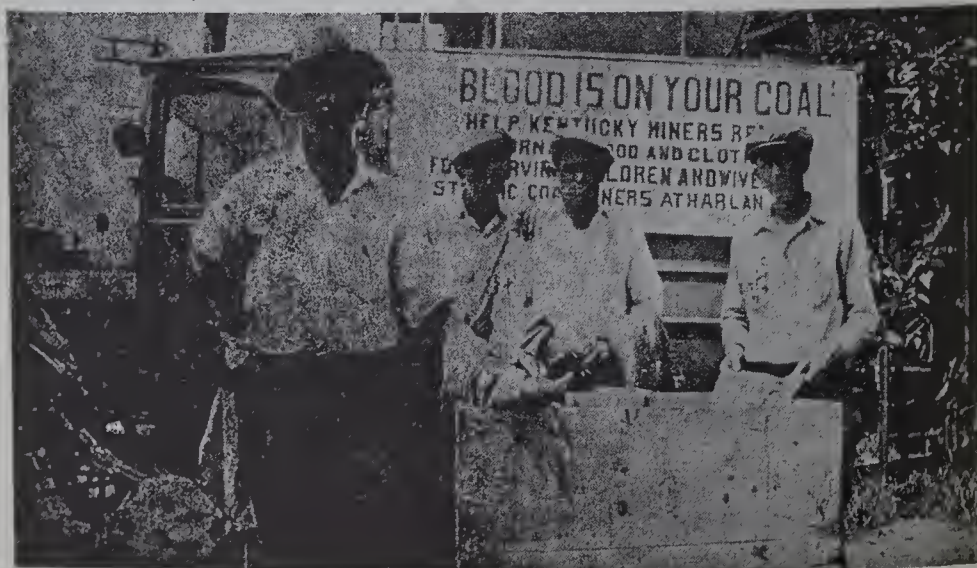
Deportation of union miners, Bisbee, July 12, 1917. See page 119.



Throop St. farewell for men headed for Leavenworth, April 24, 1921. See pages 125 and 137.



Colorado police shot up union hall, 1928. See page 153.



Chicago IWW Unemployed Union gathers clothes for striking Kentucky miners, 1931. See pages 157-158.

any requirement thus that they be proved. Most of this trash got thrown out by the higher courts, but the conviction was sustained. On August 17, 1918, the Chicago jury in less than an hour reached a decision on the tons of evidence—which the court conceded had been illegally seized—and the evidence it had been hearing since April 1, and the fate of over a hundred men. Judge Landis gave fifteen men 20 years, thirty-five 10 years, thirty-three 5 years, twelve a year and a day and the rest nominal sentences.

In Sacramento the men did not go to trial until after the war was over—when Australia was already releasing its IWW prisoners. In the long delay five of the 51 had died under bad jail conditions. The defendants decided to treat the proceedings frankly as a kangaroo court and remained silent. The results were the same as if they had lawyers to interpose overruled objections. The Wichita proceedings were even further delayed.

On these federal indictments, on Criminal Syndicalism charges and on various other pretexts arising largely out of strike activities, probably close to two thousand IWW's were arrested during this time. Further IWW stationary delegates, branch secretaries and job delegates were chased from home or job by plug-uglies and vigilantes, often with beatings and tar-and-feather parties. The arrests required an almost complete change in official personnel of the union, and a concentration on legal defense that led to the formation in October 1917 of a General Defense Committee to coordinate defense work nationally. It was handicapped by a general reluctance of lawyers to serve, not only because of the prejudice built by press against IWW but because of such instances as the deportation of lawyers from Klamath Falls, Ore., or from Bisbee, or Staunton, Illinois where defense counsel Metzen was tarred and feathered along with the IWW he went there to defend.¹⁴ On October 30, Solidarity was denied the mails; a Defense News Bulletin was issued instead. Its mailing was interfered with

so that distribution had to be by small bundles mailed from various places in other publications as wrapping.

In retrospect sober judgment has looked upon this period as one in which the IWW was engaged in activities that were not only legal, but positively praiseworthy, and that the lawlessness was that of the war-profiteers and of their political and judicial henchmen. The positive results were improved job conditions and a growing IWW with its attention focused on "conditioning the job."

1. Average annual membership calculated by dividing dues stamps sold in calendar year by 12; probably peak membership for any month may have been in August 1917 and comes close to 100,000

2. For war profits, see Senate Document 259, 65th Congress, and chapter 17 of Seldes, "Iron, Blood and Profits."

3. Jensen, "Heritage of Conflict," pp. 480 and 422. Jensen has a detailed account of the copper strike, biased by Mine-Mill contentions that IWW was imported by the mine companies!

4. *Defense News Bulletin* No. 17.

5. As quoted in Gambs' "Decline," p. 44.

6. Correspondence with Jas. Phillips, MTW sec'y. Boston, at time.

7. Exchange of wires in *Defense News Bulletin* No. 16.

8. Foregoing paragraph digests many letters, minutes, etc., used as evidence in the Chicago trial, gathered from briefs filed with U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 7th District, October term 1919, docket 2721.

9. This paragraph is based on information in a manuscript by William Preston of History Department, Denison University, on "The Ideology and Techniques of Repression." This author had access to Washington files for his study.

10. Account of copper strike is compiled from IWW papers of the time, Jensen's "Heritage" and correspondence with A.S. Embree and report of President's Commission.

11. Account of lumber strike from IWW papers of the time and reminiscences in later IWW publications, discussion with participants. Fairly good accounts by others are given in Jensen, "Labor and Lumber" and Perlman & Taft with considerable documentation. An ironic epilog to Disque's Spruce Division and its efforts to get the lumber workers to work harder occurred through the 1950s as Hoover's economizers tried to get the Spruce Division abolished on the grounds it had been collecting its pay and doing nothing since November 1918. Borah quotation in Congressional Record, Mar. 3, 1918.

12. Sources same as Footnote 9 above.

13. There is extensive literature on these cases by American Civil Liberties Unions and others. All three summarized in *N.Y. Nation*, 1919, XVIII, p. 383. The cases are Haywood v. U.S. Fed. 795 (1920), Anderson v. U.S. 273 Fed. (1921) and 269 Fed. 65 (1920). W.D. Lane described Kansas City jail conditions in *Survey*, 1919, XLII, 807. Cases are summarized also by Gambs and Perlman & Taft. While Dowell's book previously cited concentrates on the Criminal Syndicalism cases, it is the best study so far of the psychological and economic processes involved in this effort to get the IWW. It is still hoped that some thorough Ph.D. thesis will be written on the role of the federal government and how it was induced to take that role.

14. *Defense News Bulletin* 16—the mob was led by the District Attorney.

X. Revolution Around the Corner

The First World War ended in a wave of revolutions that brought great hopes for those who wanted the world to be different, great fears for those who wanted it to remain the same, and great problems for those who wanted it not only different but better. These are the hopes, fears, and problems that characterize the age in which we still live.

News of the March and November revolutions in Russia was welcome to the IWW. Revolts in Austria and Germany brought the war to a halt; in January workers in the Ruhr seized the industries in which they worked; in March Karolyi peacefully handed Hungary over to a Communist regime; Britain and France had strikes for workers' control and for "Hands Off Russia"; with all this the term "revolution" lost its customary overtone of distance. Capitalists believed revolution imminent, feared it, legislated against it and bought books on how to keep workers happy. Workers too favored change, but most held hopes in the vague promises of wartime politicians for a "world fit for heroes to live in." A minority in the labor movement believed world social revolution a possibility that needed only some nurturing, with a bit of conspiracy and the properly formulated theses. This minority consisted typically of those who conversed (or debated) mostly with other members of the same minority and who thus lived "in a miasmata of their own effulgences." Those whose manner of living kept them in steady contact with the general run of workers were not so prone to let hopes distort their perceptions. This was the situation with most of the IWW, but a few managed to acquire the view of the self-appointed "militant minority" and to do such harm as the forces of repression had not been able to do, with results not fully apparent until 1923-24.¹

No major consequence of the revolutionary upheaval in Europe appeared in America until 1919.

Not until late summer was the divisive effect of the Russian revolution upon the general anti-capitalist movement evident. A new bogeyman was replacing the IWW as a newspaper stereotype, and the left wing was playing with Soviet terms, running strikes under Workers' Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils in Seattle, Butte and Toledo—or trying to.

The Seattle General Strike of February 6th to 11th, 1919 was an AFL strike, but many held it showed IWW influence, the more so as under wartime conditions many IWW's had become "two-card men" active in Seattle AFL circles. The purpose of the strike was to back up the 25,000 metal trades workers in the shipyards against a Macy award that cut wages. It was a marvel of orderliness, with the Central Labor Council officially responsible, but in the background this Workmen's Soldiers and Sailors' Council. (The business group later boasted it had its man there too, drafting a constitution fit to send any man to jail who signed it.) It was abruptly ended by threat of invading international officers to revoke the charters of the participating unions. In the open shop reaction that followed, both the Socialist Party and the Equity Press where the Industrial Worker was printed, were raided; also 31 members of the IWW were arrested charged with trying to overthrow the government by participating in the strike. That the rank and file of the unions favored the strike was shown by its orderliness, its completeness and the fact that all local officials were re-elected.²

Butte followed with a general strike two days later, February 8th. It was precipitated by announcement of a dollar a day cut on the 7th. To cope with craft disunity that had wrecked the 1917 strike, it was necessary to create some inter-union body. In the Soviet fad this was called a Workers' and Soldiers' Council; its veteran members wore part of their military uniform. The IWW Metal Mine Workers furnished a large part of the strikers and also delegates to this Council. To give the crafts an excuse to stay home, for lack of transportation,

they picketed the streetcar barns. When the strike was on for a few days the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council ordered all members to join the strike, but international officers were soon on hand to threaten revocation of charters. This broke the strike. The paycut was put across temporarily, but soon put back to the \$5.85 rate again by resistance action on the job.³

(In 1919 Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 800 had an average annual membership of 8000 roughly divided into 2500 in the Great Lakes iron district and 5500 in the copper district; there was considerable turnover for with about the same membership through the year, there were about 6000 initiations. It struck again in August in Butte in support of the AFL crafts, and at Oatman, Arizona for a 6-hour day and a dollar an hour. They had the mines tight, but the Moyer union signed an agreement for a 50 cent increase with the proviso that no member of the IWW be hired.⁴)

Another "soviet" formed in Toledo gave the IWW its first disillusionment with this phenomenon. Early in May workers at the Ford plate glass factory walked out and joined the IWW. Overland workers followed, and soon the Autolite, bringing the total on strike to 13,000. To unify it all the left wing formed a Soldiers and Sailors' Council. The IWW learned that the funds raised for this body for strike relief went instead to pay for printing its revolutionary propaganda. The IWW didn't object so much to the lurid phrases, but it did object to the tapping of the strike funds, and the strike appears to have fallen apart.⁵

The 11th Convention of the IWW met May 5th to 16th, 1919. It was the first convention since 1916. The financial statement for the intervening 31 months showed per capita income of \$77,968.18, which, at 7½ cents per dues stamp, indicates an average membership during those 31 hectic months of about 33,500. The current membership was figured at 35,000. Defense activities had required ma-

for expenditures: \$101,808.54 for lawyers' fees; \$29,603.43 for relief of prisoners and their families; and \$8,985.13 for witness fees. The IWW press had two English weeklies and an English language monthly magazine; seven weeklies and two monthlies in other languages, and the Finnish daily. About this time there was considerable recruitment in Chicago and cities east, "language branches" formed for propaganda and social activities and pride in "redness" rather than for conditioning the job. In an effort to insure an industrial focus this 11th Convention eliminated the Recruiting Unions. Soon however it was found necessary to make other provisions for the membership of those who wanted One Big Union but for whom local industrial unions did not exist. Subsequent constitutional changes set up a General Recruiting Union with the intent of generating industrial locals and eventually new national industrial unions.

Through the summer of 1919 the IWW carried on in harvest field and lumber camp despite the additional harassment of the anti-red frenzy of 1919. The Agricultural Workers had an average annual membership for the year of about 4,000 but recruited about twice that number, 3,039 of them in August alone. Its techniques made it the most unstable part of the IWW, engaged in the selling of union cards rather than in the organization of men. Its spring and fall conventions were newsworthy. Mayor Short of Sioux City announced he would open the spring convention with an address of welcome; citizens met to protest and he read them the constitution. The Mayor and other citizens, including a government agent and his stenographer attended; after the Mayor's speech all outsiders left except the agent and his steno, and for two days the 103 members conducted their affairs in peace. Then the sheriff closed the hall. The convention moved to the corner of 4th and Jennings and completed their convention in front of a large and interested audience who joined in closing it with the singing of "Solidarity Forever," the government agent and his steno not

participating. The boys found Sioux City such an interesting place they set their fall convention for it too. Haywood was out on bond and was scheduled to attend it and speak on the street. Permission was denied, so he addressed a largely hostile crowd of about 5000 from the windows of the hall, and soon had them with him. The indignant editor of the Tribune ran his car back and forth through the crowd until the Chief of Police arrested him. (This was about the only instance in the year of the law favoring the IWW; arrests were as numerous as in 1918, with the Criminal Syndicalism laws providing the new technique.)⁶

The lumber workers were the sturdiest industrial union in the IWW with an average annual membership of close to 20,000 through 1919. During the year they initiated 8,800 new members, but about half of this represented growth, not replacement of others dropping out. In the northwest it had from a third to a half of the lumberjacks organized and about a sixth of the mill workers. It had no competition except the dying 4 L's which retained some membership in the mill towns. A spring strike on the river drives got the same bedding gains for this work as had been won already in the camps. In October a generalized wave of strikes in the short logs against adding the cost of blankets to the board bill ended with return to work and winning again by job action. The strike had two novel demands: release of all class war prisoners and withdrawal of troops from Russia. In the Great Lakes area, small walkouts and job action won some minor improvements in camp conditions and maintained a fair degree of organization. When a mob attacked the district office of the lumber workers in Superior, Wisconsin, those inside let the mob see that they were armed, and there was no further trouble. In Centralia, Washington, the lynching fever of the business class was not stopped by similar action, but following these two examples of resistance, raiding of halls was checked.

When the Armistice Day parade, November 11, 1919, stopped in front of the IWW hall in Centralia, there was no doubt what the intent was. Once before on April 20, 1918 a parade had stopped at the IWW hall and demolished it, the banker taking the secretary's desk. In June of 1919 a Citizens' Protective League was talking of driving the IWW out of town, and the blind IWW newsboy had been kidnaped, taken out of town and told not to come back at the risk of his life. A ways and means committee of the Citizens' Protective League was elected to attend to the details of driving the IWW out of Centralia, and it was common talk that the Armistice Day parade would be used for this purpose. IWW lumberjacks consulted a local attorney, Elmer Smith, who told them they had a legal right to protect their hall by arms. On November 7 it was announced that the parade would march to Third and Turner and return—that is, march to the corner past the IWW hall, turn and march past it again. That left no doubts. When the parade came, the postmaster and ex-Mayor McCleary were each carrying a coil of rope, conspicuously prepared for a lynching bee. Paraders after the turn of the line of march broke out and when they broke through the door of the IWW hall, IWW members shot and killed three of the attackers. Then the mob surged in, beat and arrested the defendants, except one, Wesley Everest, a returned soldier, who went out the back of the hall, holding the mob at a distance with his automatic as he retreated toward the Chehalis River. There he offered to surrender to any officer of the law, but not to the mob. Dale Hubbard, son of the banker who had taken the IWW desk in the 1918 raid, stepped out to take him; Everest shot and killed. Then his revolver jammed and the mob had him. They beat him, rammed a rifle butt down his throat, and threw his bleeding body in the center of the jail where his fellow workers, locked in cells, could see him but do nothing for him. That night the mayor and city electrician shut off all lights in the city and the businessmen opened the jail, took

Everest out to lynch him, cutting off his genitals before they did so.⁷

A reign of terror followed in the region. It was open season on Wobblies. When the defenders of the hall were brought to trial on a charge of conspiracy to murder, troops surrounded the courthouse at Montesano. The evidence clearly established that the conspiracy was that of the businessmen to drive out the IWW with a threat of lynching and with the probability of an actual lynching such as they did indisputably perpetrate, and that the first shot was fired after the invasion of the hall. A Seattle labor jury, sent by the AFL to witness the trial, judged the men completely innocent. The jurors found them guilty of the impossible charge of second degree murder on a conspiracy indictment. Later affidavits from the jurors declare that this verdict was wrung from them by intimidation, and fear what the business class could do to them in the community where they had their homes. Elmer Smith, the lawyer who had advised them, was acquitted and spent most of his time until his death in 1930 in efforts to obtain their release, but his efforts and the findings of church and other bodies left the governors unmoved; probably because to recognize the men's innocence was to recognize the guilt of the American Legion and the business men. Lumber Workers Industrial Union survived the terrorism and remained a sturdy organization until 1925 when it was rendered ineffective by dissension and the "gyppo" system.

At this period the program of revolutionary industrial unionism was growing internationally by extensions of the IWW and the birth of similar movements with which the IWW had friendly relations. In Canada, where the rather small IWW had been repressed during the war by orders-in-council, a similar movement, the One Big Union swept the western area largely because the conservative leaders refused to join the western bodies in protests against these order-in-council which suspended civil rights for radicals.⁸ They proposed a reorganiza-

tion of the Canadian labor movement on an industrial basis, were turned down, and formed the OBU originally representing substantially all labor from Port Arthur west. The Winnipeg General Strike, though arising out of disputes antecedent to the OBU, brought it great publicity as it was headed by the active spirits in the new movement. These men were convicted of trying to overthrow the government on the grounds that permitting milk deliveries was assuming governmental powers. The loss of their chief spokesmen occurred at a time when AFL officials were threatening that bodies with the old treasuries would take over existing contracts and would bar OBU men from their jobs, and the OBU was reduced to a few occupational groups, in mining, streetcar transportation, lumber and the railroad shops. In the lumber industries of the Great Lakes and coast areas, an interchange of IWW and OBU cards was arranged, and these lumber workers eventually joined the IWW in 1924 after the OBU had further declined with pro-communists shifting it from an industrial to a geographical or mass basis. The Canadian OBU persisted for years in Winnipeg, and even had branches in the United States trying in San Francisco to build an industrial union in the building trades and also in eastern textiles; its paper the OBU Bulletin for years was a sort of Reader's Digest of the left wing and liberal press sustained by a betting pool rather popular because of its honest conduct, but eventually declared illegal.

In Latin America the Marine Transport Workers had established a branch in Buenos Aires with its own paper in November of 1919, and in December IWW administrations were started in Mexico and Chile. Through the summer of 1920 the Chilean union conducted a three month strike to prevent the export of cereals from the country at a time when this export was producing famine, and famine prices and profits. The profiteers retaliated on July 22 with a raid at Santiago, starting a reign of terror against the IWW and other unions that lasted for years, the favorite punishment being to send the

men to stony islands off the coast where not a blade of grass grew, and tell them to build their Utopia there. On June 2, 1921 the IWW hall at Tampico, Mexico, was raided, and the IWW called a general strike in the area which won them the right to have their hall.⁹

In Great Britain wartime attacks on union standards had resulted in a militant Shop Steward movement; in January 1920 this body resolved to link itself to the IWW, and at the 12th IWW Convention, May, 1920, arrangements were made for the interchange of cards. But the major international question was Moscow. The IWW had been invited to join the Third International and to send a delegation to its Second Congress in the Kremlin, July 19 to August 7, 1920. The IWW did not attend, but its General Executive Board, very friendly to the general idea, had set up a committee to arrange for contact with the various revolutionary movements around the world. The Second Congress adopted the 21 points as conditions of affiliation, and set up a provisional body to found an international of red trade unions, to convene January 1921. To this the IWW was again invited and sent delegates. A preliminary caucus of syndicalist bodies was held in Berlin in December 1920 and it aimed at a union international based on the class struggle and free from political party domination. When the Red Trade Union international met eventually in Moscow in 1921, both the IWW delegate and the delegate from the Canadian OBU reported that it was a body to manipulate unions at Kremlin dictates and not a union body at all. By referendum the IWW turned down all of the various proposals, though with a remarkably small vote that gave only slight negative majorities. The three questions were a bit confusing and the entire ballot later declared void. It appears to indicate a refusal to be dominated by Communists and at the same time a reluctance not to participate in a gesture of left-wing unity.

IWW relations with the communists slowly but

steadily shifted from an original comradely disagreement to open hostility. When the American Communist and Communist Labor parties were born out of the splintering of the Socialist Party Convention in Chicago 1919, the IWW, though friendly to the Socialists too, allowed them temporary use of one of their local halls. In the eyes of reaction IWW and anarchist and communist were all alike, and in the mass arrests especially around New Years 1920 in the deportation delirium, hundreds of IWWs were included in the round-ups in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and elsewhere.¹⁰ The Wobs ridiculed the early spouting about "mass action" especially in the sense of armed insurrection, pointing out that if military superiority was to be achieved, those looking for dimes to keep their organizations alive might take a peek at the combined federal, state, municipal and private corporation arms budgets before adopting that policy in place of the sure bet of workers' industrial solidarity. Lenin's doctrine of scrapping the left wing unions to facilitate capture of the trade unions was not acceptable to the IWW, nor the Communist demand that it appoint the editors for IWW publications. Their maneuvers inside the IWW eventually ended Wobbly tolerance for them. Philadelphia became the end of any brotherly love.

There the Marine Transport Workers struck on May 26 for a 20 cents an hour increase. They had good support from other unions, Marine Firemen refusing to provide steam for scabs, but the strike continued through all of June 1920 to July 10. The stevedores wanted to settle on foreign trade only; the shipping board wanted the men to go back on the promise of whatever terms the ILA negotiated in New York, but the IWW insisted on settling for all, and on July 10 marched back to all docks, including some that had previously escaped organization, with all workers wearing the button to assure complete job control. It was a union the communists could not maneuver, but early in August they spread talk that the IWW in Philadelphia was loading arms for Wrangel to use against the Soviet Gov-

ernment. In August the General Executive Board ordered the Philadelphia local suspended. The local insisted no arms were loaded for Wrangel and asked for some proof, some record of the shipment, but none was forthcoming, though the rumor persisted. This charge dismissed, the local was kept suspended on the grounds that it charged a \$25.00 assessment actually as initiation fee in disguise. (The constitution of the time required universal rates for all industrial unions, with initiation fee of \$1.00, but this active local needed a strike treasury.) It was not until a new General Executive Board was elected, less sensitive to communist approval, that the Philadelphia local was reinstated. Actually on all coasts the IWW was stopping shipments to the interventionists, even where it did not have job control.¹¹

Other events moved the IWW in the same direction. The repression of the Kronstad revolt in Russia, the role of the communists during the seizure of industries by Italian workers in September 1920, and their division of the Italian labor movement the following winter and spring into two sections fighting on the streets against each other—all such events made the IWW realize that no matter how “left” the Communists might be, they were still politicians, primarily concerned with getting and holding the power to rule.¹² In April 1921 those out on bail on the Espionage indictments had to start serving their sentences. The Court of Appeals had thrown out the first and second counts of the indictment (interfering with the execution of the Espionage Act and Selective Service Acts, and injuring those employers who were supplying the government) but sustaining the charges of conspiring to deter men from registering and to bring about insubordination in the army. This did not reduce sentences. Of the 46 out on bond, Haywood and eight others did not show up; they had been spirited away to Russia. The communists said they would make good the bond losses, but never did, though publicly announcing that Haywood went to Russia on orders of the Communist Party.¹³ It soon became plain that the

communists in the IWW were operating under instructions to wreck it.

The discussion did help clarify IWW thinking. It became recognized that putches and insurrections cannot achieve industrial democracy in a complexly industrialized country. IWW periodicals began to put their emphasis on technical articles and descriptions of industrial processes and avoidable wastes. The chief damage done by the Communists to the IWW was the cultivation of the notion of a militant minority, priding itself on its revolutionary consciousness and holding in contempt the mere "union consciousness" of the majority of members. This was to show itself in the lumber strike of September 1923 and later, and do irreparable harm.

1. For events of time, see Borkenau "World Communism."

2. Seattle General Strike: see Crook "The General Strike," for accounts of this and other major general strikes, and W.I. Fisher in *New Solidarity* No. 16. Perlman & Taft v. IV, p. 440 et seq. *Nation* 108-487.

3. Butte strike: see *New Solidarity*, issues 15 and 16, and for a record of the scheming on the employer side, a stenographic record published in *Industrial Pioneer*, August 1926. Another bitter strike was fought by the IWW in Butte in April 1920, turned into a job-action strike by the massacre of pickets on Anaconda Road April 21. (See *OBU Monthly*, June 1920.)

4. Oatman strike: *New Solidarity*, No. 45.

5. Toledo strike: *New Solidarity*, No. 29.

6. Spring AWO Convention: *New Solidarity*, No. 5.

7. Most complete account is Chaplin's "Centralia Conspiracy." See also Jensen, "Labor and Lumber" for affidavits of jurors given in mid-thirties.

8. For circumstances giving rise to OBU, see Logan, "History of Trade Union Organization in Canada," University of Chicago Press.

9. *Solidarity*, No. 137.

10. Fully described by Louis F. Post (Assistant Secretary of Labor) in "The Deportation Delirium of 1920," Kerr & Co.

11. Facts on Philadelphia most clearly given in pamphlet issued by MTW No. 8. It was not reinstated until October 1921.

12. Communist maneuvering most thoroughly documented in Borkenau's "World Communism."

13. Chaplin's "Wobbly" gives details of efforts to induce communists to pay for the loss on bond-jumping.

XI. Peak, Split and Recovery (1922-1929)

In the early twenties, the Marine Transport Workers progressed steadily. It had a firm basis on Philadelphia waterfront, reinstated in October 1921, and among seamen, engine crews and stewards department on Atlantic Coast and Gulf, particularly among the Spanish-speaking personnel.¹ Its expansion into Latin America and its alliance in Britain and elsewhere added to its prestige and to the service it could render its members. The AFL crafts grew increasingly disserviceable. In New York the ILA in the fall of 1920 had struck to keep up with the high cost of living, and its officials, lauded by the press, had broken their own strike.² In 1921 the seamen fought cuts in base rate and overtime that took about half their pay, but the dictatorial action of the President of the Marine Engineers pulled out his craft and broke the strike.³ After that strike an effort was made on West Coast to form a federation of the various crafts, but Furuseth, head of the Seamen's Union fought it from fear that landside workers would have too much to say, and even accused the editor of his Journal of being pro-Wobbly for supporting such an idea. Furuseth developed an anti-IWW mania, charged in Congress that the shipowners were coddling the IWW to disrupt the AFL.⁴ He induced the AFL Convention in Portland, 1923, to authorize an investigation of the IWW on these charges. The IWW wired the convention it would help it investigate, but the challenge was not accepted.⁵

Back of all this was the actual growth of the MTW. The IWW actively participated in all maritime strikes as good union men and won increasing esteem from their fellow workers. Where it could not aim at job control, it recruited the staunchest unionists in all classifications, so that MTW membership became a mark of prestige. Its Maritime

Worker published news of the industry and propaganda for its immediate needs.

In Portland, Ore. the ILA and MTW struck jointly on April 23, 1922 when employers announced that hiring would be through their new "Fink Hall," instead of by the union list system which had worked fairly. The Shipping Board induced the ILA to work its vessels, though this meant going through their own picket line. MTW held a meeting for all strikers and the decision was that all would go through unless ILA quit doing so. The ILA settled for the right to have their man stationed in the Fink Hall. The IWW began a program of job action that brought it considerable growth. In October there was talk of a joint MTW and ILA strike, voted down at ILA meeting by narrow margin of 215 to 200. The employer association tried to bribe the ILA with an agreement providing that no IWW would be hired; the ILA did not sign it, and the strike was on. Some scabs were obtained, but the vessels they loaded made more trouble for their owners when Australian workers refused to unload them. The right to be a Wobbly was thus safeguarded in Portland.⁶

During that same month unsuccessful efforts were made to drive the MTW from Philadelphia and Hoboken. In the former the issues were a blacklist imposed by leading shipping companies and the 44 hour week. The MTW tied up the port from October 27 to November 19, winning its point and remaining solid on the Philadelphia waterfront until 1925. (Its disappearance then seems to have come from the dissatisfaction of its chief personnel over interference by the general organization, though there was little of this after its reinstatement in 1921, and disappointment with the 1924 split in the IWW; this situation, coupled with a threat that vessels would be unloaded at nearby ports where ILA was in control, induced the secretary, Baker, and others to take their following into the ILA.) In Hoboken, October 1922, repeated attacks by thugs, who MTW

said were hired by ILA, also failed to drive them out. In February 1923, the Mobile, Ala., police ordered IWW to take their sign down; the 14 members in the hall held a meeting, decided not to, and went to jail. Others opened up and soon joined them, until they won out. But this sort of fight was eclipsed by the May Day strike.

The General Executive Board had recommended that where members felt they could strike effectively on May 1, 1923, they should do so, primarily to demand the release of all class war prisoners, but also for appropriate economic demands. Many were still in jail on wartime indictments; the number convicted under Criminal Syndicalism laws particularly in California was growing; the Centralia victims were in jail, and a number, such as Mooney and McNamara out of labor trials not connected with IWW. Protest strikes occurred in northwest lumber, on many construction jobs and elsewhere, but nowhere with such effectiveness as in the maritime industry. San Pedro, port of Los Angeles, was tied up tight, as was Aberdeen, and on east coast, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Mobile and Galveston. In most of these ports it was a short protest strike but won pay boosts of 15%. In San Pedro it developed into a lengthy free speech fight on Liberty Hill. It broke out again July 12 when 27 members, many of them seamen, were convicted of Criminal Syndicalism after a long trial in which they defended themselves to enjoy the freedom of saying what they wanted to. This was a five day protest strike in which all shipping in the port was tied up.

The free speech fight in San Pedro was the last such large scale effort by IWW. Various liberals joined the fight, and Upton Sinclair got arrested for reading the Declaration of Independence. Stockades were built and filled with speakers; it was hopeless to arrest the hundreds who joined in mass singing of IWW songs. Young fellows on roof tops made speeches while cops chased them as in movie comedies.⁷ In June of the following year, the morale

of the upper crust was shown by a raid on the San Pedro IWW hall during a social evening; men and women were beaten; young children were scalded in a coffee cauldron; the place was demolished, and five members were taken out into the desert and tarred and feathered.⁸ Light on all this was given by Captain Plummer of the police in the following statement:

"Somebody has been making holy asses of us policemen. Last summer at the time of the harbor strike I went to see old man Hammond. He told me to take a bunch of my men, arm them with clubs, go up on Liberty Hill and break the heads of the Wobblies. I replied that if we did that, they would burn down his lumber piles. 'They will do it anyhow,' he answered. But they didn't. Not an overt act have they committed. The police who raided the IWW hall in San Pedro recently did commit an overt act however. In fact we policemen have been made the tools of the big business interests who want to run things. I'm ashamed of myself for consenting to do their dirty work. The big fellows in this town can do anything they like and get away with it, but the workers can't even think what they want to think without being thrown in jail." ⁹

The Marine Transport Workers reached their peak of influence in 1923. In such a field organization can grow to a sizeable minority on the conviction that there should be the better unionism that it offers; after a certain point it must forge ahead to replace the unionism it has criticized, or its new adherents lose hope and drop out. The MTW could not cross the gap; it was left once more a small minority championing the cause of direct action and industrial solidarity, but completely unable by 1926 to give any support to the British General Strike, or to prevent the shipments of American coal that broke the miner's strike. (Coal from Europe was effectively stopped by unionists.) Its solid core continued and was able in 1934 to put up a good fight once more.

In railroad transportation the IWW has had similar ups and downs, recruiting significant minorities of "two card men" from time to time in the hopes of building the industrial solidarity that all railroad workers realize they have needed. One such wave was in the years following World War I. Their activity prompted Attorney General Daugherty during the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike¹⁰ to charge that the IWW was preparing to take over transportation and the government. Secretary Carlson of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union issued a statement that IWW members in all crafts were backing the shopmen, and that the IWW was quite willing to run railroads or any other industry, but didn't want to bother with the government because they could not see that it was in any way useful.¹¹ Up to the 1924 split there was considerable growth of this Industrial Union particularly among the shopmen in western divisions, though also among train crews.

Despite the persistent strike demand for release of class war prisoners, the IWW of this period aimed deliberately at practicality. A favorite cartoon of the time depicted the sundry radicalisms as pointing at the stars, while the IWW was pointing to the industries, shouting "Organize." A pamphlet of the Construction Workers Industrial Union 310 centered on "Immediate Demands and Ultimate Aims," its argument that only by the unionism that could win immediate demands could workers develop the capacity to achieve the ultimate aim of Industrial Democracy. The outstanding orator of the IWW, James P. Thompson, persistently argued against the theory that a working class beaten down enough would some day turn to revolt with these contentions: the worse off the workers were, the more docile, and the more likely to settle for a bowl of soup; the workingclass was changing from the lot of the man with the hoe, to the man with education, technical training, organization and self-respect; and a workingclass lacking the organized competence to maintain decent job conditions certainly lacked the power to take over industry or the com-

petence to run it. The IWW press emphasized similar teachings; its magazines were given largely to articles on industrial techniques; it started an Industrial Encyclopedia of booklets each giving the history of a major industry, and emphasizing its capital integration and the need for modernized unionism in it.

The Construction Workers of this period were especially engaged in a campaign to improve job conditions, for safety and better living. The large construction projects of the time were built mostly by single men, housed in camp until they made their "stake," then back to a sojourn on the skidroad, and another job. The IWW had largely established free fee or hire on the job, and in many places the job-seeker could stay overnight and clean up before rustling the next camp. Perhaps more effective than the numerous strikes was the less publicized practice of systematizing the quitting. Three weeks was about average stay; if some quit from one to five days earlier than they had planned, and other a few days later, this meant a sizeable number would quit at the same time; without strike, their complaints about job conditions were effective, and usually a job delegate recruited new members out of these men practicing painless unionism. But to raise wages took the consent of absentee management and usually required a strike.

In April 1922 camps of Guthrie and Grant Smith along the Great Northern were struck for pay boost, better conditions and uniform 8 hour day. The men returned May 28 with subcontractors still working their men 10 hours. Mess halls were induced to refuse meals at the hours this schedule required, and soon the general contractor posted notices of a nickel pay boost and 8-hour day for all subcontractors. Strike victories on the Cazadero power project in Oregon and on the Skaggit Tunnel job in Washington soon followed, winning a 50 cent minimum, free blankets and waterproof clothing.

In November two large projects were struck in California, the Hetch Hetchy which was to furnish water for San Francisco, and the Edison power and irrigation project at Big Creek, up in the mountains from Fresno. The Hetch Hetchy strike grew out of organization in some of the camps; the men walked out almost 100 %, but scattered so that non-strikers were needed for picketing, and picketing was important because of the large number of, operations under various subcontractors and various names, and it was the time of year when many of America's most ragged and rugged individualists were heading for "sunny Cal" with "wrinkles in their bellies and flat broke." Because of difficulties maintaining a picket line, the strike was called off December 2nd, with no direct gains; the union had to operate on the job with new faces after the strike, and even mail got opened in company offices.

On the Edison job a major grievance was the cold "nose-bag" at mid-shift in the tunnels when the men wanted a hot lunch. On November 13 a job delegate was fired, and the men in his camp walked out with him. Meeting other IWW's, some of them from Agricultural Workers 110, in Fresno, resulted in a call to strike all camps on the project. All the lower camps came out by the 18th and 3500 strikers staged the largest meeting Fresno had seen in the Opera House. News got to the upper camps, snowbound, through the press, and the men had to improvise skis and snowshoes to get out. The demands were \$6 per day in tunnels and \$7 for shaft men; 50 cents increase for all other labor; 8 hours portal to portal; two men on all machines; hot meals and other improvements. The strike petered out like the one on Hetch-Hetchy. Calling it actually deprived the former strike of manpower necessary to make it effective. The late arrivals from the upper camps were indignant about how it had been called. It was called off Dec. 22, a total loss. Some of the 310 members claimed it would not have been called if it hadn't been for the irresponsibility of the 110 "strawcats" in the valley; that such strikes should

be called only by a conference of delegates from the various camps.

Many of the strikers from both jobs, no longer likely to be hired on these major projects, went to work for the Warren Construction Co. on a job out of Fresno. On January 3, 1923, they struck for reinstatement of a discharged IWW cook, enforcement of sanitary laws, \$4.00 for 8 hours and no discrimination. The company settled, posting a notice of agreement to these terms. A second strike followed January 21 on complaint that company did not live up to its agreement, and additional demands were made, including the right to hold an Open Forum every Wednesday night in camp. There was some dissatisfaction by those who preferred fewer strikes to interfere with the process of making a stake, and this second strike was never definitely settled. The various protest strikes on construction jobs May 1, 1923 increased this apprehension of many construction hands. The problem was actually to enforce IWW teachings of rank and file control against the maneuvers of a professed militant minority.

The major demonstration of this injudiciousness of the "jawsmiths" occurred in the northwest woods. Lumber Workers' Industrial Union had been strong enough to prevent any appreciable reduction of standards in the Harding "return to normalcy" depression, and the extensive construction work of the era made a firm market for lumber. The IWW had the field to itself: the AFL Timberworkers' last battle had been fought at Klamath Falls in 1922, and is surrendered its charter in March 1923.¹² These standards had been kept by innumerable small job actions. The employers now found a divisive force: the gyppo system, or piece work. They brought it in with a sugar coating, letting men earn three and four times as much as they would make at hourly rates, but wiser heads knew this was to get it going: the need to settle prices for each operation would bring individual bargaining, and eventually less pay for more work. It worked out that way in the later

twenties after the union had lost its strength. Opinions among IWW members how to cope with this differed. The general sentiment was that no Wobbly would work gyppo. Many, who took little part except to pay dues and strike with the rest, felt it foolish to pass up big money. A few who knew their economics suggested that given these circumstances of a money-hungry majority, and the current high rates offered for piece-work, the judicious thing was for the union to allow it on the proviso that rates be set for each operation by collective bargaining and kept so high that unit costs would exceed those resulting from hourly rate. Outcome was that those who worked gyppo dropped out of the union. Even more critical was the difference of opinion on the rather haphazard strike policy that had been developing in other industries. May 1, 1923 brought an orderly 4-day protest strike; a longer strike might have broken ranks. There was talk of a September strike but delegates from the camps in conference warned against it, that it might play into the employers' hands. However the "militant minority" who seemed to have talked to each other more than to the men on the job, felt it must be called, to demand release of class war prisoners and had a strike call distributed by airplane, the leaflets fluttering down into one surprised camp after another. The men came out solidly and later made an orderly return to work; but confidence in the union as their instrument was greatly weakened.

This strike was memorable for a side-line activity: the "dehorn squad." This was the prohibition era; but there were bootleggers, and in the Seattle area in particular the "smilo joints," usually operated by Japanese. Knowing that alcohol and strikes don't mix well, that "you can't fight booze and the boss at the same time," the dehorn squads told the smilo joints to close up for the duration of the strike. Those that didn't were closed by Carrie Nation direct action or the threat of it. The daily papers felt they must approve the resultant sobriety of the strike, and could hardly object to union enforcement of the

prohibition law, but felt obliged to denounce such lawlessness just the same, and many of the dehorn squads were thrown in the clink by police who had been tolerating and perhaps profiting from the smilo joints. The IWW was concerned only that booze should not disrupt the strike; it did not champion prohibition, but ridiculed intemperance and did induce most of its members, recruited from a hard-drinking lot, to maintain customary sobriety.¹³

Metal Mine Workers won a strike in Bingham Canyon in September 1922 and at the same time in Butte, getting a 50 cents increase. This was the last IWW strike there, though a skeleton membership was maintained in Butte into the fifties, and considerable organizing effort was made in Butte during the twenties. Company intimidation and the rustling card system make a partial explanation; but since these cards could be obtained easily enough for soapboxers to ridicule the system by tossing them out to the crowd beneath the nose of company gunmen who were the most assured audience, it seems that failure to maintain a union came chiefly because somehow those who favored it figured it hopeless.

An effort was made to organize the oil fields of the southwest early in 1922. Organizers Erwin and Hickey were given 90-day vag sentences. Attorney Mulkes went to Shreveport to defend them, was kidnaped from his hotel and so badly beaten he had to go to hospital. American Civil Liberties Union finding it could not secure an attorney asked American Bar Association to provide one, but none accepted the challenge. Oil Workers Industrial Union sent in more delegates. A number were arrested at Eldorado, Arkansas and Attorney Julian went to their defense. He was jailed with his clients. In court he won freedom for them and himself. Outside the courthouse they were met by a Ku Klux Klan mob; Julian drew his revolver and he and his clients left unmolested.¹⁴

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 without strikes or attempting to bargain, kept

up a steady growth in the early twenties in Chicago, Detroit and other eastern areas, working chiefly on a propaganda and social activity basis. In the harvest fields I.U. 110 kept selling "red ducats": 15,217 in 1923; 9,219 in 1924, and 8,507 in 1925, though the average annual membership for these same years was 6,483, 4,503, and 4,175.

Apart from MTW activities in eastern ports, IWW efforts were largely concentrated in the areas of greatest repression, particularly California where CS prosecutions came in a steady flow. To speed up the effort to jail the whole IWW, Judge Busick issued an injunction against all members so that they could be prosecuted without offering evidence to show that the IWW was in any way unlawful. To prosecute under Criminal Syndicalism statute it was necessary to show membership—regularly stipulated by the defendants—and to make some showing that the IWW practiced or preached sabotage, overthrow of government or other unlawful divertissements. This requirement was filled by two professional witnesses whose credibility could not have been high with any jury; their evidence was a formality to warrant convictions obtained by appeal to prejudice. Judge Busick became notorious also for his practice of arresting the defense witnesses who established their membership in order to qualify their competence to testify. The continued prosecutions, frequently appealed, resulted in stricter requirements for the prosecution and in a growing community perception that the IWW was a commendable rather than a vicious organization. By 1924 in California alone 317 members had been indicted under Criminal Syndicalism and 140 convicted. Sentences were 1-14 years, with prison board handing out a customary 4 year sentence, which with good time off made three calendar years. Over a hundred of the 140 were in San Quentin at one time and they continued their habit of collective action. If one was thrown in the dungeon for some breach of discipline, all struck and were thrown there too. Since the San Quentin bunch consisted

largely of the job conditioning members, they soon set up machinery for reaching such decisions by majority vote instead of being precipitated into them by a minority. Many used their time for education, reviewing and going beyond their school work and taking correspondence courses, several for the mathematics of navigation; they also all bought books on social and labor issues and had a library of their own of close to a thousand volumes, which they kept circulating even though this, like decisions on organization issues, had to be done under guards' eyes during line-ups for meals, etc. Even though the big split of 1924 occurred during this time, and some prisoners were on one side or the other, goodwill and friendliness resulted from these organized procedures, and as they came out they sought to heal the breach. In contrast the men in Leavenworth were largely top officers, speakers, writers whom the job delegates often considered somewhat like *prima donnas*; the enmities that developed among them are generally considered the major source of the disastrous split of 1924. The fact that the IWW grew from the war years to the 1924 split, and that this disaster occurred when these leaders were released, does not fit in with the conclusion of Perlman and Taft and other historians that the decline of the IWW was due to the loss of its leadership by imprisonment. The collective action of the IWW's in San Quentin, by attracting attention to routine bad conditions resulted in a great improvement in the diet.¹⁵

The IWW split wide open in 1924. On the surface the issue was over the degree of centralization, but its causes lay deeper; personal rancors developed in Leavenworth, especially over the issue of accepting conditional pardons, found vent in it; dissatisfaction with the haphazard strike policy and the associated fear of lumber and construction workers that the "strawcats" were trying to lead them around by the nose, also underlay it. The immediate circumstance leading to it was the reorganization of the general administration in 1923, so that it consisted of gen-

eral secretary, general organizer and the chairman of the general organization committee of each industrial union. A rule that GEB sessions could be called by a two-thirds vote led to a situation where some said a two-thirds vote had called one and others said no and both had arguable cases. Two IWW's as a result competed for survival, one getting its name Four Trey because it moved from 1001 Madison Street to 3333 W. Belmont, Chicago (this being the body that exists to the present day), and the other body because of its "Emergency Program," dubbed the EP's. The EP was the smaller, but most members dropped out the middle.¹⁶ Whatever its explanation, most IWW oldtimers consider this 1924 split the definitely worst thing that ever happened to it. Considering how the IWW had gone ahead to this event in years when the AFL was declining, it seems possible that if it had been avoided, and even more had the underlying factors been avoided, the IWW might have retained stability in the lumber industry and achieved it at least in general construction, metal mining and marine transport. As it was the woods went unorganized and gyppo; the only construction strike in the 20's after the split was one at Natron cut-off. It showed its vitality only in new fields, particularly coal mining.¹⁶

The first large IWW coal strike was in Alberta, Canada, where the miners, fighting UMWA check-off since it did not actually represent them, had gone into the Canadian One Big Union. In 1924 the lumber workers and coal miners of the OBU switched affiliation to the IWW. They struck in November 1925 for abolition of this taxation without representation; companies offered a 10% increase if they would continue to accept the checkoff; this was refused as a bribe.

In Colorado the coal miners were unorganized. A. S. Embree who had formerly been an active organizer among metal miners, settled in southern Colorado after his release from a criminal syndicalism sentence in Idaho, and slowly built the skeleton

of a coal miners' union among the veterans of the fight of 1914 and their sons. Progress was inconspicuous up to the Sacco-Vanzetti protest demonstrations of August 1927. The IWW had joined in the world-wide protest, and pulled one day protest strikes where it could, but the outstanding response was among the miners of southern Colorado. Of the 12,000 miners in Colorado, of whom about half were employed by Colorado Fuel & Iron, the 6000 in the south struck almost to a man on August 21, and stayed out three days to assure no discrimination. Organization grew faster, and on September 8 a conference was held at Aguilar to formulate economic demands. Colorado law required 30-day notice before a strike and this notice was given at that time. The State Industrial Commission said the notice must be given by the miners, not by the IWW. The IWW suggested that the Commission check on whether it represented the men by holding meetings at each mine and taking a vote. The commission declined the proposal, and though the strike was postponed to October 18 in efforts to meet the requirements of legality, the Commission held the strike outlaw, and the strikers fair prey for the mounted police who could harass any gathering of them as unlawful. Demands were a daily wage of \$7.50, checkweighmen, payment for "dead work" and recognition of pit committees and the miners' organization. Technically this was not the IWW, but the organization of all miners who would agree to stand by these demands whether IWW or not.

There are three coal fields in Colorado; this was the first time all three had been struck together. To assure completeness a caravan of singing miners left Lafayette in the north and trekked to Walsenburg by November 4th, leaving the habit of singing "Solidarity Forever" behind them. The open enemy was the state police. Strike meetings were harassed by them and by low-flying planes zooming close to the heads of the miners and their families who also attended. This hazard was least if the meeting were held near a mine tibble, and various mine owners

were not as ferocious as their uniformed watchdogs. One such customary spot for meetings was the Columbine Mine of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. There on November 21 the state police turned machine guns on the miners, killing six and wounding many. On January 12 the hall at Walsenburg was raided and Chavez and Martinez killed. But these were only the murders in a campaign of terrorism.

Companies eventually offered a dollar a day increase in the south and 50 cents in the north, bringing the scale to the second highest, and on February 19 the miners voted to return to work. Following the strike came elections of pit committees and checkweighmen and procedure for grievances. White cards of the striking miners had been issued during the dispute with IWW cards only to a minority. It was a significant victory and all considered it an IWW strike, for UMWA did not participate, but little unionism came out of it, though efforts continued into the early thirties and a number of locals were maintained which assured election of checkweighmen and pit committees. This situation seems to have grown out of the strike arrangements with little actual union recruiting. It was later found that some officers of the union were planning during the strike to form a new miners body out of the Colorado miners, the Kansas followers of Howatt and dissatisfied miners elsewhere as those who followed the communist line in Pennsylvania and those who were to step over the traces in Illinois a few years later. Suits against Governor Adams and Louis Scherf, head of the police and who personally gave the order to shoot at Columbine, were lodged and dragged along to 1932 to claim damages for the widow of George Eastenes and other victims; but the court turned thumbs down.

A major organizing drive followed in 1929 in the Illinois coal fields where miners were under UMWA check-off, but chafing under it and divided as Fishwick men, Lewis-men and what not. The communists, who had switched from their no left wing

union program, attempted to horn in also. The IWW secured a considerable two-card membership around Benld and Collinsville. When the communist National Miners union announced a statewide strike for Dec. 9, 1929, it had no following among the Illinois miners, but precipitated a strike at Taylorville by putting out a picket line which brought in the militia. The miners there struck only to demand removal of the troops. The National Miners then picked out a mine where the IWW had about a third of the miners as two-card men, and picketed there, saying it was part of a statewide strike. The miners struck for the day to ascertain what the facts were, and voted with only one dissenting vote to return to work next day. This led to communist accusations of scabbing by the IWW. Batteries of speakers were brought by IWW into the Illinois coal fields and a sizeable membership built up. In the many cornered fight in 1932 the IWW withdrew its organizers to avoid a situation where no matter what they did they would be cats-paws for one or another of the warring factions. They left the miners with ideals how a union should be run and advised them to try to make whatever union they found themselves in live as close as possible to those ideals.

Temporary success came among the gypsum miners employed by U. S. Gypsum Company in the vicinity of Oakfield, N. Y. They struck in February against a cut from 51 to 45 cents a ton and settled on April 26 for an increase to 75 cents a ton. A local of I.U. 210 was established, but despite the victory and repeated efforts to maintain organization, the local died. The crutch of a contract might have made for stability, but the IWW expected grown-up men, as their columnist T-Bone Slim said, to be big enough to pay their own dues without a check-off. The repeated allegation that the IWW did not try to maintain organization after a strike is certainly not true of any of its strikes during the twenties, if it is true of its strikes at anytime.

1. For this reason, activities are more fully chronicled in *Solidaridad* and *Cultura Obrera* than in English language publications.
2. Perlman & Taft, Vol. IV, p. 452.
3. Ibid. p. 495.
4. Gambs, op. cit., p. 138; Congressional Record, Vol. 62, pp. 2124 and 4500, and West in *Survey*, Oct. 14, 1923.
5. Wire given in *Solidarity*, Nov. 8, 1923.
6. *Solidarity*, Nos. 218-219, and pamphlet containing affidavits issued by Portland Branch MTW.
7. From accounts of the time, *Solidarity*, No. 238 et seq. Descriptions are given by Upton Sinclair in his novel "Oil," and his play "Singing Jailbirds."
8. *Industrial Worker*, June 25, 1924; detailed account and photos in pamphlet "The Blood-Stained Trail," issued by *Industrial Worker*, but not officially approved by IWW because of various inaccuracies; it does however contain much valuable material supplementary to this history.
9. Quoted in letter from Clinton J. Taft of ACLU who heard the statement in Gambs, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
10. See *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 22 and 23, 1922.
11. Given in *Solidarity*, 1930; for strike situation see Perlman & Taft, 519.
12. Jensen: "Labor and Lumber."
13. This "de-horn" activity written in various papers at time; *Seattle Star*, Sept. 7, 1923, *Union Record*, Sept. 6, and denounced by Mencken at time as puritanism.
14. *Solidarity*, Nos. 168-177.
15. Most complete account of Criminal Syndicalism is in Dowell's scholarly "History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation," Johns Hopkins University, 1939. Much of the Wobbly library in San Quentin was sent to Work Peoples College, Duluth, and used there as it was a residential labor school controlled by IWW, chiefly supported by its Finnish members; some was still in use in 1955, dog-eared, in San Quentin.
16. The EP started publication *Industrial Unionist* in Portland in April 1925, ceased publication June 1926; later issued the *New Unionist* in Los Angeles, which appeared off and on to 1931 as last gesture of a union that had died.

Other sources for items not given: IWW press of the time and personal knowledge of events; Colorado strike described in "25 Years of Industrial Unionism" and fairly adequately in Gambs.

XII. The Stimulus of Depression (1930-'40)

The stock market crashed in October 1929 as accurately predicted by the Industrial Worker. Constriction of business activity, lay-offs, wage-cuts and the Big Depression followed, just as the IWW right along had been saying was the certain consequence of the increasing exploitation of labor. The IWW had no doubt what labor should do: resist all wage cuts to make them expensive; organize the jobless so that they would no longer menace those who still had jobs, while these fought to cut the workday and raise real hourly rates; back all demands with the determination that if employers did not employ, the working class could dispense with their disservices and establish planned abundance.

The IWW made a tremendous propaganda effort. Its effects cannot be measured, but the outstanding fact of the thirties remains this: For the first time a labor movement instead of shrinking in a depression, grew as never before. This turn from abjectness preceded Roosevelt and the Blue Eagle. AFL propaganda of the early thirties was craft union echoing of the assurance that business was sound. The various radical propagandas focused on political issues. The healthy change in labor attitudes can thus largely be attributed to the millions of pieces of IWW literature, straight to the point, issued at factories or where the unemployed gathered, and to the IWW soapboxers who held meetings daily at factory gates and at streetcorners in the evening, establishing regular schedules in even out-of-the-way places that they had to reach by box-cars or hitch-hiking.

This propaganda effort was constructive, educational, and put on by flat-broke members of a flat-broke union. The IWW had never recovered from the 1924 split. It lost its building and printing plant into which it sunk all its resources. To economize in 1929 it replaced its various Industrial Union of-

fices with a Clearing House run by its general secretary. Even so the general secretary taking office in November 1932 found \$29.00 cash all told with which to pay back wages, run the office, pay accumulated printing bills, and the industrial union funds that had been loaned to the General Office. Within a year it was all in the black again, but with less than a thousand dollars to run on. The campaign among miners in Illinois had like that in Colorado, meant expenses instead of income, and in May 1930 it was thrust willy-nilly into the Harlan, Kentucky fight.

Harlan had been UMWA territory to 1924; after that a faithful few held the charter. Some IWW literature falling by chance among these miners as they faced 10% cuts led them to write the IWW for information, and to organize themselves into I.U. 220. Their local charter was in the mail when headlines told of the battle of Harlan and of the arrest of over a score of miners charged with murder. The IWW General Defense Committee undertook impartially the defense of members and non-members. Its field representatives were beaten up, and so were visiting journalists. Communists nosed in but got no following. Illinois miners and Colorado miners responded to appeals for help. The picture developed in the courts was very different from that originally given in the papers; many were acquitted, all saved from the death penalty, and the last were released in 1941.¹

In February 1931 the IWW stirred up its own members and sympathizers to greater activity with a leaflet "Bread Lines or Picket Lines," very widely distributed. This urged that the unemployed organize either in IWW or out of it, so that they could assure those still working that they would not scab; and then by demonstrations outside plants that cut pay or worked longer than normal days, promote action to abate the depression. In execution the program became much modified: the unemployed helped picket in strikes called independently of this

program; it was approximated among job-seekers at out-of-town construction jobs, for example Cle Ellum, and the Portland Unemployed Union did assure success to a small loggers' strike. These Unemployed Unions were formed to provide housing and food for footloose jobless members while they carried on IWW agitation. The UU at 2005 W. Harrison, Chicago held meetings outdoors nightly throughout the city, sold over a thousand IWW papers a week and many pamphlets, solicited their own food in the large markets, defrayed rent etc. from proceeds of social affairs. A similar venture in New York made publicity even out of its move from E. 10th St. to larger quarters at 133 W. 14th, and accommodated personnel for an organization drive in eastern industrial centers that did much educational work though it secured few members. In Seattle the less spectacular 6 Hour Committee did its most effective work through influence in other unions to demand shorter workdays. The Portland UU beside housing soapboxers and leaflet peddlers, managed to provide the food for the unorganized lumber workers at Biex Logging when they struck and won them a 25% pay boost. The chief result of this agitation everywhere was that the morale of the unemployed became such that workers dared to strike.

Construction Workers Industrial Union 310 was active through these "threadbare thirties." It set out to organize among the jobseekers at Boulder Dam in April 1931. Those who were union minded were welcome at the Wobbly jungles just outside the reservation while they waited to rustle jobs. On the reservation 11 were arrested for promoting the union on July 15. On August 7 a wage cut of a dollar a day was announced. IWW speakers rallied the men as they came off shift and got 1400 to assemble at the cookhouse. On the 9th the Bix Six Companies tried to deport the strike committee in locked trucks, but the Federal Marshall set them free. Jobseekers and local merchants favored the strike, and even its 6 hour day demand. On the 12th

Young of the Reclamation Bureau ordered all strikers off the reservation. The IWW called the strike off so they could remain, but insisted their demands still stood.

Boulder Dam was a speed-up job, rushed ahead of schedule, where state safety laws were daily violated and where men collapsed from gas. By October 1932 when I.U. 310 held its convention in Las Vegas, 127 workers on the job had been killed. By that time a prolonged free press fight had convinced the Bureau that it might as well abide by the Bill of Rights, after repeated arrests and deportations of men selling the Industrial Worker. The final effort of the IWW on the job was made August 16, 1933 in desperation as all suspected of IWW sympathy were being fired. Those not yet fired passed handbills in the mess hall; those already fired tried to rally the men to demand safety, 6-hour day and no discrimination, but the majority went to work and there was no strike. This is the only instance known of the IWW attempting a strike and none developing. It occurred on a government project among bulldozed workers fearful of the loss of a job, in the daze of the New Deal, and working for a dollar a day less than the low of the Hoover era.

Near Cle Ellum, Washington 250 men were working for the Lahar Construction Co. on an irrigation dam for 30 cents an hour. As many again waited around town or in the jungles for a job—these were the days when any freight train might have 300 free riders. IWW members sounded out men on the job, in the jungles and the merchants in the towns nearby; there was agreement that if the men struck for a dime more an hour, the unemployed would not take their jobs, and the merchants would provide beans and bacon. The company saw the situation and granted the dime boost, in a short strike May 11, 1932. The job was 100% organized. A second strike in October raised the rate to 45 cents with walk to work on the company time instead of on one's own.

Other major efforts by this I. U. 310 were made to organize the Mississippi Bridge job near New Orleans (summer of 1933); on the Los Angeles Aqueduct, where organizers had to demand jury trials to stop arrests for vagrancy; on the Fort Peck job in Montana, where it won a \$15 boost for commissary workers, on the New York Water Tunnel and among WPA workers. Only on the WPA jobs did it win managerial recognition, but on all these it recruited men and agitated for better conditions and achieved them.

The days of the old harvest drives were over, but Agricultural Workers I. U. 110 fought battles for families of "fruit glommers" in Yakima in 1933 and in Watsonville, Calif. in 1939. The Yakima skirmish started with a strike of 200 hop pickers in May. Some had been earning as little as 75 cents for 10 hours. Picket lines were crashed by ranchers' cars; one picket was run over and many arrested. On June 3 the strike ended with a 50% increase in piece rates. The IWW stayed active in Yakima, solidifying "homeguards" and migratories for action in successive crops. Strikes were on again in August; on the 25th over a hundred were put in a stockade. Mike Capelik, disabled veteran who represented the General Defense Committee, visited the jail, was held for the convenience of a vigilante mob who drove him 40 miles away, beat him and covered him with glue. The trial of arrested pickets was postponed to December. The Yakima Central Labor Council elected its own labor jury to keep an eye on proceedings; all were released on the 17th of December. The IWW local organization in Yakima persisted for several years without further strikes, but holding socials and lectures through winter months.

The major IWW efforts of this period were made in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and particularly Cleveland. In New York the Marine Transport Workers at a time when seamen's unionism was at ebb tide, started off the decade with a spectacular

meeting of the 1700 crew members aboard the *Leviathan*, then the world's largest vessel, April 9, 1930. No major waterfront action occurred, despite steady organizing, until the strike of 1934, though there was a victorious fight for the right to speak at Coenties Slip and repeated squabbles with the Muscovite Marine Workers League. A branch of the MTW had been started at Stettin, Germany, in 1929, and it became part of the anti-Hitler underground, with the MTW getting its supplies of the thinnest paper, ink, etc. ashore to it; eventually contact was lost. A local of Building Workers I.U. 330 was started in New York in 1930; agitation among cafeteria workers was stepped up when an attractive hall noted for its class struggle murals was opened on Fifth Avenue; the good start in this field was undone by conniving between AFL and Communist racketeers.² Also a local of Municipal Transport Workers for bus and subway employees, was launched and later a campaign among apartment house janitors, called superintendents in New York's provincial dialect.

In Philadelphia as the ILA agreement neared expiration in September 1930, Wobbly speakers addressed longshoremen from Richmond to Point Breeze on the grievances endured since they had left IWW in 1925, but the ILA won. During the Cuban general strike of 1933, IWW picketed to stop the unloading of scab-loaded sugar. That year a drive started among stonemasons, largely Italian, building suburban homes. Rates were far below AFL building trade scale, and competition so keen among the petty employers that rates could be raised only a trifle at a time by repeated short strikes progressing into 1936, by which time I.U. 330 had organized the quarry workers too. In this campaign the IWW found it was impeded by its anti-Mussolini propaganda, featured especially in its *Il Proletario*; many of these workers believed Mussolini was trying to get them a syndicalist commonwealth, and pointed to his labor head, Edmondo Rossoni, a former MTW-IWW organizer who first

turned to Italian nationalism from his American experience with the additional exploitation Italian workers here suffered under the padrone system.³ Among other groups the IWW won a 25% boost at Denston Felt & Hair Co. with the provision that all should hire through IWW hall, but subsequent indifference developed. During 1933-4 at the RCA Camden plant, noonday speeches, leaflets, house-to-house visiting rallied a sizeable membership, but not enough to win the plant. Successes were scored on a smaller scale: Women who knitted at home for Mrs. Franklin's Shops, Inc., raised their rates by a third. In the swank suburbs there were pockets of Negroes who do the laundry, mow the lawns and tend the golf greens. These organized and glowed with pride when organizer James Price refused to meet the links committee in their clubhouse unless the strike committee came along too. To save hall rent, they held their IWW meetings in a church they had recently built and of whose congregation they were the majority. Their first meeting in the church was opened with a few words of prayer by a venerable deacon who thanked the Lord that though He had not blest these men and women with the good things of life, He had given them the good sense to organize and go after them. A drive among the private enterprise garbage crews was stopped by hoodlumism.

The Marine Transport Workers put up some hard fights and lost some good men. In the early thirties it held forth the demand of the 4 watch system, and the restoration of the old Shipping Board manning and wage scale; in the later thirties, as competitive unions split maritime labor asunder, its main concern was mutual respect for all picket lines and solidarity in all strikes. In the Gulf in the early thirties only Lykes Brothers paid the old scale of \$62.50 for AB's (ablebodied seamen) but cut that to \$50 for time in port. Other lines pared rates even slimmer, down to Luckenbach's low of \$33 a month. As of early 1933, the ILA had longshoremen on Atlantic and Gulf coasts and the port of

Tacoma; San Francisco longshoremen had been in an employer-dominated "blue card" association since 1921, but organized an ILA local that year; on the east coast the old Seamen's Union was as good as dead; Great Lakes and Inland waterways were unorganized; on West Coast the Sailors' Union of Pacific retained some life.⁴ On May First 1934 the ILA struck the Gulf ports. Originally to support them so that crews would not furnish steam or assist scabs, the MTW issued leaflets urging crews to back the longshoremen and suggesting they go after demands for themselves. Outcome was packed meetings in IWW halls to demand the old Shipping Board scale. Lykes promptly agreed to end its port pay cut. With the longshoremen back and victorious, the MTW called off its strike May 31 with the intent of calling quickies on the various lines paying less than Lykes. This was a hectic waterfront month: the big west coast strike had started May 9 with the Frisco longshoremen, followed by other unions and the development for a few years of Maritime Federation of the Pacific; the IWW hall in San Francisco was raided during the big strike, and later the City agreed to pay \$100.00 damages. During this time in Baltimore the IWW tied up the West Eldarado, the first time in nine years that an American ship on foreign run had been held up.

Results for IWW on east and west coasts were quite different. On the Atlantic the surprise action of the MTW led the mossgrown ISU to secure contracts from 28 lines on the assurance that it would keep "irresponsible agitators" from shipping. The communists, who had changed their Marine Workers League into a Maritime Workers Industrial Union, attempted a protest strike against these contracts; when it flopped, they switched back to boring from within. On West Coast at first the MTW found cooperation with the SUP fairly easy out of a joint fondness for "quickies" and an aversion to the political maneuvers of the clique around Bridges. This West Coast militancy and sense of solidarity irritated the resurrected ISU, and as it

was nominally the parent organization for the SUP, it revoked this west coast charter at its February 1936 convention. It was perhaps even more irritated because West Coast rates were higher. On March 2, 1936 the ISU crew of the SS California struck in San Pedro to demand West Coast rates; Madame Perkins phoned that the issue would be settled when it got back east; on arrival in New York the crew was fired with the blessings of the ISU. Protest strikes under Curran that followed were the conception of the National Maritime Union. On Sept. 12, 1936 the IWW tied up the SS San Jose in Philadelphia as it was carrying explosives to Franco; the New York ISU sent a crew to board it unwittingly in midstream.

When the SUP contract expired Sept. 30, 1936, union minded seamen on Atlantic and Gulf wanted to grab the opportunity to achieve equality with the west coast and whatever it gained anew, and thus strengthen it. Instead the ISU hired scabs in the Great Lakes area in an attempt to break the West Coast strike, as its own members refused to scab. The ISU was hampering solidarity action wherever it could. One of its fink-herders shot an IWW member John Kane as Kane stopped him from taking off with the Marine Firemen's records, in Houston. MTW and SUP pickets tied up all Pacific vessels as they reached eastern ports; in so doing another IWW seaman Blackie Hyman was shot in Philadelphia. MTW members fought through the east coast strike called off on tankers Dec. 31, and sought to keep cargo and passenger vessels still hot after that, but the fight deteriorated into political conniving in Washington, and the birth of NMU. This development in turn soon brought about a waterfront "cold war" in which Lundeborg of SUP and Curran of NMU each brought their membership to heel with the threat that the other union would steal their jobs: thus Curran got acceptance of unfavorable contracts, and Lundberg, as a trade for ILA support in jurisdictional squabbles, got members to OK return to the "union" in

1938 that had hired scabs to use against them in 1936—it changed its name from Int'l Seamen's Union to Seafarers Int'l Union.

Next imposition on the corraled but disunited seamen was the Copeland Continuous Discharge or Fink Book. The MTW tried to rally the growing list of maritime unions to refuse to accept this. Two MTW members even obtained a court order requiring Philadelphia shipping master not to demand the fink book as a condition for shipment. (One of them Harry Owens, a soapboxer who helped in various campaigns when not at sea, soon after was killed in Spanish Civil War, where he too found politicians exploiting the needs of labor to put themselves in the saddle.) There followed the US Maritime Commission "Fink Hall" to put an end to shipping through union halls; SUP and MTW pickets prevented its use while Curran and the communists tried to make a grab by telling NMU members to ship through it; NMU rank and file was so disgusted that the Muscovites had to pack NMU meetings with furriers to keep control. At the end of the decade the MTW was the same minority arguing for basic unionism as at the beginning, but stronger and sturdier, only now surrounded by workers under contract.

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 almost organized the auto industry of Detroit, flopped, then achieved for the IWW a hitherto unparalleled stability in Cleveland. In Detroit in 1932 the IWW had a small but solid basis of seasoned members with extensive contacts who had moved into a good hall at 3747 Woodward capable of accommodating a thousand, where socials, lectures, dances, plays etc. kept up a good attendance. Through 1932 it engaged in extensive general propaganda, soap-boxing, leaflet passing, recruiting additional members. In January 1933 the local labor temper changed: a series of strikes which the IWW did not call but in which it participated, changed the local picture. First the 600 tool and die makers

at Briggs Vernor plant on January 11; Motor Products on January 20; 6000 production workers at Briggs Manufacturing on January 23, and next day the Vernor plant out in support of these newcomers; Murray Body January 27. These were all strikes against wage cuts. On February 7th men at Hudson Body struck for a pay boost. At the largest of these, the Briggs strike, organizer Frank Cedervall made daily pep talks but without mentioning his IWW connections. Soon various groups sought to get control of the strike, and the IWW opened a branch office near the struck plants and started recruiting members from strikers and from the industry generally. Its prime argument was industrial solidarity, as opposed to William Green's "Tentative Plan" for federal unions which the various crafts would soon dismember.

Through the summer of 1933 the IWW in Detroit passed out an estimated two million pieces of paper specially mimeographed for the situations where they were distributed, beside large quantities of printed general appeals; this kept an organization crew busy at every change of shift; at lunch periods they staged meetings at the plants; in spare time they cranked the mimeograph or made house-to-house visits. In addition there were daily radio programs over WEXL which though aimed at auto workers, brought the start of a railroad workers campaign.

First IWW action of the season was among metal finishers at Briggs Highland Park plant. Wobblies were a minority among them, but they struck on second shift for a 10% pay boost, sitting down to get it. After shift they came to IWW hall and organized for action at 6 a.m., and won the 10% for several departments. With growth of a skeleton membership in every major plant, the IWW moved to a larger hall on Sproat Street, a lavish front for the growing union; in the kitchen back of it, the organizers survived on bread and beans and slept on benches. The drive centered on the Murray

Body plant with the unfortunate result that the dribble of recruits swelled into significant numbers only on the eve of lay-offs due to changeover in body designs. Men who joined the union and were laid off within a week felt it was discrimination, especially as departments were thinned out rather than closed down; since it was these men, and not the non-unionists, who came to the union hall, the same interpretation gained ground there. A meeting of men from all departments decided to send in a committee the next day to ask for rotation of work during changeover. Management insisted there was no discrimination and that rotation was unworkable; the committee asked for acceptance in principle, each department to work it out so that the men available under the plan were those technically competent for the work on hand. Management felt it was going far in receiving a committee without knowing to what extent it represented the men, and would make no commitment beyond the declaration that it intended no discrimination. The committee went to their nearby branch hall and by a ballot, with only one negative vote, decided to pull the plant. It needed only a signal from the street for members inside to blow whistles, shut off power, and bring the whole force to a vacant lot for speeches. The strike started September 27 with enthusiasm, but since there was no urgent need for more men than supervision with a few favorites could provide, the strike was doomed to fritter away and was called off November 12. In retrospect it was later felt that had the committee used the sudden strike at 11 a.m. as a rally to show the men were behind the rotation plan, and sent them back at noon the union could have given some protection to the men, gained prestige in other plants, and even used the laid off men as part time organizers to develop the already started membership in most other plants in the city.

The loss of the Murray strike was the loss of the campaign in Detroit. Early in it the big hall and the radio program were dropped. A block system

to provide pickets and contact with those who didn't show up was an economy measure that foreshadowed the wartime "share-the-ride" system. Through the strike, but on a reduced scale, organizing efforts continued at other plants; and after it house-to-house visiting centered on the Murray recruits; yet all but a few of the newly won members dropped out and new recruits became rare. The IWW in Detroit was left with most of its members the unswerving Finns and Hungarians who had constituted its backbone in 1930. But the new members were activists who planted a seed in the American labor movement: the sit-down. Some of the Murray metal finishers moved to Hudson Body and there in Dept. 3760 they pulled such sitdowns as they had used at Briggs Highland Park but this time with little cards that the IWW mimeographed reading "Sit Down and Watch Your Pay Go Up." The men did as the cards said and their pay did go up, in five successive increases during February and March 1934. (Frank Ellis, IWW, had sparked stay-in at Hormel, Nov. 1933; first Akron sitdown was in June 1934; sitdown wave came in 1937.) Job action with similar techniques (primarily designed to show the IWW was inside the plant rather than outside it) won improvements at Budd Wheel and cleaned up the spray booth even at the lost Murray Body plant.

These slight successes put the union in no shape to seize the opportunities presented by 1934 when through the auto industry there was hope for a general strike and growing suspicion of the AFL and its domineering policy of appointing disliked personnel and its threat of craft division. In the spring 230,000 workers were finding that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and accepted the General Motors representation plan. Self-critical Wobs contemplated what they might have been able to do had they not lost all their eggs in one Murray Body basket. In later years, with some revival of the IWW in the area, they consoled themselves that whatever commendable distinctions Detroit union-

ism showed could be attributed to the unflagging propaganda efforts of 1933-4.

Meanwhile preliminary spadework for an organization campaign had been done in Cleveland with much leaflet passing and noon-day speaking by Jim Corrigan, old anarchist who never let a dogma interfere with his sense of humor. (During the Sacco-Vanzetti protest of 1927 when a scheduled demonstration was forbidden, he had loaded all the banners and signs on a wagon, hitched up the most decrepit nag he could find, and meandered down Euclid Avenue, tying up traffic, explaining in extenso and loudly to all interfering policemen that since the demonstration was forbidden he had to take the signs away to hide them.) The Bermunkas office on Buckeye Road was near a number of small plants and for a while the IWW concentrated on these smaller units, keeping that office continuously open for those who called in response to meetings in front of shops or leaflets. The Cedervalls and other organizers gradually shifted from Detroit and a wide campaign was on again for I.U. 440. A total of twenty plants got organized in the process, most of them medium size, some of them lost soon after organizing, but out of it continuous bargaining through the IWW continued at most of them from 1934 to 1950 when the union still lived on—and does to this day—but felt obliged under Taft-Hartley requirements and IWW refusal to sign affidavits, to disaffiliate.

First in the series (omitting a victory at Ferro Foundry in 1933 that resulted in no permanent union) was the enameling division of Ohio Foundry in April 1934. Next Accurate Parts with a two hour strike on April 28. At Draper Steel Barrel a few enthusiasts for the new union got alarmed at the formation of an inside union, struck and got a promise of no company promotion and recognition of the committee to process grievances of union members. Two small metal container plants, Perfection Metal Container and Permold, followed. On

June 7 collision with the company union at Draper led to a strike that lasted to Sept. 10. During it word came that orders were shifted to a plant at Niles near Youngstown; a caravan of strikers went there, found it organized in AFL and got the men to demand of management that no struck work be accepted. AFL officials in Cleveland were not so union minded and took the company union under their wing. The Regional Labor Board offered a no discrimination settlement; I.U. 440 proposed return to work on promise that Labor Board election would be held and winner would get 100% union shop; the IWW won by a narrow majority of 93-75. Unionism grew solid in the plant, even after it was taken over by Jones & Laughlin, and members there brought in additional plants later.

While the three month strike was in process at Draper, noon-day talks continued at two of the city's larger plants, American Stove, maker of Magic Chef ranges, and National Screw, a major auto industry supplier. June 14 the committee was recognized to act for its members at American Stove. Organization grew at Cleveland Wire Spring. On October 1 a three day strike won recognition at Republic Brass. (All these victories were accompanied by wage increases, considered at the moment more important than recognition.) At Cleveland Wire Spring there was trouble with the company union and a strike was voted October 23 against the best judgment of the organizers. This became the first in a series of concurrent bitter fights that almost wrecked the new union; hired thugs attacked pickets and injunctions restrained the number of pickets; many were arrested for telling scabs what they thought of them; fights developed near the homes of scabs, and the strike dragged on through the winter. Before it was over the IWW was involved in two larger strikes, that of the charwomen at a group of the largest downtown buildings, including Terminal Tower, and at National Screw.

The charwomen's strike required a picket line long enough to circle the several blocks the buildings occupied, and members off shift helped fill it out. Their banners asked if \$2.50 was too much to ask for scrubbing floors at night. Public sympathy was with them, and the antics of Captain Savage of the police force led all papers to deride his frequent arrest of the charwomen. The manager was a Regional Labor Board member, and one picket sign read:

"Snead is on the NRA.

He hauls scabs here everyday."

Mysterious cars intimidated the women by following them home; the Cedervall brothers were waylaid New Years Eve as they left the hall where they stacked the picket signs, and badly beaten. The AFL attempted to make a settlement without asking strikers or union. About the same time papers carried a scare headline about dynamite being found in the ventilating system of the Terminal Tower, the first of a series eventually depicting the IWW as terrorists. The strike dragged on through the winter.

On February 8, 1935 the men at the most recently and only partially organized plant, National Screw, struck also, though the charwomen's strike and that at Cleveland Wire Spring was more than the union could handle. It had been encouraging in January to add more small brass shops to the union list, Cochran and Holland Trolley, recognition at Dill Manufacturing, maker of most of the nation's tire valves, and recognition at National Screw with the promise of a 10% boost for its 1350 employees. Later National Screw claimed it had made no such promise and the men struck. When they had been out a few days and collected their pay, it contained a five cent boost. It was suggested to strike committee that they consider accepting this as a temporary settlement, go back with their more than doubled membership, and look for more later; but

the committee felt it should hold out for the whole dime. Former bootleg gangsters now that prohibition was over were on hand to beat pickets and break picket lines; the strike grew weaker with increasing violence. Stench bombs were thrown in the IWW office; one that didn't break there was returned through the head gangster's window the same way, and the gangsters were out to get the IWW. The hall was now protected, and organizers at night moved with others a distance behind them; but papers began carrying stories of bomb outrages at loyal workers' homes. Mystified IWW officers checked and found repeatedly that those living at these addresses were not involved in any dispute. A member arrested for a picket line altercation got thrown in with a character who evidently believed the papers and started discussing rates for various window breakings and bombings, and indicating that plate glass suppliers, some building trades officials and those interested in what brand beer certain taverns served, all had a pool for such services. Anyway there was extensive vandalism and the IWW got the blame. Police raided the home of Mike Lindway, master mechanic at National Screw, and an enthusiastic unionist, without a search warrant or witnesses, and claimed to discover an arsenal there. Lindway was convicted. To sustain the conviction the Ohio Supreme Court had to overrule both the Appellate Court and its own previous decisions, to deny that federal search and seizure provisions applied to Ohio. Frank Cedervall was arrested on the charge of threatening the secretary of the company union. The prosecution had a large number of witnesses to the alleged threat. Attorney Wolfe moved that they be separated. Thus they could not hear the cross examination of their predecessors. One after the other repeated their story letter perfect in a singsong but all disagreed on cross examination about the weather, whether they were standing and the defendant sitting, or vice versa and all other relevant circumstances. Soon the jury was smiling and tapping a rhythm to their sing song,

and acquitted the organizer. Over 200 were arrested during the strike, with many jury trials, but the only convictions were Lindway and Bart Dudek, who had escorted his fiancée through the thugs with a revolver in his car.

But legal victories did not win strikes. All three had to be called off, the AFL accepting the Cleveland Wire Spring. The blow would have knocked out the IWW as the Murray strike did in Detroit, had it not been for solid organization in various other shops. Within a year it was as effective as before, winning new shops and new gains in old ones. But meanwhile the IWW spotlight shifted to the woods of Idaho and elsewhere.

The Lumber Workers had been hit hardest of all industrial unions by the 1924 split. It recovered slowly to a peak in 1936 and declined again. It helped in the unorganized Grays Harbor strike of 1932 and acquired a few members afterwards there, but when the AFL Timberworkers campaigned and struck in 1935, it could play only second fiddle in the long log region of its greatest historic triumphs. It staged a serious campaign in the short log country east of the hump. Organizers went through camp after camp in the white pine country, getting meetings going after supper before the office force could prevent it, talking union and distributing a straw ballot to determine what demands the men favored and whether they wanted IWW to represent them. During the traditional July 4 shutdown meetings were held in all central towns, and by September 70 delegates or voluntary organizers on the job, were recruiting a sizeable membership in Idaho. The 120 "covered wagon," actually a truck used by part of the organization crew carried a mimeograph to issue bulletins, and headed through Oregon to Klamath Falls, then, after the AFL strike, up the coast to the Seattle District, where it found many wishing it had been the IWW in the woods instead of this non-benefit wing of the Carpenters.

In March 1936 near Pierce, Idaho, where the flume system is used to get the logs down, the movie "Come and Get It" was being shot, and the Wobs used the occasion to raise the pay a dollar a day. A strike at Elk River raised the rate for the drive to \$5 and another in May wound it up with \$6.00. On June 29, when logging was in full swing, a complete walkout cleared the Weyerhaeuser and other camps. Along the St. Maries small employers settled promptly, but the big fight continued. Early in August as a truckload of 15 unarmed pickets went near Fromelt camp, plug-uglies opened fire, wounding several so badly they were crippled for the rest of their lives, and three died within two years. (Later the 10 thugs were tried and fined at the rate of \$500 each.) Martial law was declared August 3. The situation became quiet; the Guard at one side of the road near each camp, the seven permitted pickets at the other, listening to the sounds of saws and hammers improving camp facilities. The strike was called off without seeking recognition, but a 10% boost was obtained. In a few years it was CIO territory, with an IWW organizing crew carrying on from camp to camp just the same as in 1932.

In Michigan the IWW had built almost complete organization in several camps. When the AFL struck the area, demanding union shop, the IWW's all struck too, with no effort to protect their hold on their own camps. NLRB action to do this was suggested, but they didn't want to mess around with politicians. There and in the west despite hard organization and fighting and propaganda, even using Tacoma station KNO, the Lumber Workers ended the decade as they had entered it.

Two railroad campaigns occurred in the thirties. In Detroit those involved were train crews. They were content to build slowly while maintaining their old unions, but quit their active grievance work in the Brotherhoods. Thus when they were accused of the inevitable infraction of the multitude of rules, the grievance machinery was in the hands of those

who would be glad to see them fired. They retained their jobs by legal pressure, but the campaign was strangled. During 1937 to 1939 a campaign among the hundred extra gangs surfacing approximately 2000 miles of track on the Northern Pacific and Milwaukee roads was attempted. Conditions were improved, but wages would have taken system strikes, and adequate strength for this was never achieved at any one time.

Among WPA workers in the late thirties I.U. 310 built many branches. The strongest was in Oakland where the branch was recognized for processing all grievances in Contra Costa and Alameda Counties. In Missoula a 310 branch was built, and toward Christmas of 1937 the women on a WPA sewing project staged a sympathetic sitdown. Students leaving Work Peoples College in 1937 started several branches in Minnesota. In April 1938 the WPA workers around Watsonville, Calif., organized, won free transportation which was the current irritant, and the branch soon had a fruit pickers strike to handle. The 150 Filipino workers involved first asked CIO then AFL to do it for them, but both wanted cash on the line, so the IWW arranged their picketing and relief, won their strike, but retained no members from it, though the Watsonville branch was active to late in the forties. In Detroit in 1938 where IWW was campaigning on Great Lakes and organizing restaurant workers, a WPA branch won recognition of a committee to represent all workers though elected in IWW hall, also the right to make up for time lost due to weather or sickness. At Bloomfield, N.J. a 310 WPA local won pay for hours the men were required on job but not assigned to work. At Olympia Washington they won a dispute so they could build a fire to keep warm.

In the later thirties the revived I.U. 440 in Cleveland won new plants as American Brass, Superior Carbon, Globe Steel Barrel and Independent Register. It was anxious to get a number of the drum plants organized as its best chance to apply indus-

trial rather than shop structure unionism; for organizers were already noticing that the shop-wide union, like the company union, led to the use of "we" to mean management and men, when even a craft union used it to mean those engaged in the same work. American Stove gave it two major issues: the need to organize in Lorain where one division had been moved during the National Screw strike, and the first occasion for a signed contract. This latter need grew from the fact that the company union which 440 had been steadily battling, joined the CIO, and sought recognition. Though the IWW constitution still forbade time agreements, the Cleveland union signed one, containing the provision that no struck work would be accepted. This stirred up hostilities between jobbies and radicals throughout the IWW; in 1938 the constitution was amended to permit the practice.

In the Lorain campaign the company signed with CIO over IWW protests; I.U. 440 struck to enforce an election; it was a draw; the run-off was moved up and the CIO squeaked through. During the campaign the Wobs got members at Steel Stamping in Lorain. The company lawyer, a son-in-law of William Green, induced the AFL, over the protests of members of the Trades Council, to sign a contract even though AFL had no members in the plant. IWW demanded NLRB election and won two to one. But hard battles in an unfriendly town eventually lost the plant.

As Europe went to war and the New Deal went in for peace time military training, the IWW was among the first to negotiate accumulation of seniority during this enforced service. In November 1940 an 11 day strike at American Stove ended with the trading of a demand for closed shop, for the settlement of an accumulation of grievances. This was what the bargaining committee wanted, for they saw a closed shop (unless accompanied by hiring through the union) ends up in the company personnel office eventually selecting the membership

for the union. Instead they preferred a sieve system through which those who didn't care for the union got dropped by not fighting for them when they got into trouble.

This record is one of industrial action; but the chief efforts of the IWW was largely propagandist. Even much of its job conditioning was done through minorities on jobs where other unions had a check-off. The prime IWW concern was the large problem of a misemployed society drifting toward totalitarianism and war. It noted how government intervention was centralizing union functions in Washington, and unions becoming dependent on government props. It held up the ideal of job democracy, invulnerable to any such arrests as those with which Hitler had cracked the highly centralized German labor movement. Internationally it felt drawn toward the anarchist International Workingmen's Association. In 1934 a referendum carried to affiliate with it, then it was pointed out that this would commit the IWW to declaring for its members their religious and political attitudes which it had always left to the individual, and a new referendum reversed the decision, so the IWW did not affiliate. During the Spanish Civil War it had an assessment for the support of the CNT, and friendly relations with IWMA persist.

In Canada the IWW through the thirties had a similar history on a smaller scale. Because of customs difficulties, a separate Canadian Administration was established in 1931. Extensive unemployed agitation in the early years led to the imprisonment of organizer George McAdams and others at Sioux Lookout. In the later thirties organization work was undertaken in Newfoundland and the Maritime provinces. Dairy Workers at Ritchies Dairy in Toronto won a boost and a union work stabilization plan. A Fishermen's local was established at McDiarmid, Ontario in June 1939 and the 1939 Canadian Convention got considerable newspaper publicity with pictures of the eastern delegation de-

training from boxcars. The Chilean Administration of the IWW, long repressed, came to life again in the mid-thirties. The world over serious labor journals discussed the IWW as a solution to problems otherwise insoluble.

Looking back in 1940 at the commemoration of its first 35 years, the Industrial Worker observed: "Today we see government agencies certifying the IWW as the collective bargaining agency for those workers logical enough to demand it. In post-war years we saw the same government sending hundreds of our members to jail for insisting upon the IWW as their bargaining agency. The IWW has proven itself able to carry on equally well in either circumstance."

Most material for this chapter from IWW press of the time and personal knowledge of events. Following notes are for further information rather than documentation.

1. Pamphlet: "The Shame that is Kentucky's"; also extensive reports in *New York Times* and other periodicals; also in Perlman & Taft, or Gambs' book previously cited. IWW among Colorado coal miners elected pit committees and checkweighman into January 1933.

2. New York situation described, without IWW angle, in Lens' "Right, Left and Center."

3. For more on Rossoni see "Black International" series in *Industrial Worker*, March 4, 1950. Another IWW turned fascist was Harold Lloyd Varney. Fascism has been described as a synthesis of syndicalism and nationalism.

4. Best account of maritime affairs through thirties is Taft in *Political Science Quarterly* for June 1939. Accounts also in Madison's "American Labor Leaders" (Harpers, 1950), Yellen's "Labor Struggles" and similar books.

XIII. World War and Cold War (1941-'55)

During World War II the IWW carried on its organization activities undisturbed, and expanded its policy of gaining bargaining rights by winning NLRB elections in the maritime and metal mining industries. Peace was followed by a period of manufactured hysteria—parallel to the reaction to the great French Revolution of 1789. In this period the IWW late in 1949, largely as the victim of the cold war, the subversive list and Taft-Hartley Act, lost much of its membership, and wound up a period of expanding influence. It observed its fiftieth anniversary unable to engage in collective bargaining anywhere. It persists because its members have no doubts that the working class needs the sort of organization it has been striving these many years to build, today more urgently than ever.

The story of U. S. Vanadium's operations at Bishop, California, typifies the period. During the summer of 1941 job delegates for Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union 210 of the IWW by old-fashioned recruiting, organized this camp high in the mountains solidily, and directly negotiated a 13% pay boost. In December a meeting in Bishop pondered what to do if someone wouldn't join. As reported in *Industrial Worker* of Dec. 6, "After some discussion it was decided that anyone refusing to line up will be told to state his reasons in a speech before the membership, now a body of 300 workers. The membership will then weigh the reasons given and decide the status of such new worker. The members are anxiously waiting to hear the speech of Objector No. 1." This union security program worked well.

Soon the union had a discriminatory discharge case to handle. Clarence Dahl, of its Organization Committee, working at the Bishop mine took a trip to Darwin, 125 miles away, where the same union

was involved in a strike at a mine. Returning over mountain roads in winter, he was late for his shift and was fired. Management refused to discuss his reinstatement. The next evening at the mess hall top management for this U.S. Steel subsidiary announced a wage increase but warned that any strike would be dealt with by law and order. The union took the case to NLRB and Dahl was reinstated with back pay, in January. Next month a hearing was held to arrange for an NLRB election. So far I.U. 210 was the only union concerned. It had been concerned only with the mine, but now that the question of bargaining unit shaped up, it decided March 12 the mill should be in same unit. This led AFL Operating Engineers to hold a meeting at the Legion Hall and seek members, but got none. Immediately the company's eastern legal staff filed a brief with NLRB asking for dismissal of the election on the grounds that the IWW was not a union within the meaning of the Act. In May the NLRB held further hearings on the company contention and the desire of AFL to carve out a unit of 75 men. A new election was scheduled and postponed on request of the company. Meanwhile the IWW organized workers in local taverns and restaurants and soon Foodstuff Workers I.U. 640 and I.U. 210 opened a joint hall. On August 7 the local Inyo Register carried a story, "Angry citizens voice protest against IWW with talk of vigilante action." The two unions issued a leaflet explaining their aims to the community, and nothing adverse occurred. In the election the IWW won 231 votes to 55 in Group A, the mine, and 35 IWW to 41 Operating Engineers, with 6 no union votes in Group B. In the run-off the AFL won Group B.

The wartime wage and manpower freeze transferred much collective bargaining away from the job. I.U. 210 demanded an increase and argued that to require men to stay permanently at this high altitude warranted pay above what the War Labor Board permitted. The argument dragged on and in October 1943 the local accepted a 50 cent compromise to

clear the way for new demands, for the "gumpets," as the the Industrial Worker called the growing host of government functionaries, would not process new demands until the old case could be marked settled, tied up in red tape and stored away. The same request was made by UMWA for a similarly situated mine of the same company at Rifle, Colorado, but appears to have been settled for a checkoff instead.¹

In 1944 the company wanted a tunnel and contracted the work to Morrison Knudsen. The contractor hired 37 local men of whom 30 had IWW cards, then contended that under his area-wide agreement with AFL they must all take out AFL cards. IWW insisted to NLRB that 7-a gave these men the right to choose their union and did not permit the contractor to choose their union in advance for them—but the NLRB didn't see it that way. I.U. 210 decided to sign a contract covering the mine, the first contract outside of those made by Metal & Machinery Workers. Soon operations died down and toward the close of the contract no union crew was on the spot to administer it with effectiveness. Work opened up and Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers won an election. Later in June 1952 the UMWA won over Mine-Mill by getting workers to vote "No Union," since UMWA had not signed the non-communist affidavits that had been signed by Mine-Mill, commonly considered "communist dominated."

Marine Transport Workers I.U. 510 carried on with increased effectiveness. Its activities in the Gulf centered from desirable facilities in a new building in Houston technically owned by a seamen's club, because the IWW ever since its printing plant fiasco in the twenties had avoided real estate. It held on to its straight principles during the ideological and jurisdictional fights of the maritime unions, and during the about faces of the "gumpet's" from drinking vodka with the Muscovites to wanting to bomb them. During the Finno-Russian war, the MTW backed the SUP proposal of an em-

bargo on material for Russia, but refused to join it in whooping it up for war. War and post war experiences made many seamen favorable toward IWW views: tanker crews knew of oil transhipped to Germany by way of Franco at the Canary Islands; all whose work took them to the waterfront knew that top brass blaming the disaster of the Battle of the Bulge on union action in American plants, were frauds for they knew that the docks were always fully loaded with materiel; others saw food dumped in the Pireaus while Greeks were starving within sight of it, so as to save free enterprise in its distribution; others saw the same in Shanghai and the black market in operation; still others brought home troops from Italy and Germany who had seen fascist cliques restored to power in town after town, and the insurgent administrations ousted. IWW views on world affairs no longer shocked such men.

In 1941 a new attempt was made to deport Bridges. A new law provided for deportation for previous membership in organizations seeking to overthrow the government or alter it by unconstitutional means. In his 1939 case Bridges had recalled a short membership in the MTW about 1920. The Department of Justice now contended that his membership in the IWW was membership in an organization that sought by strikes and economic and industrial pressures to alter the form of government to One Big Union. The IWW provided witnesses for Bridges defense and its attorney filed a brief as "friend of the court." Judge Sears eventually issued his decision that Bridges was deportable, but made it plain that this was not on account of his past IWW membership, for his examination of the record and literature of the organization showed that the IWW was not such an organization as the Department of Justice contended. The case went up through the courts and eventually in 1945 the United States Supreme Court decided that Bridges was not deportable, incidentally thereby affirming the view that the IWW was not engaged in the alleged activ-

ities. The previous Supreme Court decision in the Fiske case, finding the purposes of the IWW lawful, had been based on the preamble only; this decision was based on all that the prosecution could gather to give the IWW a bad name.²

The increasing activity of IWW on waterfronts and elsewhere toward close of war led the observant *Business Week* to note in a feature on IWW in its issue of January 6, 1945: "The IWW shows signs of life. In the metal shops of Cleveland, the vanadium mines of California, the copper diggings of Butte, on the waterfront of San Diego, New Orleans and New York, the dead past is stirring and men are carrying red cards."³

With war over, the quarrels between right and left waterfront unions were intensified in reflection of the growing cold war. Through the big maritime strikes of 1946, embittered with jurisdictional disputes, MTW secured observance of its slogan "Respect All Picket Lines." When the 510 conference met in Houston on Sept. 16 it received telegraphic and other greetings from unions on all sides thanking the IWW for its willing cooperation in a strike that won \$27.50 per month on all coasts.⁴

In 1946 the IWW had chartered a British Administration which was also active along its waterfront, and during the 1947 "outlaw" British seamen's strike, it backed the rebels. Here the MTW circulated the information the British Administration provided about this fight against an Establishment Scheme that benefited a few but left most worse off. In 1948 when the SUP sent its members through Bridges' picket lines, solidarity in the maritime industry deteriorated. In 1949 any MTW enthusiasm for the SUP cooled further when the SUPSIU flew scabs to break the strike of the Canadian seamen on the grounds that their union was communist-dominated. The IWW did not dispute this allegation, but held both here and in Britain that scabbery was no way to undermine communist influence. Even the staid Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

took the same stand and informed the SIU that though it had expelled the Canadian Seamen, it could not invite the SIU to affiliate on account of its policy of "replacements" i.e. scabs, in this strike. The MTW did endorse the repeatedly proposed boycott of Panamanian vessels, actually American vessels flying the Panama flag to escape American unions, wages, manning scales and safety inspection. These repeated attempts were always fouled by union contracts and Taft-Hartley.

The MTW'S own organizing activities were confined to the towing industry through the extensive inland channels on Gulf Coast, first in 1946 among crews working for the Galveston & Houston Towing Co. In 1947 it won an NLRB election on the Gulf Barge and Towing, with MTW getting all the votes, and in November on the Pasadena and Lynchberg ferries. It incidentally did a service to the "ancient mariners" of Snug Harbor, a foundation kept up by income from an old farm now in the center of New York's highest priced real estate. Late in 1948 the aged seamen there had been required to turn over to the institution all assets and claims so that they had no spending money. An account of this petty meanness in *Industrial Worker* Jan. 22, 1949, and later examination of the terms on which the foundation rested, resulted in rescinding these impositions.⁵

Several of the smaller shops organized by Metal & Machinery Workers I.U. 440 in Cleveland went out of business during the war and others were lost to the union through sudden changes of plant personnel. It acquired one "war-baby," Federal Aircraft where the contract had the unusual provision that no worker could be fired without the approval of the shop committee. The American Stove plant was largely converted to aircraft production, and the union changed from a departmental to a plant wide seniority system. It wanted rates as high as paid in aircraft plants elsewhere, but War Labor Board insisted that area rates applied. A slowdown

developed, followed by a walkout in May 1943. The War Labor Board, finding a union that boasted it had given no "no strike pledge," considered the union viewpoint and allowed readjustments retroactive to Jan. 18. The expanding work brought many new people into the plant, usually from CIO plants. Most found the IWW a welcome difference, but a few wondered if it was patriotic. All new members were given the regular IWW dues book, with the Preamble up front, and some of these new workers questioned the propriety of its language. A pressure developed in the Cleveland branch to change the preamble or even sever IWW connections. Explanations of the meaning of the preamble and improved personal relations between the general organization and the branch soon led the branch to hearty participation in IWW affairs.

The members in these shops relished job action tactics. As American Stove expanded its work force, more timeclocks were needed, but the company said it was difficult to obtain them in wartime. One night all went home without punching. The additional clocks needed were installed the next day. A canteen service supplied coffee, sandwiches etc., and workers could get a pickup there whenever they wanted one. Management figured this led to a waste of time and ruled that this service would be available only during the 10 minute rest period. Committee induced them to try it out first in one department. When the experiment was made all maintenance, repair and other crews who had an excuse for coming there were on hand, and those who ordinarily brought a lunch and thermos bottle left them home that day. The committee and management had an appointment to examine the safety conditions in another department that morning, but the committee led the way through the new experiment just at rest period. Management saw a line at the canteen, went on to investigate the safety complaint, returned and the line was still there. It quit its attempt to confine coffee-and to the rest period. Such methods proved effective for many grievances

and were thoroughly enjoyed. Freedom to engage in such methods was one of their strong ties to the IWW.

In a nearby plant of American Steel & Wire, the United Steel Workers had their customary multiple step grievance procedure. Under it grievances were regularly shoved up one step until they finally accumulated at the end where they were to be settled far away by legal minds who knew nothing of the conditions that produced the grievance. Local 1519 USW stopped work to demand a settlement of these grievances. The United Steelworkers removed the elected officials of the local and appointed in their place men who had been snowed under in the preceding election as the workers look on them as "company men." The International representatives also told the custodian of the hall not to let the rebels use it. Men in the plant asked I.U. 440 for advice. The IWW rented the hall for the rebels to use and told the men that this combination of check-off and rule by those they had defeated in an election was the same issue of taxation without representation as led to the American revolution. It was pointed out that the law in 7-a definitely assured them to the right of representatives of their own choosing; but that the Board had taken this to mean that they had chosen the Steelworkers as an international along with any such impositions it might order. I.U. 440 recommended that they raise this issue to NLRB, pointing out that the basic provision of 7-a outweighed any procedure the NLRB had set up under other sections. The IWW local prepared such an argument on their behalf, avoiding making it an inter-union dispute. No answer was given but the locally elected officials were restored to office. Very soon after, however, the leading militants were given new draft status and had to leave the plant for the armed forces.⁶

The IWW shop committees had found it desirable to take charge of the "share-the-ride" system for the transport of the expanded working forces. The

streetcar system of Cleveland was municipally owned. The streetcar workers wanted a boost and were confident from a comparison with rates in other cities that if the City would submit the issue to arbitration, this comparison would get them a boost. But the City held that it was beneath its dignity to submit its labor relations to arbitration. Thus the streetcar men threatened to strike in May 1944. This created an embarrassment for the IWW shop committees, for to handle the "share-the-ride" might impair the effectiveness of the strike. I.U. 440 wrote a letter to the streetcar union expressing this reason for its concern, supporting the men's bid for arbitration, and suggesting that they put the responsibility for any break of streetcar service squarely where it belonged by offering to work during the dispute but collect no fares. A copy of the letter was given to the newspapers and Cleveland Press frontpaged it in an early noon edition. At barns and elsewhere streetcar workers discussed the idea and supported it, even with telegrams. That afternoon the City Council decided that after all it could submit to arbitration. It did and the men got their boost. (After the war this same tactic was developed in Japan.)

It was an era of endless regulations, interpretations thereof, executive orders and a growing body of case decisions that had to be digested by unionists if they were to administer contracts effectively in their members' best interests. Most unions had legal staffs for this, and a lawyers' view percolated to top officers who advised field representatives how to explain to shop committees what little they could do under this heap of regulations. The IWW could afford no legal staff, so it studied these papers with a workman's eyes to figure how either to use them or get around them. Summaries were given to shop committees and as these men met with committees in CIO and AFL plants quite often, more copies were wanted. Thus a "Labor Newsletter" was issued monthly by the Cleveland Branch, digesting new angles in labor law, and giv-

ing tips what could be done about it. It got about a two thousand circulation chiefly among shop committee members of different unions around the country, and tended to make them much less dependent upon their International and its representatives for advice. It was an IWW bid to build more organized self-reliance at shop level, rather than to recruit members.

The IWW was much concerned with the developing pattern of unionism and alarmed at its tolerance of government trespass and its solicitation of such intervention. During the manpower freeze the Industrial Worker ridiculed the Statements of Availability required for a change of jobs as "Certificates of Manumission." (In non-IWW shops they were frequently obtained by wearing a large IWW button to work.) When Sewell Avery was carried out of Montgomery Ward offices, the Industrial Worker did not join in the general glee of the labor press, but pointed out that it was part of the drift to give unions the status of public institutions, and thus deprive them of their rights as voluntary associations. The fate of the Roman guilds under like circumstances was pointed out. The growth of fringe benefits under the wage freeze was noted also as a means of tying workers to one employer, generating a new industrial serfdom with virtual adscription to the job, as our ancestors had been adscripted to the soil. (For this reason it approved any such effort as that of UAW in Toledo to pool pension funds on an area basis.) The IWW was probably the only union to welcome the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Elgin Joliet and Eastern Railway case. Employees whose claims for premium pay had been sacrificed by the Brotherhoods in a general settlement of many grievances had gone to court as individuals and won their case; the company defense was that it had settled these claims with the Brotherhoods. The top court decision was that the Brotherhoods were free to contract for more than the worker could claim, but not for less than he could

claim as a contractual right from his employer. The IWW thought this a good one-way valve protection against the frequent complaints of "being sold down the river," but CIO and AFL sought a re-hearing on the ground that this upset all their bargaining functions; the decision was re-affirmed but with the additional dodge added that if application for membership forms contained an agreement to accept the settlements the International made, the workers signing these applications could not avail themselves of this decision. The IWW urged its members in other unions to resist the adoption of this dodge. When the Supreme Court ruled that the UMWA must not even by beck or nod approve a strike, the IWW press said this decision offered up the workingclass to the employing class on the terms of a forced sale, and observed that this, like all anti-labor decisions, was premised on the extensive "rights" given to unions, confirming Gompers' dictum that when the government gives, it can take away, and take away even more than it has given.

Though the 1946 General Convention was expected to provide a collision over contract policy, it turned out quite amicably. It was settled there that "No agreement made by any part of the IWW shall provide for a check-off of union dues by the employer, or obligate the members of the union to do work that would aid in breaking any strike." The opposition to the check-off was stated in another resolution: "It transfers to management an important function of the union. It takes from the hands of the dues payers their control over their own organization. It tends to make union officials more concerned with the good will of the company than with the good will of the members." On the developing cold war it took this position: "That we look upon the Communist Party and its fledglings as a major menace to the working class, and that the interests of world peace can best be served by labor movements that clearly represent the interests

of labor and not the interests of any political state; and that we consider that the foolishness of the communists can best be exposed by assuring them complete civil liberty."

Though the Cleveland branch was the largest local organization of the IWW it was not so important as a financial prop as it was as evidence that the IWW ideals of on-the-job militancy and industrial solidarity could actually work. In this way it contributed appreciably to the growing influence of the IWW in early post-war years. With a stoppage that the IWW insisted was a lockout at the Jones & Laughlin barrel plant in 1946 and negotiations in other plants during these reconversion days, it kept rates at least "ahead of the neighbors." It encouraged the formation of inter-union bodies, such as stove worker councils, and copper and brass councils, and participated in them actively. In 1946 it organized the Schrimmer-Dornbierer pump company; was sued under the War Labor Disputes Act for striking, but won a 45 cents boost and dismissal of the suit. In February 1950 it organized the Coleman-Peterson wire plant, but in November of that year the entire branch withdrew from the IWW over the Taft-Hartley affidavit issue.

This loss of its largest local organization is best understood from a consideration of IWW propaganda through this period and the reaction to it in various quarters. The IWW felt that the labor movement was veering in a disastrous direction, growing into a big business of labor brokerage, suppressing the organized self-reliance that is the yeast of unionism, and becoming increasingly a pawn of government in both internal and world relations. The Industrial Worker during this time pointed to many evidences of the inadequacy of this large labor movement: Since a strike is most readily won when supplies of material and orders for finished products are both large, strikes got in each other's road for lack of coordination; for example creating a steel shortage reduces incentive to

settle with auto workers. It was plain top management maneuvered the timing of bargaining to set a pattern for all with the union in the weakest bargaining position—often weakened by attacks from other unions in labor's reflection of the cold war. If there were to be patterns for all, there should either be a union for all, or means of joint strategy judiciously selecting the order in which different industries went to battle, and supporting those so engaged. It was an era of shortages, and full employment, and thus if more green paper was given to workers, but no workers switched over to producing the extra goods that workers wanted to buy with their increases, the effect was simply to offer more green paper for the same quantity of goods. The IWW pointed out that a wage demand if stated in physical terms is a demand that either unemployed workers be hired to produce these extra goods, or that employed workers be allocated to their production. It urged therefore that a co-ordinated labor movement, maintaining full employment, would find it necessary to bargain for increases in these terms demanding a voice in the allocation of resources and the decision what is to be produced. These IWW arguments were frequently reflected in other labor papers, for example as "economic union" versus "organic union" by the AFL Butcher Workman.⁷

This painful lack of co-ordination was plainest in the acceptance of the Taft-Hartley Act which all unions denounced. The IWW objected to the act chiefly on the grounds that it initiated a system of unionism by permit, such that the terms of permit could be made into terms that guaranteed harmless and useless unions (as recent developments in South Africa could prove); that it is up to unions to keep free from political domination, not a job for the politicians themselves; that the ban on sympathetic strikes and secondary boycotts, constituted an order to scab. Otherwise the act provided much amusement for the IWW, particularly the prospects,

when an employer did not want to deal with the union, of arranging for each individual worker to insist upon processing the collective grievance on company time, though it might take days and weeks to do so. The IWW held that all that was necessary to defeat Taft-Hartley was for no union to sign its affidavits or seek NLRB service under its terms. This was the general sentiment of the labor movement, but first the Machinists then one union after another, each claiming it needed NLRB service because some union threatening to raid it, signed up, until only the UMWA, the ITU and the IWW were outside the Taft-Hartley pale.

The IWW felt that this acceptance of Taft-Hartley was due to the decreasing democracy of the unions, and that the officers accepting it were not as actually opposed to it as they purported to be. For remedy the IWW sought to stimulate on local levels both inter-union solidarity and the demand for democracy.

A comparison of newspaper situations in Chicago and Seattle illustrates what can be done by insistence on inter-union solidarity. In Chicago when the ITU struck the newspapers, they published regularly for many months of strike from photoengravings of copy set up in Varitype. Newspaper trucks carried banners screaming: "21 Loyal AFL Unions Bring You Today's Paper." In Seattle a Labor Defense Council of active unionists, including many with IWW cards, told newspaper publishers when they made similar plans that Seattle labor would not sink to the Chicago level and the papers would be faced with the same picket lines of lumberjacks and longshoremen and other workers as won the Guild strike in the 30's. The publishers backed down. Later in 1950 in New York where there was some IWW influence among the trades involved, interunion solidarity had a similar effect. The IWW "two-card" members have been able to avert many obnoxious jurisdictional disputes and to secure local union cooperation.

The Industrial Worker devoted considerable space to supporting the contentions of local unions against the usurpations of their Internationals, as the San Francisco Machinists, the St. Louis Distribution Workers and the Roofers of Baltimore, but particularly Local 104 of the Boilermakers in Seattle, where a technical side-issue, the local paper, seemed to be an actual major concern. The issue was over whether the local could set its own salaries, technically, but actually the entire issue of union democracy was involved. Eventually the courts gave decisions substantially the same as the IWW contentions. The Local was happy but the AFL was so alarmed that it had its general counsel Joseph Padway seek a reconsideration of the case as impairing the capacities of the Internationals.

It was at this time that Tom Clark put the IWW on the "subversive list" as the newspapers customarily call the entire long list of organizations compiled originally as a guide to suitability for federal employment. The long list is divided into groups which Clark described as being "mutually exclusive" and only one of these is headed "subversive." The IWW was not placed under this heading but in the category of organizations seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means. The IWW at once protested this classification both on the grounds that it was contrary to fact and that it was reached without the due process of enabling the IWW to confront its accusers or present argument or evidence. It has been pointed out that this listing conflicts with judicial determinations of the IWW aims and character, both in the Fiske and Bridges cases already mentioned. The Department has repeatedly been asked, what are the grounds, what form of government is the IWW alleged to prefer, and why refuse to tell it what the government believes it does or aims to do that is unlawful; but the answer is regularly that 'Executive Order 9835 contains no authority for a hearing or a disclosing of the bases upon which a designation is

made." This irresponsible attitude has increasingly alarmed many conservatives and even awakened some "gliberals" to the constitutional dangers involved. The IWW is in the dark as to why it is listed. It notes that to list it the Department must either overrule court decisions as to its character as late as 1945, or base its case on some novel policy instituted between 1945 and May 1949 when it was listed; and it can detect no such novel policy. Opinion in IWW circles runs that if it had been listed simply on the basis of newspaper bogymen's repute, it would have been listed at the beginning of this practice; thus the time of the listing leads to the suspicion that it was listed as a favor to some labor skate on whose toes the IWW had stepped in its efforts for greater union democracy. As a result the IWW has the distinction of being the only union which must pay an income tax and whose members cannot occupy federal housing projects. This, it contends, is penalizing it and its members without due process, but it has found no way to make the government obey the law.*

A New York law relating to public schools provided a sort of hearing before the Board of Regents of New York University in July 1949. When the IWW was notified to present its case, it requested the Regents to try to have Tom Clark there to defend his listing, or at least to tell them on what grounds he had listed the IWW, so that it would have something more or less specific to answer. According to the Ithaca Journal of July 8, 1949, Clark told the Regents that of the seven or more score organizations he had listed, there were five that he "was sure were subversive." Tom Clark did not appear to defend himself. The IWW pointed out that his statement about being sure of only five after listing over 150 indicated a gross carelessness with the reputation of others and would make him an incredible witness if he appeared. (The statement was also in contradiction of Clark's own statement about the six categories being "mutually exclusive.")

*These results and list itself dissolved by 1976.

The IWW went ahead with its class-struggle program. In Cleveland it succeeded in winning two new shops. When the city observed its Sesquicentennial, the unions and management of many plants staged a big labor-management celebration in the Municipal Auditorium. The IWW was approached and agreed to participate, if it was free to put up its own display. The result was that it had the only booth with a union rather than a brotherly-love motif. Typical IWW slogans decorated the booth; it distributed its newly revised One Big Union pamphlet and a special issue of the Industrial Worker telling the history of the working class of Cleveland. (This seems to be the first instance of the labor history of a city.) In the railroad industry, somewhat neglected by the IWW since its Detroit campaigns in the mid-thirties and the extra gang efforts somewhat later, the IWW made renewed efforts in 1944, issuing a monthly Railroad Worker, widely distributed through railroad yards across the country, and again in 1948 to 1950 concentrating on Southern Pacific and Western Pacific crews with activities centered in Oakland. For this campaign it issued several leaflets, a railroad workers' pamphlet, and the Industrial Worker ran a series of articles from July 3, 1948 to November 6, giving the most complete account of the history of railroad labor so far available.

The 1950 General Convention was stormy. Indignation at Clark's listing expressed itself in a resolution that the organization should refuse to pay any income tax so as to force a court review of Clark's irresponsible action. The Cleveland members wanted the issue of signing Taft-Hartley affidavits put to referendum. They had some support from other delegates who aimed at job control unionism, but most of the delegates were opposed to signing. The NLRB had ruled that since the IWW was One Big Union, its Industrial Unions could not sign effectively unless its general officers also signed. The decision was to submit it to referendum.

Shortly after the convention, while the referendum was still being voted upon, efforts were made by other unions to raid the IWW shops in Cleveland. It was suggested that in such a raid they ask the members to vote "No Union"; but it was felt that with considerable change of personnel, some of them very friendly to organizers in the competing unions, and with the disadvantages that competitors could allege came from being on the subversive list, it would be unusually difficult to hold their union together. The Cleveland Branch was confident that the referendum would carry to sign up, and that submission of the affidavits would require a review of the subversive listing, so what it needed was time until these events happened. It decided to withdraw from IWW until such time as the IWW branches could avail themselves of NLRB service. It took this action November 5, 1950 and adopted a lengthy resolution explaining why it felt compelled to do so, and ending up that it would pay all per capita to that date, but withhold it thereafter. Only this conclusion was transmitted to membership, and much indignation was expressed that the Cleveland branch was attempting to coerce the rest of the organization. Outside of Cleveland, the vote on the Taft-Hartley issue was two to one against signing, but if the Cleveland votes were counted, it would have swung the decision to require signing. The ballot committee contended that since they had withdrawn, their votes could not be counted. Those taking the opposite view contended that if the members were in good standing when they voted, the votes must be counted, the same as a dead man's vote would be counted. The consensus of branch minutes around the country was not to count the votes. Thus the Cleveland branch was lost. In May 1955 it joined the MESA with which the IWW and it had been friendly especially as it took a critical attitude toward capitalism, and later MESA joined CIO. With the

1955 merger of CIO and AFL this Cleveland body will have boxed the compass of collective bargaining agencies.

The loss of the Cleveland membership also checked a possible reorganization of class struggle unionism. There were a number of industries in which either Communists or fellow travelers had taken a leading hand, and had twisted unionism to suit party purposes. They had been tolerated by the rank and file, not out of sympathy for Communism, but because in most instances the alternative was to back bootlickers. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers offered such an example; a communist hard-rock miner is a rare bird indeed, but even such a hostile compilation of the evidence as Jensen's "Nonferrous Metal Industry Unionism 1932-1954" makes it plain that the metal miners choice was militancy and progressive policies associated with the Moscow-tainted candidates, or a meekness that spelled disaster. In the United Electrical Workers and various other unions, this situation existed either in locals or generally. The IWW had been building increasing contact in such unions with active members who wanted a militant, anti-capitalist program, free from Communist or other political domination. Their pending ouster from CIO made them consider new organizational possibilities. Many such delegates to the ousting CIO Convention in Cleveland discussed possibilities with IWW members there, and a considerable correspondence was developing at the time that the Cleveland branch felt it necessary to secure access to NLRB. All plans to rescue these militants from the communists were voided by the IWW decision not to count the Cleveland ballot.

Since that time the IWW has had to confine its efforts substantially to local instances of promoting inter-union solidarity and its educational work. The latter is no small chore. Its general arguments

have been indicated already. A resolution adopted at its 1950 convention shows its slant on the major current world problems: 'Kremlinism is a social tendency, an institutional development . . . it cannot be shot with bullets or devastated with A-bombs. Reliance on these inappropriate means has permitted Kremlinism to stretch from where it engulfed only a sixth of the world's population to where it now engulfs a third. . . . It grows only because the labor movement of the rest of the world is not effectively serving the interests and needs of labor. This is the indispensable condition for the growth of Kremlinism. The only escape from it is for the labor movement to act independently of governments and capitalists and proceed to serve the interests of labor. To do so it must advance to a social system in which essential production is carried on for use under the direction of organized labor, for the good of mankind. Doing this will stop Kremlin expansion. Further it will topple Kremlinism in the areas it has already engulfed.'

The occasional picket lines of the fifties have been joint protests with other groups as at Spanish consulates in New York and Chicago, or the "Third Camp" poster walk in the Chicago loop during the Christmas rush of 1953. There leaflets consistent with foregoing resolution were passed out to the crowds while posters proclaimed "Against Both War Camps" or "Capitalism — No! — Stalinism — Never ! !" The protest picketing that attracted most attention however was that at the New Republic in April 1948. Its January 6th issue had carried a piece by Wallace Stegner depicting Joe Hill as a stick-up man. The Friends of Joe Hill formed and asked that corrective information be published; the picket line won the point. The committee engaged in extensive research and wrote too lengthy a study for the magazine; the New Republic ran a synopsis of the

study and the whole document was published in the *Industrial Worker* for Nov. 13, 1948.

Under the circumstances it has focused its attention on maintaining its own press and occasional leafleteering. Its most noted columnist T-Bone Slim (Matt Valentine Huhta, an Ashtabula Finn) died in October 1942. Another columnist, John Forbes, was put in the penitentiary for refusing to register, but he kept up his column of satiric verse from behind bars. His conviction was protested even by an American Legion group as he was a veteran, not subject to draft, but he could not square his conscience and concede the right of the politicians to register him. Of current union issues the *Industrial Worker* had been particularly concerned with the longshore situation on the New York waterfront, and has not been without influence in it.

The IWW observed its 50th anniversary with its 1955 General Convention, representative of a scattered membership chiefly along Atlantic, Gulf and West Coasts. It was the first convention since 1950, and the first since the early thirties which the "no contract, dyed-in-the-wool" Wobs completely dominated; the few who disagreed with their views felt that to bring up any such proposal as signing Taft-Hartley affidavits, would only constitute a futile gesture, and provoke disunity where unity was necessary for survival. Thus it was a harmonious gathering, and a remarkable one as a bridge across history: one delegate could readily recall the depression of 1893, or compare the difficulties currently faced by the IWW with those encountered by the Knights of Labor about that time; the convention installed as editor of its official organ, a spry octogenarian, C. E. Payne, who had edited that paper in earlier years and had attended the first convention in 1905. These delegates had no idea of "giving up the ghost." They had read premature obituaries of the IWW as long as they

could remember—some as early as July 1906. They knew that the IWW had the stamina not only to withstand militia, prisons and plain plug-uglies, but what is harder: fond hopes shattered, sudden reverses, and repeated losses of substantial memberships. The IWW had been near to extinction and pronounced dead many times before, but had always come to life again. Why give up in a world that plainly needed the sort of unionism the IWW had been championing these fifty years?

Accordingly the 1955 Convention attended to routine chores, passed a resolution clarifying its concept of revolutionary unionism, another aimed at the age-group blacklist confronting those over 45, and approved the publication of this record, on the understanding that it be not the history of the IWW, but the history of its first fifty years.

1. *Industrial Worker*, Aug. 23, 1943.

2. Bridges' account of leaving MTW was much along the line of Furuseth's attack on J. Vance Thompson. Sears decision was summarized in press at the time, most fully in San Francisco papers.

3. The *Business Week* account of IWW was reprinted with editorial comment in *Industrial Worker* on Feb. 27, 1945.

4. The maritime situation through 1946 was summarized in *Industrial Worker* of Sept. 28, 1946 and in end of year labor summary. The *Industrial Worker* of that period is an exceptionally full source of waterfront news.

5. *Industrial Worker*, July 10, 1949.

6. *Industrial Worker* carried full account of this including the document I.U. 440 submitted to NLRB—Apr. 8, 1944.

7. *Butcher Workman*, May 1950.



Work Peoples College, Duluth, 1939 summer school for workers' children. See pages 101 and 175.



Cleveland I.U. 440 Baseball Team, 1943. See page 185.



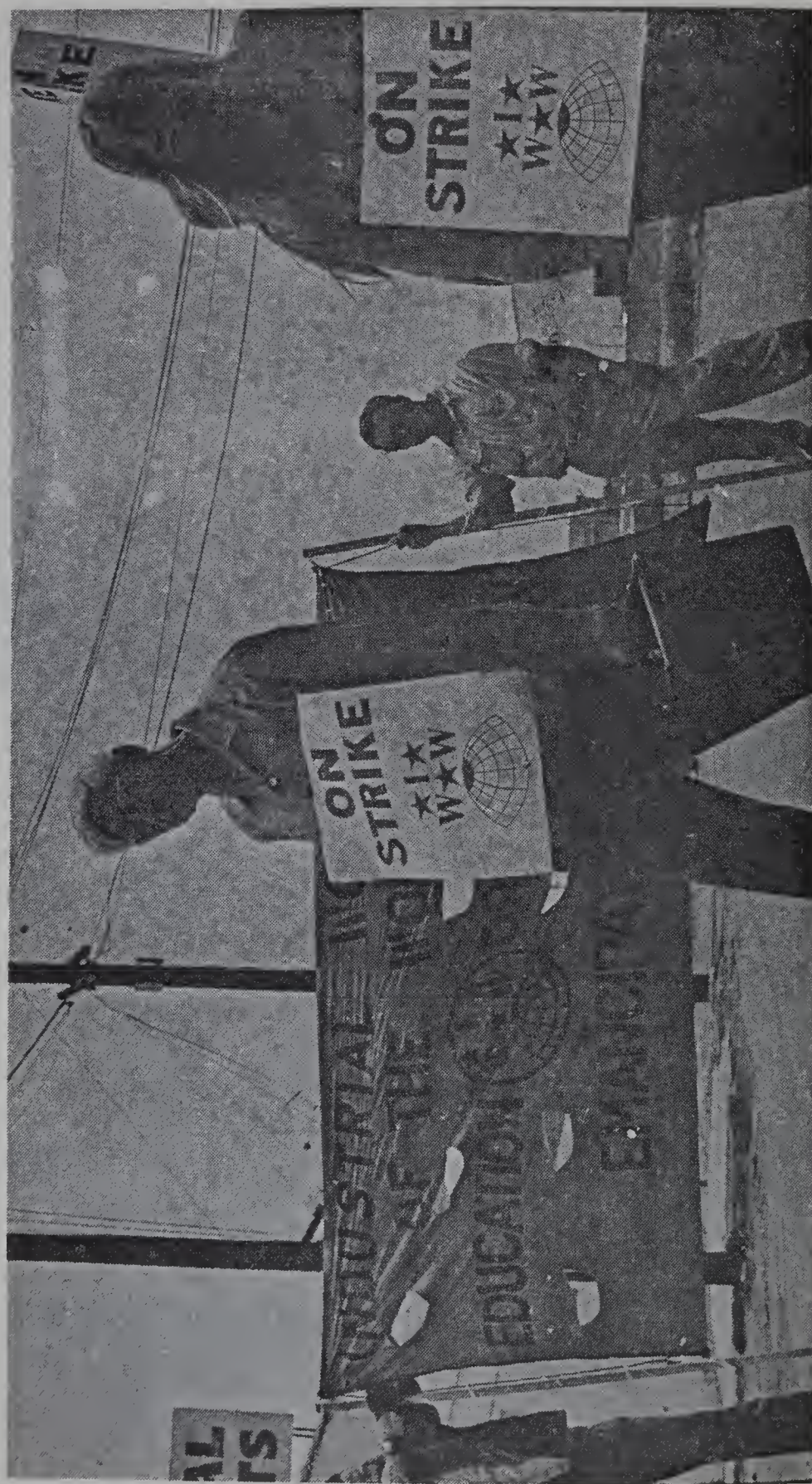
Australian IWW leader Viola Wilkins speaking at mass meeting in Perth August or September, 1939.



General Headquarters in 1946. Left to right: Alice Westman, Walter Westman, Charles Velsek, Jennie Velsek, Fred Thompson and John Russell.



Sam Oberman and Claude Erwin, Oakland, 1950. See page 195.



Nick Steelink in Long Beach strike, 1972. See page 215.

XIV. The IWW 1955-1975

by Patrick Murfin

During the last half of the fifth decade of this century the IWW experienced its lowest point in membership. According to Leland Robinson's study of General Organization financial statements, membership declined through most of the Fifties until 1961 when he counted only 115 fully dues-paid members. This estimate may be a bit low due to the method of computation—dividing the total dues stamps reported sold in the year by 12 to reach an average—but it sums up the condition of the organization during most of those years. Death had thinned the ranks of those active in early years and efforts to recruit younger workers were met by minimal success.

Even during this bleak period, however, there were the early signs of the resurgence to come in the Sixties. In 1957, Chuck Doehrer, the young editor of the *Industrial Worker*, was instrumental in launching a "Chicago Committee for a Young Workers' Union" with little success. The December 8, 1958 issue of the *Industrial Worker* carried the following report on activities undertaken by the New York branch by Alan Graham: peace marches in New York and Washington partially organized by IWW members, picketing of the Russian embassy to protest the execution of Hungarian workers, picketing of the French tourist agency in protest of the Algerian War, and joining with the Congress of Racial Equality to protest racist hiring practices by the airlines. In addition, Graham reported that the branch had distributed thousands of pieces of IWW literature "at home, factories and street corners throughout New York." A number of young members had been recruited in that year in New York. Most were members of the Libertarian League, a discussion and propaganda group which included some old time IWWs like Sam (Wiener) Dolgoff who encouraged many of the League's student or student-age members to join. A few others came from the extreme

left of the Socialist Party's Young People's Socialist League. Some were previously unaffiliated but identified with the then flourishing Beat culture. Whatever their backgrounds the new members threw themselves into activity with genuine enthusiasm.

Pleased with the level of involvement they had been able to sustain in 1958, the Branch decided to undertake an ambitious organizing project in 1959. The target was to be the city's restaurant employment agencies, which were then charging fees of \$25 to \$40 for jobs that often paid below the minimum wage. The selection of employment agencies was more than just an echo of the famous "job shark" battles of the Pacific Northwest decades earlier; it was a reiteration of the IWW's consistent commitment to workers at the very lowest levels of society—the workers ignored by the prosperous business unions.

In May, a well-coordinated campaign began with picketing of the employment agencies and a call for a boycott. As an alternative to the job shark system, the Branch tried to organize its own hiring hall and got agreements from some restaurants to hire only from the hall.

In the June General Organization Bulletin a member of the boycott committee reported that two months of picketing had been effective despite continued harassment by police and by thugs hired by the agencies and the intimidation of the workers. Over 300,000 leaflets had been passed out and the writer estimated that he had personally spoken to more than 3,000 people. Forty restaurant workers had already taken out cards and hundreds of others supported the drive. Special educational and social events were held for the new and potential members to better acquaint them with the aims and structures of the union. Workers who filled out cards requesting information were receiving home visitations by members of the boycott committee.

Interest in the IWW in the New York area as a result of publicity about the restaurant drive produced an unexpected request for the branch to help organize greenhouse workers on Long Island. New York mem-

bers did lend a hand and one Suffolk County greenhouse was apparently organized in August of 1959 with plans being laid to contact others.

But by September the New York restaurant drive was sputtering. Continued police harassment of pickets and intimidation of workers had taken its toll. Although the union had developed a core of support in the industry, additional recruits were no longer lining up. The hiring hall faced legal difficulties due to licensing laws and failed to come up with enough jobs. Workers not already committed were reluctant to take a chance that there would be jobs for them through the IWW.

The eventual failure of the restaurant drive was a bitter experience for the branch. Members had put an enormous amount of energy into the project. Disappointment caused branch activity to fall off dramatically and contact was lost with the greenhouse workers. Membership again began to drop off in New York. But most members of the boycott committee stayed with the union and some would be at the center of resurgent activities in the 1960s.

Branches in the San Francisco Bay area had also shown some activity in the late Fifties. Students from the University of California at Berkeley and other young people had been attracted to educational and socials offered by the Oakland Branch at their hall. Activity in the area was further sparked when several of the young veterans of the New York campaign moved to the area in 1959. Although the Oakland hall was closed in 1961 because local members had come to view it as more a drain on resources than a serviceable facility, the branch remained active and there were enough additional members across the bay to charter a new San Francisco Branch. With two active branches on the bay, membership began to grow steadily until by 1965 Bay area membership comprised a healthy majority of the total IWW dues-paying members.

Initial IWW activity in the area was mostly educational as members tried to spread the One Big Union idea. Besides much leafletting, members were very ac-

tive in the still infant peace movement. In December 1959 members protesting the construction of missile launching pads at Vandenberg Air Force base were blasted with fire hoses. On Hiroshima Day, Wobblies picketed the Atomic Energy Commission in Berkeley.

The new Bay area members were also interested in trying to define what sort of role a revolutionary labor union could play in a rapidly changing society. With membership concentrated in one of the early crucibles of the movement of the Sixties, the local branches were naturally influenced by events around them and in turn influenced events. As had been the case earlier in New York, there was a close relationship between IWW members and groups on the political and anti-political libertarian left. Several recruits came from the Libertarian Tendency (a caucus) of the Young People's Socialist League. One of the results of this was that activity of the two branches was often a somewhat incongruous combination of traditional IWW labor concerns and early counter cultural fights. Along with such traditional activities as leafletting unemployment offices, street meetings, and attempting to organize craft-divided railroad workers, branch members organized a poets' union with well-known members like Alan Ginsberg. They also planted a "hunger garden" on unused redevelopment land and became directly involved in student activity for the first time.

In 1963 the IWW began to leaflet campuses. Activity centered on the University of California at Berkeley, which had already firmly established a reputation as a radical campus. Early leaflets urged students to look upon revolutionary industrial unionism as an outlet for a vague militancy that often, in the words of one leaflet, ". . . is twirled around cans of cheap beer at 'discussion groups'." To this rather altruistic call for student support for a radical labor movement was quickly added a call for students to use union forms and tactics to better their own lives. Out of this grew a more formalized notion of "student syndicalism," which aroused considerable interest on campuses and through which the IWW influenced significantly the emerging student movement. When the Berkeley Free

Speech Fight erupted in September of 1964, it was heavily influenced by the general IWW notion of direct action and by the example of the IWW free speech fights of the teens and Twenties. IWW members were actively involved in the fight.

Despite this the Bay area members still thought of the organization as a union primarily concerned with job conditions. In October of 1964, the San Francisco Branch organized and took out on strike the workers at a popular "beat" coffee house, Cedar Alley. Despite considerable community support, the owner was intransigent and there were arrests on the line. The strike dragged on until the owner filed for bankruptcy and closed the place in mid-1965.

As the earlier failure in New York did, the Cedar Alley incident was a bitter and frustrating experience for the members involved. Some members believed they had not received enough support from General Headquarters in Chicago, especially in regard to court and defense costs. Resentment broke out in fighting over issues not directly related to the strike.

Feathers had been ruffled even before the strike over a snafu in issuing a new edition of the IWW songbook. Young Bay area members of the General Executive Board, including the Chairperson of the Board, had issued a General Organization Bulletin on their own authority that was highly critical of Secretary-Treasurer Walter Westman, who had held that post for the better part of twenty years. Older members regarded the special GOB as the illegal product of a "rump" session of the board and came strongly to Westman's defense. Unwilling to stir up a possible divisive organizational controversy, Westman declined to stand for re-election.

In the fall balloting, Robert Rush of Berkeley was the only serious candidate on the ballot and most Californians assumed he would win the General Secretary's position. Older members countered the Rush candidacy with a write-in campaign for Carl Keller, editor of the *Industrial Worker*. Keller won the contested election, but Bay area members complained that some of their ballots had been ruled ineligible by

the ballot committee for the relatively minor infraction of not having paid one or more press assessments.

This episode represented the first and last time the organization divided along issues that could be interpreted as "old vs. young." It might have caused a disastrous split, but most Bay area members, including Rush, remained active in the organization. Many ruffled feathers were smoothed by Keller's diplomatic handling of his new job. On the whole, despite some differences, younger members had tremendous respect for the seasoned labor veterans like Keller and Westman and they in turn were eager for younger members to join and take an active role in the organization.

Meanwhile the Chicago Branch itself was becoming more active and from 1964 on rapidly picked up new members. Much of this early activity centered at Roosevelt University which, unlike the University of California, was a commuter college heavily attended by working class students. An IWW "club" was formed there to gain access to University meeting rooms and a series of educational meetings there attracted good-sized audiences and worried the administration. When anarcho-pacifist poet Joffre Stewart (not an IWW member) was invited to address one of these meetings, he burned a United States flag and the club was outlawed on campus. A brief free speech campaign ensued.

But out of the Roosevelt meetings and Branch peace activity came a committed core of members. Again there were some who had been attracted from the left of YPSL while others were influenced by the Surrealists. These new members helped put out a mimeographed branch magazine, *Rebel Worker*, which contained a mixture of classic IWW reprints, articles on the contemporary meaning of the union and surrealist illustrations. Most of these young members were more interested in job than campus organizing activity and in 1964 launched two ambitious organizing projects.

The branch decided to organize a union of the unemployed in Chicago. Leaflets, *Industrial Workers* and *Rebel Workers* were regularly distributed to unemployment offices. Outdoor and indoor public meet-

ings were held. The project at first looked encouraging. Then the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), financed and supplied the organizers to a pilot community organizing project, Jobs or Income Now (JOIN), in the Uptown area where the branch had also concentrated its efforts. With neither full-time organizers nor much money the IWW effort was soon eclipsed by JOIN.

Many of the older members of the Chicago Branch had been active in the IWW agricultural drives of earlier years. They looked upon migrant farm workers as the last remaining part of the IWW's traditionally mobile constituency and believed such activity to be the most natural starting point for a resurgence of IWW activity. On their urging younger members planned a drive in the Michigan berry fields. Enthusiastic young members were able to organize a strike at Hodgman's Blueberry Farm in the summer of 1964. The issue was largely living conditions in the camps. A major demand called for installation of clean shower baths. Employer intimidation caused some workers to abandon the strike but a picket was kept up. Eventually enough scabs were brought in to harvest the crop and the strike was broken. But the union did have a significant effect in that its presence in the field brought wage increases in the area and resulted in cleaner camps in some instances.

In 1965 and '66 the Chicago Branch responded to appeals from fellow workers in the Yakima Valley to send organizers for the apple harvest season. In those years a small team of Chicago members joined local delegate George Underwood in the persistent missionary effort he and other local members had been putting in for years. They focused on practical issues like the dimension of boxes, the unit by which pickers were paid. Their activity no doubt helped stop the cheating that had been done in this way. A few scattered job actions resulted from this activity, but no long-run inroads were made.

Although membership was still concentrated in the three centers of New York, Chicago and the Bay area, membership was on the upswing in a half dozen other

places in the mid-Sixties. More and more young people became attracted to the IWW because of its tradition of direct action, its libertarian stance and its long-standing anti-war position. In 1967, for instance, the whole of the Boston Resistance, one of the first organized anti-draft groups, joined the IWW and became the nucleus of the newly-chartered Boston Branch.

In 1967 the Union voted in referendum for the first time to allow students not currently employed to join the IWW's Education Workers Industrial Union 620. The referendum that year endorsed the convention view that students should be considered as apprentices for the occupations they expected to fill. They became eligible to join IU 620 along with wage workers in the educational industry. This gave rise to campus-based branches and groups. The first of these to exceed a hundred members was formed at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

The Waterloo branch formed quickly in 1968 and came to exert a large measure of student control over that institution. Waterloo members, impressed by the student-worker alliances in France in May 1968, also did extensive strike support work in Ontario. Their activity began the revival of the IWW in eastern Canada.

Other campus branches like those at Madison, Wisconsin and Ann Arbor, Michigan were soon in operation. Campus branches became involved in a variety of activities. Besides presenting educational programs and conducting general recruiting activity, they often came to the support of local labor struggles. They took the demand for student and worker control of the institutions into the demonstrations and occupations that marked that peak of the student movement. IWW members also were regular contributors to the student and underground press. Several student branches spawned print cooperatives, as well as housing and buying cooperatives.

The emerging counter-culture had given birth to small workers' cooperatives not only in university towns, but in many cities in the United States and Canada. Most of these shops were organized on a shoe-

string to provide printing facilities for the peace and related movements or to provide some other service at a low cost by eliminating the profit motivation of conventional business. Many were organized collectively with all workers sharing in the decision-making process and dividing the revenues equally among themselves. Workers in these shops were naturally drawn to the IWW. The union began chartering such shops as job shops on the grounds that their experiments with worker self-management constituted an attempt to "build the new society in the shell of the old." Most of these shops came under Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union 450, but others engaged in construction, food distribution and other activities. By 1970 there were more than two dozen such shops in the IWW. The IWW union label had become a fam-eral movement literature circulated in North America. IWW forbids use of its label to undermine union conditions.

Some of the 440 shops came under attack for their activities. The French language *La Presse Populaire du Montreal* was shut down by a raid of police and the army during the Federal occupation of Quebec under the War Measures Act in October 1970. One member was arrested, denied due process for one month along with 500 others suspected of supporting the French Separatist FLQ. Other shops suffered lesser degrees of harassment.

In 1967 and '68 the IWW began its period of rapid growth. In part the organization was the beneficiary of the rising tide of radicalism among the young and rapidly expanding peace movement. But more directly, as Leland Robinson pointed out in his study, the union reaped the harvest of the dismemberment of the SDS. Like the IWW, SDS had drawn large numbers from the Libertarian Tendency of YPSL. Through the mid-Sixties there was in fact a considerable overlap of membership between IWW and SDS. At some schools virtually the entire membership was IWW or anarchist allied with the union. IWW members were delegates to the SDS conventions of 1967, '68 and the disastrous '69 gathering. They played a leading role in the large

libertarian caucuses at these meetings.

In 1969 the three authoritarian factions of SDS—Progressive Labor, Weatherman, and Revolutionary Youth Movement—plotted to gain control of the national organization and each packed the convention with as many of their adherents as possible. Outnumbered on the convention floor if not in overall membership, the libertarian caucus gathered at the IWW hall in Chicago during the convention. But there was little they could do to keep the SDS from tearing itself apart. With the majority of the membership outside the three contesting authoritarian factions, SDS promptly collapsed on most campuses. That left only the IWW representing libertarian labor action on the campuses and former SDSers flocked to the organization. The general trend toward authoritarianism on the left also affected many who were not students. As a result, according to Robinson's figures, IWW membership grew 28% in 1968 and 44% in '69.

Interestingly enough, many of these new members were instrumental in turning the union away from campus activity and towards on-the-job and community work. Although general recruitment continued on campuses through speaking tours by veteran IWW soapboxer Frank Cedervall, the thrust became recruiting people willing to bring the union to the job. Even actions on campuses became directed at job conditions. Typical of these was an IU 620 strike of part-time workers at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee in 1972.

But by 1975 students made up a small minority of members in the IWW, although many who joined as students in the late Sixties and early Seventies remained active as members on the job.

IWW branches became involved in community affairs both because the branches tended to include members of community service cooperatives such as the print shops and newspapers and because many of the new members had come from SDS community organizing backgrounds. The IWW experience in San Diego in 1970-71 is an example.

The branch in San Diego began when street vendors

of the local radical newspaper, *Street Journal*, began organizing because they felt they were being unfairly treated by the staff of the paper and because they were being regularly harassed and jailed by the San Diego police. A major issue was a *Street Journal* rule that restricted vendors from selling other papers, but the IWW members also demanded a voice in the editorial policy of the paper. This demand for self-management first got them a page or two per issue. When some of the staff members also joined the union, the job shop assumed editorial control of the paper. Half of the paper was in English under the name *Street Journal*, the other half in Spanish under the name *El Barrio*.

Fighting the police and the strong reactionary element in navy-dominated San Diego, however, proved more difficult. Vendors continued to be arrested on petty charges. Several were assaulted and their papers destroyed. The Branch then called for and conducted a free speech campaign with the support of more than a dozen community organizations. Repression mounted. A house occupied by IWW members was firebombed twice and one young woman member was shot in the arm through a window of the house.

In 1971 IWW member Ricardo Gonsalves was indicted with two members of the Chicano Brown Beret organization on charges of criminal syndicalism. They were accused of printing a diagram of a molotov cocktail on the cover of *El Barrio* despite evidence that the diagram was planted by Jesus Lopez, a police undercover agent. The charges stood against the men who became known as "Los Tres de San Diego."

Criminal Syndicalism was the law under which hundreds of IWW members were sentenced to prison in the 1920s, but had laid largely unused for almost 40 years. Defense funds for "Los Tres" were raised through the pages of the *Industrial Worker* and the General Organization Bulletin. The charges were finally dropped after another case involving criminal syndicalism in Sacramento resulted in the law being declared unconstitutional.

It was in Chicago where IWW community participa-

tion reached its peak in 1969-70. In December, 1968 the Chicago Branch, demoralized by the futile efforts at agricultural organizing, failed for the third consecutive month to come up with the required quorum of seven members to conduct business. By August 1969, however, there was standing room only at the regular business meeting at headquarters on North Halsted Street. In between those two meetings the Chicago Branch rapidly absorbed many members disgruntled by the authoritarian left. It had also benefited from an accident of geography—the Halsted Hall, occupied by the IWW for almost 40 years, just happened to be in the center of the Lincoln Park neighborhood which had become a center of radical community activity in Chicago. Urban renewal, which was tearing out enormous swaths of the old working class neighborhood, was the rallying issue which brought disparate segments of the community together. Several IWW members had been working with the Young Lords, originally a Puerto Rican street gang which had become politicized by the urban renewal effort. The Young Lords, with support from Lionel Bottari and other IWW members, had succeeded in stopping the widespread gang wars that had plagued the area in previous years. This helped unite neighborhood opposition to the city's urban renewal plans.

Up until August of 1969, anti-urban renewal efforts had largely been confined to picketing, street demonstrations, leafletting and attempts to get the floor at planning agency meetings. Then the city announced it was turning over a vacant parcel of land in the middle of the Puerto Rican community to developers who planned to erect an exclusive tennis club. Outraged, the Chicago branch joined the Young Lords and other community groups in taking over the land and declaring it "Chicago Peoples' Park." Hundreds of community residents turned out to begin the task of turning the rubble-strewn lot into a real park with grass and playground equipment.

IWW members arranged to get the use of a bulldozer and obtained eight truckloads of top soil. Other members constructed creatively designed playground equip-

ment. In the end, faced with massive opposition, the city abandoned the tennis court plans and transferred the land to a nearby grade school for "recreational use" but leaving actual control of the park to the community. The success of the Peoples' Park project also put an end to urban renewal by bulldozer in Lincoln Park.

In 1971 the Branch moved with the General Administration from the Halsted Street address to an old bowling alley on nearby Lincoln Ave. Soon dozens of organizations were holding fund raising events in the large hall. This tied the branch and the community closer together. As in San Diego, street vendors of the radical paper *Seed* joined the IWW and the collective staff soon followed suit. Workers at a radical community center, "Alice's Revisited," also joined as did workers from a number of stores and restaurants in the Lincoln Avenue community. There were also volunteer workers at community medical clinics, food cooperatives, print shops and radical book stores. In the absence of an umbrella community organization, IWW membership became one of the bonds that held these people together. The branch was frequently called upon to mediate disputes within the community. This led to holding weekly community meetings at the hall that were often attended by more than two hundred people and were run town-meeting style.

The Chicago Branch did not, however, ignore job organizing. In 1971, warehouse workers at Hip Products, a division of Mafia-dominated Arts and Leisure Corporation, came into the union. The young men involved had been working in classic sweatshop conditions. When the company refused to negotiate and moved its warehouse to a ghetto area to avoid dealing with their troublesome workers, a strike was called. The strike began during the worst sub-zero cold snap in Chicago for years. Pickets were maintained for weeks and members tried to recruit the young jobless blacks that the boss was using for strike breakers. Sympathetic office workers provided the addresses of retail outlets of Hip Products merchandise and branches in several cities picketed those stores in sup-

port of the strikers. Striking workers were fired and the IWW filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board. The charges were upheld and the company was forced to pay a cash settlement to the workers: It refused to rehire some of the workers, however, and the rest refused to go back without them. The strike financially crippled Hip Products which reported a quarter of a million dollar loss in 1971 after several years of large profits. The following year the company was dissolved by its parent.

In the fall of 1971 the employees at the Three Penny Cinema came to the branch and asked to affiliate. At first the boss refused to negotiate and a strike was called. Virtually no one crossed the IWW picket lines and the strike was quickly won. For the first time since Cleveland the IWW had a shop under contract.

The following spring the owner leased the theater to a pair of exhibitors who refused to honor the IWW contract. When they began firing IWW members, a second strike was called. This dragged out for three months in the summer of 1972. The lessees eventually skipped town and the original owner refused to honor the contract. Again a cash settlement and reinstatement were won, but the theater changed its policy to show pornographic films and the workers did not take their jobs back.

Since the early Seventies the IWW has concentrated on job organizing. Members continue to be involved in certain community activities, such as tenants' unions in Massachusetts, but most activity has been concentrated on the job. Job activity did not confine itself to established branches. Silver miners in Ward, Colorado established a job branch in 1971. The same year a small group of members opened a hall in a working class district in Sioux City, Iowa and began organizing activities. This promising drive was scuttled when Progressive Labor Party sympathizers in the local group substituted PL for IWW literature at factory gates, which killed off growing support.

In April of 1972, Mark Warrior and other members organized a construction job crew in Gastown, Van-

couver. The British Columbia provincial Labour Board refused to certify the IWW as a union under provincial law and the job shop was lost by June. The Vancouver activity did spark a rapid growth in IWW membership in Western Canada.

Workers at Park International and International Wood Products, related companies with plants in Long Beach, California voted unanimously to join the IWW in the spring of 1972. The workers, angry over conditions and pay, went out on strike within three days of joining the union. The strike rallied support from the organization. Branches, groups and individual members responded generously to calls to build a strike fund. Three Chicago members agreed to go to Long Beach to help with the strike, but could not arrive on the scene until almost two weeks into the strike. After a few weeks and some picket line arrests the workers voted to return to the shops until an NLRB representation election could be held. Scabs hired during the strike were allowed to vote and ordinary turnover cost the union enough sure votes that the IWW lost the election when it was held.

Shortly after the end of the Long Beach strike, the Portland Branch requested assistance for their on-going organizing activities. The three members who had gone to Long Beach agreed to go to Portland. A drive had been going on at a wooden box factory for more than a year. Even though that drive proved unsuccessful, local members felt they had learned enough to form an organizing team with the new arrivals. They chose Winter Products, a firm employing about 200 workers engaged in brass plating household hardware. In September and October 1972 seven IWWs got jobs at the plant and began the organizing attempt. They steadily gained supporters throughout the plant. But they may have moved too quickly and exposed themselves too early. Rumors of organizing attempts had reached the boss's ears and he found excuses to fire the IWW "trouble makers." The second week in November the organizers found themselves on the outside looking in and the other workers badly frightened.

Because the IWW had filed unfair labor charges or

participated in National Labor Relations Board elections in a number of local instances, General Headquarters was required to file an annual report with Reporting and Disclosure section of the Department of Labor in accordance with the Landrum-Griffin Act. General Secretary-Treasurer Michael Brown routinely filed the report when it was requested in 1973. This began a serious controversy within the organization which in some ways was reminiscent of the Taft-Hartley split twenty years before. Some members felt that submitting the reporting form would amount to an agreement to abide by other obnoxious provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act such as those that forbid the secondary boycott, the hot cargo bans, and restrictions on who can hold union office. These members came to the 1973 General Convention but failed in their attempt to get the convention to agree not to submit the forms in the future.

Feeling strongly about the issue, dissenting members got enough signatures on a referendum petition to have the question put to the general membership in referendum. A lively debate ensued in the pages of the General Organization Bulletin and at local branch meetings. The results of the referendum sustained the convention decision to continue submitting the annual reporting form.

In Portland organizing activities continued. In 1974 the Portland Branch organized the staff and parents of a day care center in a predominantly Black neighborhood. The issue was worker and community control. The union succeeded in winning several of its demands, including the dismissal of the center's director. Other Portland attempts of the period, however, were not so successful. These included attempts to organize bean harvest workers and the employees of a small hospital.

In the early Seventies the IWW conducted a number of organizing campaigns in high turnover industries. These included Shopright, a grocery store in Milwaukee in 1973; a Boston nursing home in 1975; and a number of fast food outlets over a period of time from 1973-75. Fast food drives were conducted at

Winchell's Doughnuts in Portland; McDonalds in Chicago; Kentucky Fried Chicken and Roy Rogers in State College, Pennsylvania; and Pizza Hut in Arkadelphia, Arkansas. In most of these locations local organizers had little difficulty initially organizing a majority of the workers and filing for NLRB elections. But in each case, legal maneuvering by the bosses before the NLRB meant many months of delay before the election was finally held. In Milwaukee and Pittsburgh other unions also filed in the elections. Meanwhile the employers counted on regular turnover and harassment of union workers to bring in new, anti-union workers. As a result each of these elections was lost. Most IWW organizers now have learned that in small, high turnover shops it is necessary to organize the workers and demand immediate recognition without an election, if possible.

Among the more active of recent IWW organizing efforts has been Guam. Although there had been a core of members on the island since 1970, it took until 1974 to get into job activity. 1974 marked a drive among workers in the island's tour bus industry into Transportation Workers Industrial Union 540. The campaign ultimately failed, however, and no further action was taken. Valuable lessons learned were applied in an organizing drive in a related industry, which is still in progress as of this writing. The Guamanian group remains among the most ethnically mixed in the organization and includes Filipinos, Guamanians, North American whites, and workers from some of the islands in the U.S. Pacific Trust Territories.

Other branches throughout the U.S. and Canada have conducted a variety of organizing campaigns over the past two years. As an example, IWW workers in a Chicago metal and machinery plant have been carefully building strength over the past two years and at this writing are well established within the factory. This effort helped spark a Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union 440 organizing drive in the city which has attracted members from other parts of the U.S. to come and participate as organizers. This committee recently expanded its focus to include other

general production shops in Chicago. This and similar activities have helped the union develop a group of experienced organizers who can avoid earlier pitfalls. As the depression of the Seventies closes around us, most members are confident that the union is once again in a position to become a force on the job, where the IWW has always belonged. This may be a bit the easier since on June 11, 1974 Nixon by executive order abolished the subversive list and so terminated the IWW's continuing demand to be removed from it.

Side by side with these organizing activities, the IWW has seen a steady rise in two-card members in recent years. The often hopeless bureaucracy of the established business unions has driven many into taking out IWW cards. Unlike other labor-oriented radical organizations, IWW members on jobs controlled by other unions do not usually undertake caucus style activity aimed at seizing political power within the business union. IWW members tend to believe that in most instances caucus activity diverts the attention of workers from the boss to the union bureaucrat. IWW two-carders have generally refrained from caucus activity except where the existing bureaucracy presents an otherwise insurmountable obstacle to job action. Instead, two-card members have encouraged the use of direct action on the shop floor to force the bosses to slow down, to provide safer working conditions, and to be responsive to workers' demands. They have encouraged the formation of shop committees which, unlike most caucuses, can bring direct pressure on the bosses. In general, two-card members have tried to act as an example to their fellow workers of what class conscious militant unionism is all about.

As the IWW has grown in the United States in recent years, it has also grown elsewhere in the world. Canadian membership grew through most of the period. Spurred on by the activity in Western Canada and by the establishment of a Toronto Branch, the Canadian Administration was reconstituted in 1972 with headquarters in Vancouver, British Columbia. However in 1973 a split grew between Canadian Admini-

stration officers and members in eastern Canada. At issue was the stress placed by the CA on Canadian nationalism and the handling of dues money. The issue was brought before the General Convention which ordered a referendum on discontinuing national administrations. The referendum carried, resulting in the resignation of some Western Canadian members. Many have since rejoined. In the place of national administrations, autonomous Regional Organizing Committees were established under the general authority of the General Executive Board. The Board is now open to international membership and members from Australia, Canada, Sweden, and Great Britain have served.

IWW activity continues in Canada with most strength concentrated in Ontario and Quebec, but with a growing membership in the western provinces. The Toronto Branch was especially active in strike support work, including one very bitter dispute, the Artistic Woodwork strike, in which several IWW members were arrested in 1974. Toronto members have also become active in international defense work. Toronto General Defense Committee Local No. 2 publishes a regular newsletter and has raised considerable sums for both IWW members facing trial in the U.S. and Canada and for embattled class war prisoners in Spain, Italy, France and Germany.

Defense activity by the Toronto GDC is symbolic of the relationship that has long existed between the IWW and the revolutionary union movement the world over. IWW picket lines have regularly appeared around Spanish tourist offices in defense of the militants of the Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (CNT). Likewise, branches and groups have offered support to Portuguese workers, particularly the Conferacao General Trajabalo (CGT) in Portugal. In the summer of 1975, Carlos Cortez, former editor of the *Industrial Worker*, attended an international conference of revolutionary unions sponsored by the Sveriges Arbetares Central organization (SAC) in Stockholm, Sweden. These and other revolutionary unions throughout the world share a mutual respect with the IWW. Together they are all part of an international struggle to

win more than just more money—a struggle to win true workers' self-management.

At least one IWW member has died in reactionary violence abroad. Frank Terrugi, a student member, was machinegunned to death by the Chilean fascists after the 1973 coup that overthrew the Marxist government there. Terrugi was in Chile studying worker movements when he was arrested by rightist troops. He was found machinegunned after he had been "released" from a soccer stadium-prison. A year later IWW journalist Frank Gould disappeared in the Philippines while covering the Moslem rebellion in Mindanao. At first he was presumed killed in a government attack on a rebel training camp in October of 1974, but evidence has recently emerged that he may have escaped and be in hiding on one of the remote islands.

The IWW has also grown in Sweden. For years there had been a Scandinavian administration headquartered in Stockholm which was made up mostly of retired workers who had returned to their homeland from the United States. Then in 1971 a job branch was formed in the Malmö shipyards. Now branches in Malmö and Stockholm along with small groups in other towns are part of the Swedish Regional Organizing Committee. The Swedes have also established a General Defense local and were active in bringing the United Farm Workers' grape and lettuce boycotts to Sweden, with continued cooperation of Swedish union SAC.

British members formed a Regional Organizing Committee in 1973 which was reformed into the British Section in 1975. The British Section, with membership concentrated in the heavily industrialized Northwest of England, now publishes its own magazine, *The Industrial Unionist*, and operates a workers' center in Oldham, Lancashire.

That brings us pretty much up to date. Twenty years after the 1955 convention the IWW is both larger and more active than there was any reasonable chance to hope. The IWW not only lives, it is beginning to thrive in the energy, dedication, and activity of its membership. We look forward to the next 70 years with enthusiasm

SOURCES FOR IWW HISTORY

In 1955 when this book was first published there was little reading on the IWW readily available. The books by Brissenden, by Dowell and by Gambbs cited in it were out of print. Growing interest in the IWW since then has led to their being reprinted (in 1957, 1970 and 1971 respectively) and to the publication of most of the forty articles in academic journals and seventeen books on specific aspects of the IWW listed further along as up-dated chapter notes. Several doctoral dissertations on the IWW have been written since then, its periodicals have been made available on microfilm, and its recoverable records carefully archived. Also since 1955 five general accounts of the IWW have been published, all with such extensive bibliographies and documentation that these chapter notes avoid duplication of the less readily accessible sources that they cite. These five are:

Rebel Voices, An IWW Anthology, by Joyce L. Kornbluh, University of Michigan Press, 1964, 418 pages, original edition 8 x 12, later issued as a reduced size paperback. It includes photos, cartoons, poems and articles from six decades of IWW periodicals, each chapter starting with an historical essay. It includes data on authors quoted.

Rebels of the Woods, by Robert L. Tyler, University of Oregon Books, 1967, 230 pages. Focus is on northwest lumber industry to midtwenties, but includes a general background; develops author's 1953 dissertation and articles cited in following chapter notes.

The Industrial Workers of the World, by Philip Foner, being Volume IV of his *History of the Labor Movement in USA*; International Publishers, 1966; 558 pages plus 50 pages of notes and index; covers period 1905-1916; makes extensive use of local, labor and socialist press and of AFL correspondence regarding IWW.

We Shall Be All, by Melvyn Dubofsky, Quadrangle

Books, 1969; 484 pages plus 70 pages of index and notes; 1974 paperback edition corrects earlier premature obituary of IWW. It covers period 1905-1924, omitting Philadelphia; makes extensive disclosures from National Archives and from lumber company and AFL correspondence.

The Wobblies, by Patrick Renshaw, Doubleday, 1967; 312 pages. Later paperback edition includes some corrections; translated into Italian and Japanese. Focus is on IWW as part of world syndicalist movement and has more coverage than other books of its transnational activities.

In the following chapter notes, reference will be made to these five books simply by author's name and page or chapter number. Two other general works on IWW are Irving Werstein's *Pie in the Sky* (Dela-courte Press, 1969), written for a youth audience, and Joseph Conlin's collection of essays, *Bread and Roses Too*.

Archives: The chief earlier archives of IWW materials were those built up at Wisconsin Historical Society and in the Labadie Collection at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Most records seized by federal government in 1917 were burned July 13, 1925 on an earlier federal court order. Cornell has five boxes of IWW correspondence of the 1920's. There is an extensive largely regional collection at the university library at Thunder Bay, Ontario, and the Ministry of Labour at Ottawa has extensive microfilm and printed material. The University of Washington in Seattle has an extensive collection of documents and printed materials, and the Mark Litchman papers, some of these on Yakima strike, 1933. The Mary Gallagher papers at Bancroft Library, U. of C., Berkeley, have materials on San Pedro, 1923-1924 and on Colorado strike 1927-1928. At the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, files of *Il Proletario* (1899-1946) are available, and the extensive Finnish collection includes *Industrialisti* and other Finnish IWW publications and the records of Work Peoples College.

In 1965 the IWW made the Archives of Labor and Urban History at Wayne State University, Detroit, its official depository. Records from 1930 were placed there and what could be found of earlier records, including a transcript of the big Chicago trial, 1918, and an extensive collection of printed materials. Subsequent deposits have kept these archives up to date. Other holders of such material have been urged to make this collection as complete as possible, and students writing research papers on IWW using sources not readily accessible have been requested to provide copies for this collection. Since much of the material at Wayne State (as these archives will be called for brevity in these notes) exists in one copy only, access to it is restricted by archival rules to "persons with serious scholarly interest." This includes non-academic researchers, but all prospective users are told they "should write to the Archives in advance to establish their credentials for using the collection." This procedure is recommended in regard to all archives.

At the National Archives there is extensive material cited by William Preston in his *Aliens and Dissenters*, and by Joan Jensen in her *Price of Vigilance*, though and by Joan Jensen in her *Price of Vigilance*, though some of this material was withdrawn later by FBI from public accessibility. Data on disputes is mostly in Conciliation files, arranged geographically. Considerable material gathered for Commission on Industrial Relations before WWI on migratory workers but not published is available. In general government files are to be made public within 25 years, but in 1974 when IWW under that rule sought access to Department of Justice papers possibly explaining why it had been put on subversive list in 1949, it was told this information will not be made public until 2024.

Dissertations

These are some of the master theses and doctoral dissertations that have been prepared on the IWW. University Microfilm number added in some instances.

Barnes, Donald: "Ideology of the IWW," Ph.D. Hist.

Washington State 1962 (U.M. 67-06332).

Brown, Myland Rudolph: "The IWW and the Negro Worker," Ph.D., Ball State, 1968 (69-4186).

Burns, John J.: "IWW in Illinois during WW I," M.A. Hist., Western Illinois Univ., 1972.

Calvert, Jerry: "A Changing Radical Political Organization: The Wobblies Today," Ph.D., Washington State University, 1972.

Crow, John: "Ideology and Organization," M.A. Pol. Sc. Univ. of Chicago 1958.

Conlin, J.R.: "The Wobblies: A Study of IWW before WW I," Ph.D. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1966 (66-05901).

Evans, Robt. E.: "Montana's Role in Enactment of Legislation to Suppress the IWW," M.A. Univ. of Minnesota, 1964.

Faigin, Henry: "The IWW in Detroit and Michigan, 1905 to WW I," M.A. Hist., Wayne State, 1937.

Herrin, Robt. A.: "Great Lumber Strikes in Northern Idaho," M.A., Northern Illinois, 1967.

Jokinen, Walfrid: "The Finns In Minnesota," M.A. Louisiana State, 1953. "The Finns In USA: A Sociological Interpretation," Ph.D. Louisiana State, 1955.

Lynch, Patrick: "Pennsylvania Anthracite," M.A. Bloomsburg State, 1974.

McEnroe, Thomas: "IWW Theories, Organization Problems and Appeals as Revealed in *Industrial Worker*," Ph.D., Univ. of Minnesota, 1960.

Robinson, Leland W.: "Social Movement Organizations in Decline: A Case Study of the IWW," Ph.D., Northwestern, 1974 (74-7808).

Schmidt, Dorothy B.: "Sedition in State of Washington, 1917-1919," M.A., Hist. Washington State, 1940.

Van Tine, Warren E.: "Ben Williams, Wobbly Editor," M.A. Northern Illinois 1967.

Wortman, Roy T.: "The IWW in Ohio, 1905-1950," Ph.D., University of Ohio 1972 (72-4695).

NOTE: The IWW expects to issue occasional bulletins listing new books, articles, dissertations, etc. dealing

with it. It welcomes copies or notice of publication and frequently lists such information in its monthly journal.

Supplemental References Arranged by Chapter

Chapter 1. The Industrial Union Manifesto calling for the 1905 convention is the first document in Kornbluh. The most complete account of Father Haggerty is that by Robert E. Doherty in *Labor History*, Winter, 1962. *The One Big Union Monthly* of 1919-1920 is now available in Greenwood reprints and includes Harold Lord Varney's series on history of IWW. The circumstances motivating the various participants in the founding convention have so far been given only superficial study, the most extensive being Brissenden's 1913 monograph, *The Launching of the IWW*, Dubofsky, first 87 pages, and essay, "Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism" in *Labor History*, Spring, 1966.

Chapter II (1905-1908). On Boise trial see Joseph Conlin's *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Labor Movement*, Syracuse University Press 1968, or same author in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1969, pp. 22-32; Stephen Scheinberg in *Idaho Yesterdays*, Fall 1960, shows Pres. Roosevelt had spy on Haywood defense committee.

Schenectady: paper by David Goodall filed at Wayne State details IWW as outgrowth of earlier local militance.

Goldfield: Russell Elliot in *Pacific Historical Review*, 1950, pp. 369-384; Brissenden, *IWW*, pp. 191-212.

Bridgeport: Foner pp. 84-86 adds details from local press; Hungarian radical press of time said to have fullest account.

De Leon: Don McKee in *Labor History*, Winter 1962, and Glen Seretan in same, Spring 1973 and subsequent issues.

Spokane and IWW song cards: see memoir by Richard Brazier in *Labor History*, Winter 1968.

General Executive Board Minutes 1906 to 1910 at Wayne State show situation following the 1906 convention and give much space to the Connolly-De Leon dispute.

Chapter III (1909-1911). McKees Rocks: Foner, 281-295; Dubofsky, 202-209; most complete account is by John Ingham in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 1966 (XV, pp. 353-377), who cites related investigation into charge of peonage.

Free speech fights: Kornbluh 94-104; Foner, 172-189; Dubofsky, 173-197. Brazier wrote his recollections of the Spokane fight in *Industrial Worker*, January and February, 1967, and E.G. Flynn gives her recollections in memoirs variously published as *I Speak My Piece* or *Rebel Girl*. On Fresno, Ted Lehman's paper filed at Wayne State explores role of Frank Little and his elder brother; Charles P. LeWarne published recently discovered lengthy account by E.M. Clyde of the trip to Fresno in *Labor History*, Spring 1973; also Ronald Genini in *California Historical Quarterly* 53 (1974) 100-128. On Aberdeen: "The Aberdeen, Washington, Free Speech Fight of 1911-1912" by Charles Pierce LeWarne in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, January 1975. Vol. 66. On San Diego: to observe 60th anniversary, IWW branch there in 1972 reprinted as pamphlet *New York Call's* summary of that fight; McKay's participant recollections run in *Industrial Worker* July 26 to August 9, 1947. Theodore Schroeder, *Free Speech for Radicals*, Riverside, Conn. 1916.

On IWW and Mexico: Lowell L. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, Madison, 1962; Rey Davis' series on Magon in *Industrial Worker*, May through August, 1974.

On Foster's "boring from within," his case is stated in Foner, 415-434. See Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too* for critique of Foster's position.

Chapter IV (Textiles 1910-1913). Lawrence background in Donald R. Cole, *Immigrant City*, Chapel Hill, 1963; *Readers' Guide* for period indexes many

current accounts; all the listed histories have extensive accounts, Foner, 329-350 giving most detail on the Breen dynamite affair.

Paterson: Far more has been written about this lost strike than about any of the IWW's successful union activities, one example of the quantitative distortion of IWW story by even its sympathetic historians; Foner, 351-372; Dubofsky, 263-283; Kornbluh, 197-226; Graham Adams' chapter on Paterson in his *Age of Industrial Violence* (Columbia University Press, 1966) has focus on Scott and Quinlan trials; *Art in America* for May-June 1974 has illustrated article on Paterson Pageant; Mel Most in the regional *Sunday Record* for Nov. 11, 1973 and Sept. 1, 1974, interviews participants in Paterson strike on both sides and concludes local industry was ruined as boomerang effect of employer lies about violence. The Botto home in Haledon, site for free speech, now a National landmark. The Henry McGuckin memoirs at Wayne State show effort to bring out competitive plants. Little has been written on IWW activity in other textile plants. Generally ignored IWW silk strike in Hazelton, Pa. Feb. 5 to April 2, 1913 detailed in Patrick M. Lynch's M.A. thesis, "Pennsylvania Anthracite," Bloomsburg State, 1974.

Chapter V. British Columbia strike: Foner, 228-231; Agnes Laut has good pictures but distorted account in *Illustrated Technical News*, Oct., 1912. Good footage in CBC film on Joe Hill, Other Voices series; details of strike and Hill's involvement in Louis Moreau's recollections filed at Wayne State.

Southern Lumber: James R. Green, "The Brotherhood of Timber Workers, 1910-1913," in *Past and Present* No. 50, August, 1973; Merl Reed, "IWW and Individual Freedom in Western Louisiana 1913," in *Louisiana History*, Winter 1969, and also Reed's "Lumberjacks and Longshoremen" in *Labor History*, Winter, 1972. Covington Hall's manuscript history is on file at Wayne State. Grady McWhiney's article on area socialists in *Journal of Southern History*, August 1954 gives that part of background. M.R. Brown's Ph.D.

dissertation, "The IWW and the Negro Worker" (University microfilms No. 69-4186) studies this and other situations involving blacks.

Aberdeen: McGuckin typescript at Wayne State adds much detail on Aberdeen, B.C. and Paterson.

Akron: Harold S. Roberts' *The Rubber Workers* is major printed source; Foner, 373-390; Journal, Ohio 80th General Assembly 1913. Appendix of Reports of Committee investigating Akron Rubber Industries; Roy T. Wortman, Ph.D. dissertation "The IWW in Ohio 1905-1950" (University Microfilms 72-469), pp. 23-50, also source on Toledo Wheel and other Ohio strikes; Wortman's interview with Paul Sebatyan, participant, in Labadie Collection.

Studebaker strike: Henry Faigin, "The IWW in Detroit and Michigan, 1905-1919," MA thesis, Wayne State 1937, also describes other IWW activities in area.

Wheatland Hops: Richard H. Frost, *The Mooney Case*, Stanford, 1968, describes prosecution pressure and California power structure; Kornbluh, 236-239; Foner 258-280. P.W. Eldridge "The Wheatland Hop Riot and the Ford and Suhr Case" in *Industrial and Labor Relations Forum* 10 (May 1974) 165-195.

Philadelphia: Irwin Marcus in *Negro History Bulletin*, October, 1972; Foner, 126 and article in *Journal of Negro History*, January 1970; Spero and Harris book already cited remains chief account in this important but little written-about phase of IWW history. Myland Rudolph Brown's dissertation in "IWW and the Negro Worker," University Microfilm No. 69-4186.

Chapter VI. Kornbluh, 35-64, includes survey and samples of sabotage argument from the years 1911-1917. Most extensive study is by Joseph Conlin in *Bread and Roses Too* and essays "IWW and Question of Violence" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer 1968 and "Case of the Very American Militants" in *American West* March 1970. Marc Karson, *American Labor and Politics*, Southern Illinois University Press, 1958, pp. 150-211, gives sketch of IWW 1905-1917 in terms of ideological disputes in it and S.P., assuming it anti-parliamentary rather than non-politi-

cal. Extensive treatment in Foner chapters 5, 6 and 17, and in Dubofsky, chapter 7.

Chapter VII (1914-1915). Michael S. Sideman "The Agricultural Labor Market and the Organizing Activities of the IWW 1910-1935," MS thesis, University of Illinois, 1965. Philip Taft, "IWW in the Grain Belt," in *Labor History*, Winter 1960. On Joe Hill, the definitive work is Gibbs Smith's *Joe Hill*, University of Utah Press, 1970, re-issued as Grosset & Dunlap paperback under title *Labor's Martyr, Joe Hill*. On film there is a very good CBC documentary on Joe Hill in its Other Voices series, in which Hill's songs are well sung by Don Francks, and a lengthier film directed by Bo Widerborg that IWWs found disappointing.

Chapter VIII (Events of 1916). Mesaba Range strike: Donald G. Sofchalk, "Organized Labor and the Iron Ore Miners of Minnesota, 1907-1936," in *Labor History*, Spring 1971, probes AFL abstention from organizing these miners in hopes of freedom to organize other trades, and details 1916 strike; also Neil Betten, "Iron Range Strike of 1916," in *Minnesota History*, 1968, pp. 89-94. Foner, 486-517 and Dubofsky, 319-333 include opposing views of E.G. Flynn's defense strategy. On Finnish involvement, "The Finns of Minnesota," by Walfrid Jokinen, MA thesis, Louisiana State 1953; paper by Prof. Douglas J. Ollila, "Emergence of Left Labor Radicalism among Finnish Workers on Mesaba Range, 1911-1919," copy filed at Wayne State. "Pennsylvania Anthracite: A Forgotten IWW Venture, 1906-1916," MA thesis by Patrick M. Lynch, Bloomsburg State College, 1974, 165 pages, is only detailed study of IWW in anthracite.

AWO and NPL: Agricultural references of Chapter VII, also Robt. L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire*, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1955, p. 135 etc.; Joel Watne ties changed outlook to dollar wheat in "Public Opinion Toward Non-Conformists," in *North Dakota History*, Winter 1967; Charles J. Haug, "IWW in North Dakota, 1913-1917," *North Dakota Quarterly*, Winter 1971-72.

Everett: Norman H. Clark's *Milltown* (Univ. of

Washington Press, 1970) probes social history background, and his "Everett, 1916 and After," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1966, pp. 57-64; Walker C. Smith's *The Everett Massacre*, IWW 1918; Robert Tyler, *Rebels of the Woods* (1967) and "The Everett Free Speech Fight," *Pacific Historical Quarterly*, 1954, pp. 19-30; Kornbluh, 105-126, includes contemporary and participant accounts; Dubofsky, 333-343; Foner, 518-548.

Minnesota Lumber 1916-1917: John Haynes' "Revolt of the Timberbeasts," in *Minnesota History*, Spring 1971, summarizes 1500 page typescript report by Governor's investigating committee.

Australia: Renshaw, 279-287; Ian Turner, *Sydney's Burning* (Alpha Books, Sydney, 1969) is chief account; also his *Industrial Labour and Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1965; Bertha Walker, *Solidarity Forever!* (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 102-134; Joe Harris, *The Bitter Fight*, 1970.

Chapter IX (1917-1918). Great wartime profits provide essential background for period, noted in Nye Committee Report, Report 944, Senate, 74th Congress, 1st Session, and in Congressional debate on Chamberlain bill regarding lumber, *NYT* April 6, 1918 and June 30.

Basic study of effort to suppress IWW is William Preston's *Aliens and Dissenters* (Harvard University Press, 1963, later Harper Torchback paperback) based on study of government correspondence, etc.; p. 129 for proof IWW membership lists given Gompers for blacklist; Joan Jensen's *The Price of Vigilance*, Rand McNally, 1968, describes some of the unofficial terrorism against IWW; Eldridge F. Dowell, *History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation*, John Hopkins 1939 and Da Capo reprint 1970 has focus on state action. Robert C. Sims, "Idaho Criminal Syndicalism Act," in *Labor History*, 1974, explores motivations and its surviving ban on slowdowns; Dorothy B. Schmidt, "Sedition in the State of Washington," MA thesis, history, Washington State College, 1940; Woodrow Whitten, "Criminal Syndicalism and the Law in Cali-

fornia," *American Philosophical Transactions*, 1969, pp. 1-73.

IWW attitude toward War: Foner, 554-558; Kornbluh, 316-348; Dubofsky, 349-358; James O'Brien, "Wobblies and Draftees: the IWW's Wartime Dilemma, 1917-1918," in *Radical America*, Sept.-Oct. issue, 1967. For Rockford draft resistance, see John J. Burns, "IWW in Illinois During WWI," MA thesis, history, Western Illinois University, 1972.

Agriculture: Carl F. Reuss, "The Farm Labor Problem in Washington 1917-1918," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, October 1943; Thorstein Veblen, "Using the IWW to Harvest Grain," *Journal of Political Economy*, December 1932; and agricultural references given to chapters 7 and 8.

Lumber: Tyler; Dubofsky, 358-365; Benjamin G. Rader, "The Montana Lumber Strike of 1917," in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, May 1967 draws on District Forester reports to acquit IWW of sabotage; Robert Herrin, "Great Lumber Strikes in Northern Idaho," MA thesis, history, Northern Illinois, 1967.

Copper: John H. Lindquist and James Fraser, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Bisbee Deportation," in *Pacific Historical Review*, November 1968; *American West*, May and November 1972, for pro-company account of Bisbee and insider rejoinder; Philip Taft, in *Labor History*, Winter 1972, includes Bisbee aftermath and whitewash trials; *Arizona and the West*, Autumn 1969, Lindquist account of Jerome deportation; Arnon Gutfield, "The Speculator Disaster," in *Arizona and the West*, Spring 1969, and "Murder of Frank Little," in *Labor History*, Spring 1969, implying Anaconda used IWW to hamper AFL organizing, a notion discredited by Brissenden's evidence on rustling card in *American Economic Review*, December 1920.

Big Trials: Chicago indictment is quoted complete in *Labor History*, Fall 1970; Philip Taft's summary of the trial in issue of Winter 1972; Michael Johnson, "IWW and Wilsonian Democracy," in *Science and Society*, Summer 1964; there is out-of-print pamphlet, *The Silent Defense*, on Sacramento trial; on Wichita

indictment, Clayton R. Koppes, "The Kansas Trial of the IWW, 1917-1919" in *Labor History*, Summer, 1975, and "The IWW and County Jail Reform 1915-1920" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1975; the most extensive research on Wichita case is by Bruce White for dissertation still in preparation (1976) at Sterling College, Kansas.

Chapter X (1919-1921). Harvey O'Connor's *Revolution in Seattle*, Monthly Review Press, 1964, gives details of Seattle strike and movement people involved. *Butte Daily Bulletin* of the time (one filed in Wayne State) is repository of both local history and all news that cheered leftists, gives extensive space to left organizations for veterans; for anti-labor purposes in launching American Legion see series in *Nation*, July 7 through 28, 1921 and William Gellerman's *American Legion as Educator*, 1937. Ford strike, Toledo (Rossford) detailed in Wortman dissertation, pp. 101-109. For Sioux City see Taft, "Mayor Short and the AWO," in *Labor History*, Spring 1966.

Centralia: Kornbluh has Anna Louise Strong's biographies of the four defendants, pp 271-274; *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, October, 1954 for Robert Tyler article, April 1966 for McLelland summary of literature on case, and April 1968 for Ray Gunn's article on Ray Becker; *Industrial Worker*, March 17, 1950 for obituary of Becker, buried as Rev. Burgdorf, and February 1973 for research by Tom Copeland on Elmer Smith. There is 1973 reprint of Chaplin's *Centralia Conspiracy* with updating foreword by Eugene Nelson available from IWW.

Winnipeg: See *Canadian Historical Review*, June 1970, for David J. Bercuson's account of Winnipeg strike prolonged out of bureaucratic fear of radical implications of industrial union structure, 1969, pp. 381-399 for Richard Allen's essay on "The Social Gospel," or his 1971 book, *The Social Passion*, Toronto University Press.

Latin America: Peter De Shazzo (Dept. of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison) and Robert J. Halstead (Dept. of History, University of Massachusetts,

Boston) have made the only extensive study of the IWW in Latin America. Their as yet unpublished paper traces IWW in Mexico from WFM support for strikers at Cananea 1906 through the 1911 fight against Diaz, activities via Casa del Obrero Mundial, and 1917-1929 efforts in Tampico despite opposition of Mexican government and U.S. Navy. The Chile account notes successes among marine transport and construction workers 1918-1924, repeated repressions, temporary revival 1931 after fall of Ibanez, and merger into CGT. It includes some account of IWW efforts in Peru, Ecuador and Argentina, and of its Spanish-language publications here and abroad. The manuscript, which may be quoted with their permission, is available only from them.

Chapter XI (1922-1929). Maritime: *Pacific Historical Review*, 1950, pp 385-396, for Giles T. Brown, "West Coast Phase of the Maritime Strike of 1921"; also November 1969 for article, "Politics of Confrontation," for free speech angle of San Pedro 1923 strike. On this strike, Louis B. Perry and Richard S. Perry give 25 pages in their *History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement 1911-1941* (University of California Press, 1963), treating the strike as a disturbance of the labor movement. Dublin Dan's verses, "The Portland Revolution," in various editions of IWW songbook 1933 to date, depict IWW enthusiasm over 1922 events in Portland.

Agriculture: Don D. Lescohier, "IWW in Wheat Harvest," *Harpers*, August 1923, reports 1922 trip by this economist and his staff living the life of the harvester.

Lumber: On IWW job conditioning activities see E.B. Mittleman's articles in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, June and December 1923.

Trials: Re Attorney Harold Mulkes (page 148), see *NYT*, Jan. 15, 1922; on Criminal Syndicalism cases in California, see Woodrow Whitten, *American Philosophical Transactions*, 1969, pp. 1-73.

1924 split: Gambs' book is the only readily available one, otherwise Thomas McEnroe, "IWW Theories, Organization Problems and Appeals as revealed in *In-*

dustrial Worker," University of Minnesota dissertation 1960, and chief study of the IWW, 1924 to 1973, a Ph.D. dissertation in Sociology by Leland W. Robinson, Northwestern University, 1974, unfortunately entitled "Social Movement Organizations in Decline: A Case Study of the IWW," 442 pages, available in three forms from University Microfilms, order No. 74-7808.

Colorado Coal: Gambs; Charles J. Bayard, "The 1927-1928 Colorado Coal Strike," in *Pacific Historical Review*, 1963, pp. 235-250; or Donald J. McClurg, "The Colorado Coal Strike of 1927—Tactical Leadership of the IWW," in *Labor History*, Winter 1963, pp. 68-92. An opera dealing with the shooting of six strikers Nov. 21, 1927, titled *Columbine*, with music by Mary Davis, libretto by Joanna Sampson, was produced at Boulder, Colorado Civic Opera April 1973.

Chapter XII (1930-1940). On Harlan, Ky.: Gambs gives some description of IWW involvement. In 1972 Appalachian Movement Press, Huntington, W.Va., reprinted E.J. Costello's 1931 pamphlet, "The Shame That Is Kentucky's." Herbert Mahler's papers re defense of these miners at Tamiment Institute. On Yakima, 1933, Litchman papers at University of Washington, Seattle; article by Cletus Daniel in *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, October 1974.

Metal and Machinery Workers: Chief study is Roy T. Wortman's dissertation, "The IWW in Ohio," University Microfilms, Order no. 72-4695; extensive discussion of contract question in Robinson's dissertation, no. 74-7808, cited in regard to preceding chapter.

On IWW in Canada: Gary Jewell's account appeared as supplement to *Industrial Worker*, May, 1975.

On Hormel stay-in 1933 see article by Larry D. Engelman in *Labor History*, Fall 1974.

Chapter XIII (1941-1955). *Industrial Worker* for period, Wortman's and Robinson's dissertations; see notes on archival sources.

Chapter XIV (1955-1975). For membership figures: Leland W. Robinson did much of the basic work in

this area in his doctoral dissertation, "Social Movement Organizations in Decline: A Case Study of the IWW," available from University Microfilms. Jerry Calvert's less comprehensive study, "A Changing Radical Political Organization: the Wobblies," although unpublished, was still useful. It was submitted as a Ph.D. thesis to Washington State University in 1972.

Other important sources include Gary Jewell's "IWW in Canada," which first appeared as a supplement to the *Industrial Worker* in May, 1976, and is now available through the IWW General Headquarters as a pamphlet; *Industrial Worker* for the period; *General Organization Bulletin*; General Headquarters correspondence files, and personal interviews with several participants.

Many towns are listed under Strikes only if an IWW strike occurred there. Check also notes in appendix for relevant chapter.

- Agricultural workers, 49, 78, 93-96, 106, 130, 175, 207
- Amalg. Soc. Engineers, 6-7
- AFL, 31, 34, 36, 42, 51, 56, 67, 77, 90, 96, 104, 126, 129, 139, 176, 180, 181, 189
- American Labor Union, 6, 9-11, 23
- Australia, 50, 108, 230, photo
- Bisbee, 119, photo
- Bishop, Ca., 179-80
- Bohn, Frank, 15, 201
- Boring from within, 51
- Brewery workers, 6-8, 21
- Bridges, Harry, 182
- Britain, 50, 183, 220
- Butte, 24, 41, 91, 123
- Canada, 65-6, 139, 151, 177, 209, 231
- Cannon, J.P., 64, 77
- Cedervall, Frank, 166, 172, 210
- Centralia, 131-33
- Check-off, 154, 189
- Chile, 135, 219, 232
- CIO, 174-5, 185, 189
- Cleveland, 42, 86, 136, 169, 184-90, 195-7
- Coal, Colorado, 151-57
- Community action, 204, 212, 214, 216
- Communism, 127, 135-38, 189-90, 197, 198
- Connolly, James, 37-38
- Construction workers, 65-66, 78, 113-14, 144-46, 158-60
- Contracts, 48, 99, 154, 176, 189, 214
- Cooperative shops, 208
- Darrow, Clarence, 24
- Debs, E.V., 5, 10, 20-21, 26
- De Leon, D., 18, 21, 26, 37-40, 82, 225
- Democracy in unions, 5, 25, 150, 179-80, 193, 218
- Detroit, 90, 165, 174
- Direct action, 46, 82, 218
- Duluth, 101
- Education Workers I.U., 208
- Embree, A.S., 151
- Emergency Program, 151
- Erwin, Claude, 148, photo
- Espionage, industrial, 74
- Espionage trials, 123-26
- Ettor, Joe, 56, 95
- Everest, Wesley, 133
- Everett massacre, 106-07, 229
- Flynn, E.G., 49, 76, 86-87, 103, photo
- Ford and Suhr case, 79
- Foster, W.J., 51
- Free speech fights, 48-50, 140, 203, 225
- Fresno, 49
- General Defense Committee, 125, 130, 149, 157, 219
- Garment workers, 46, 98-99
- Goldfield, 31, 225
- Gompers, 11-12, 88, 124, 189, 230
- Grabo, La., 67
- Guam, 217
- Haggerty, T.J., 6, 12, 225
- Haywood, W.D., 12, 15, 24, 30, 52, 121, 138, photo
- Hill, Joe, 96, 198, 228
- Hilton, O.N., 33, 103
- Housemaids, 101
- Industrial Union Manifesto, 12, 225
- International relations, 44, 50, 108, 134-35, 177, 218, 220
- Jones, Mother, 13
- Julian, attorney, 148
- Jurisdiction, 5-8
- Kansas City, 93
- Knights of Labor, 5, 8, 18, 52
- Lawrence, Mass., 53-59
- Little, Frank, 49, 77, 103-04, 114, 120
- Louisiana, 67-69
- Lumber Workers, 34-35, 41, 67-69, 115-17, 122-23, 131, 146-47, 173-74

- Marine Transport Workers, 76,
100, 113, 136, 139-42, 160-65,
181-84
- McNamara, J., 87
- Membership, 21, 23, 41, 79, 95,
111, 129-30, 201, 207, 211
- Metal & Machinery Workers, 148,
165-73, 185-87, 217, photos
- Metal Mine Workers, 31-34, 101-
05, 113, 117-20, 128-29, 148,
179-80
- Metzen, Attorney, 126
- Mexico, 50, 135, 233
- Most, Johann, 18, 82
- Moyer, Chas., 15, 24, 91-92
- National Civic Federation, 5
- New York, 51, 90, 161, 201
- NLRB, 170, 174, 176, 180-81,
184, 186, 213, 215-16
- Oakland, Ca., 175, 195, 203,
photo
- Oil Workers, 113, 148
- One Big Union, Canada, 134, 232
- Philadelphia, 76, 113, 136, 161-62
- Pittsburgh, 42-45, 70
- Portland, Or., 42-45, 215
- Preamble, 4, 14, 29, 39, 185
- Press, IWW, 42, 44, 50, 86, 109,
126, 130, 187, 206
- Preston, M.R., 32
- Race relations, 68, 77, 226
- Railroad workers, 25, 143, 174,
188, 195, photo
- Relations with other unions; see
most of Chap. I and entries under
AFL and CIO, and also 71-73,
76, 98-99, 106, 128, 133, 154,
163-65, 170, 186-87, 191, 197,
219-20
- Riordan, John, 23, 25
- Sabotage, 46, 80-87
- Sacramento, 91
- San Diego, 50-51, 210
- San Francisco, 91, 163, 203, 205
- Scranton Declaration, 6
- Seattle, 41, 107, 111, 128, 193
- Sharks, employment, 38, 47, 202
- Sherman, Chas., 6, 7, 25-28
- Simons, A.M., 20, 25
- Sioux City, 92-93, 130-31, 214
- Socialist Labor Party, 18, 27, 57
- Socialist Party, 20, 27, 81, 92,
102, 136, 201, 204
- Socialist relations to unions, 7, 11,
14-15, 17, 20
- ST&LA, 18-i9
- Songs, IWW, 38, 95, 225
- Splits in IWW, 29, 40, 150, 218
- Spokane, 47-49
- Stability, 45, 53-54, 62, 95, 154,
216
- Stay-in, sitdown strikes, 23-24,
28, 168
- St. John, Vincent, 26-27, 32, 41,
photo
- Street, Jane, 101
- STRIKES:
- Aberdeen, 62
- Akron, 70-74
- Arizona (1917), 117
- Baltimore, 98
- Blueberry, 207
- Boulder Dam, 158
- Bridgeport, 35
- Brooklyn, 51
- Buffalo, 64
- Butte, 118, 128
- Chicago, 44-46
- Cle Ellum, 159
- Cleveland, 169, 176, 185
- Construction 1923, 144-45
- Denver, 105
- Detroit, 74, 100
- Duluth, 77-108
- East Chicago, 44
- East Hammond, 46
- Goldfield, 31, 224
- Grays Harbor, 69
- Harlan, 157
- Hazleton, 226
- Indianapolis, 64
- Lawrence, 54
- Little Falls, 59-60
- Long Beach, 215, photo
- Lowell, 59
- Lumber (1917), 115-17, 120-22
(1919), 131
(1923), 147
(1936), 174
- McKees Rocks, 42, 224
- Mesaba Range, 102-04, 229
- New Bedford, 59

- New York, 51, 64
- Oakfield, 154
- Old Forge, 105, 229
- Paterson, 36, 60, photo
- Peoria, 64
- Philadelphia, 77, 100, 140
- Pittsburgh, 47, 70
- Portland, 34, 60, 140
- Reading, 47
- Rockford, 133
- San Pedro, 141, 233
- San Francisco, 204
- Schenectady, 24, 28, 224
- Seattle, 113
- Skowhegan, 35
- Soldiers' Summit, 78
- Toledo, 129, 232
- Wheatland, 78, photo
- WPA, 174
- Yakima, 106, 160, 235
- Structure, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 20, 23, 25, 29, 93-94, 109, 175
- Students, 203, 208-09
- Subversive listing, 193, 217
- Syndicalism, 83
- Syndicalism, criminal, 111, 140, 149, 211
- Tactics (see stay-in), 57-63, 73, 87, 94-95, 101, 143-44, 146, 167, 185, 217-18, f.n. 11 p. 98
- Taft-Hartley Act, 73, 179, 191-92, 195-96, 217-18
- Tannenbaum, Frank, f.n. 6, p. 88, 90
- Textile workers, 35-36, 41, 53-63
- Thompson, J.P., 28, 37, 53, 143
- Toledo, 129, 231
- Trautman, 6, 25, 27, 43-45
- TRIALS:
 - Boise, 24
 - Buccafori, 51
 - Lawrence, 56
 - Ford & Suhr, 79
 - Everett, 107, 229
 - War-time, 124-126, 231
 - see free speech, syndicalism, criminal
- Unemployed, 89-91, 156-59, 202, 206, photo
- Violence, 34, 43, 46, 56, 71, 80-81, 103, 111-12, 119, 126, 132-33
- Walsh, J.H., 43, 48
- War, position on, 109-10, 114, 181-82, 198, 203
- Waterloo, Ont., 207
- Western Federation, 9-12, 24-29, 34
- Wheatland, Ca., 78-79, photo
- Wobbly, origin of term, 66
- Work Peoples College, 101, 175, photo
- WPA workers, 175
- Yakima, Wash., 106, 160, 207, 233



The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, often called "the Wobblies") was formed in 1905 in hopes of uniting the working class into One Big Union. It promoted industrial organization at a time when craft organization was the established pattern. Its reliance on job action generated much of the strategy and tactics of the modern labor movement. Its theme song "Solidarity Forever" became the picket line favorite of all unions. Today in a world that requires the practice of unions across oceans and other boundaries, increasing attention is being paid to what it has long advocated. This is its story to 1975.

The IWW has always had an influence out of proportion to the size of its membership. But it's good to learn that the membership is slowly beginning to grow again. Every believer in workers' control and in the vision that an injury to one is an injury to all will want to read this unpretentious, craftsmanlike history of the working people who put these ideas into practice. —Staughton Lynd

PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



— THE —
I. W. W.



**A PLAIN STATEMENT
OF ITS
STRUCTURE AND PRINCIPLES**

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CONTENTS

I. Why the Working Class Built the I. W. W.....	3
II. The Economics of Unionism.....	13
III. How the I. W. W. Is Built.....	22
IV. The Social Program of the I. W. W.....	30
V. What the I. W. W. Expects of Its Members.....	36



INTRODUCTION

There IS a way out of the economic chaos that surrounds us. To workers weary of the unfilled promises of politicians, embittered by the betrayals of two-faced labor-leaders into whose hands they have unwisely entrusted their fate, and sick with the experience of being pitted against each other by their craft unions in the great wage wars of this last year, the I. W. W. offers a simple program of rank-and-file industrial unionism whereby the working class can do for itself whatever it needs to have done.

Out of the rush and smoke of modern industry, out of the turmoil of the battle for bread, out of the bitter experience of workers battling for the needs of life against the brute guardians of profit, clear thinking and cool-headed workers have forged the I. W. W. as the most powerful weapon of the class struggle.

In this day when labor is rising to claim its own, the I. W. W. is the most significant, important, and hope-inspiring movement on the face of the earth. It is so because it is built as a union should be built. It alone of all organizations unites all workers into One Big Union of the Working Class.

The need for such an organization is as plain as day. Everyone admits that labor needs to organize. Today it has become the common experience of all that the most effective form of organization is industrial unionism. And as never before, it is clear that the problems that compel workers to organize are problems, for the most

part, that concern the entire working class and that therefore require One Big Union of the Working Class for their solution.

Such an organization of the working class can rest content with no other settlement of the class struggle than a complete victory. Its ultimate purpose cannot be other than a new social order in which industry is run by the workers. "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The revolutionary program of the I. W. W. is not the pipe-dream of a beautiful Utopia, but instead is a practical program of immediate action in the struggle for the shorter hours, the higher wages, and the better working conditions needed today. It is a program of more and more control over our bread and butter, and of making the position of labor stronger and stronger, and of making labor as a whole aware of its interest and destiny. It is only when the power of organized labor becomes greater than the power of organized capital that labor can come into its own and build for itself a world for its own enjoyment.

It is to show to all, simply and clearly, that the I. W. W. does offer such a constructive and practical way out of the economic chaos that surrounds us, that we issue this plain statement of its structure and purposes.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,
September, 1934.



I. WHY THE WORKING CLASS BUILT THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is not ahead of its time. It was not ahead of its time even in 1905, when it was founded. The men who built it then built it upon the basis of their past experience. They built it because they had already felt the need for it. They had felt the need for it because modern industry had already rendered every other organization out of date.

The labor movement itself, and the forms it has taken, is the result of the new mechanical processes that have changed the face of the earth and the machines that have been owned by a class that did not work with them. As the ways of doing work have changed, and as the owners have become fewer and fewer, the labor movement has likewise had to change to cope with the greater problem presented.

What cement is to a brick building, solidarity is to the labor movement. Solidarity is our way of showing in action that we feel common interests and purposes as a group. The growth of the labor movement is a growth toward a more and more effective form of solidarity. The I. W. W. is the most up-to-date expression of this growth. It is in tracing this development that the significance of the I. W. W. becomes most clear.

1790-1835 Local Craft Unions

The union is the business organization of those who make their living by selling their lives. We form unions so that we may jointly set our own price and not underbid each other, or be underbid. If we do not organize,

we let others set their price on our lives, and tell us how long and how hard we must work. This, it has been our experience, guarantees us insult and injury. The union, to furnish protection to its members, must unite all those workers together who might otherwise underbid each other in selling their lives. As the field of competition extends, so must the union take in more territory. As new techniques lead to a situation where even the smallest article is made, not by a few craftsmen, but by a series of giant industrial establishments, so too must the union change to provide effective solidarity.

About five generations ago the merchant capitalist began going around buying materials at bargains, having these materials worked up by craftsmen whom he employed, to be sold in the various places where he had to go to buy more materials. The craftsmen who before had been independent workers catering to the needs of their communities, could not compete with the merchant capitalist and so had to work for him for wages. It was for protection against the menace of splitting up the work, handing a large part of it over to learners and apprentices, and thus depriving the craftsmen of their security in earning their bread and butter, that these craftsmen formed their first unions in the last years of the 18th century. With strike and boycott, they forced agreements protecting their crafts by restricting learners and preventing craft subdivision. This was the labor movement of 1800. Although it spread as far and wide as did the wage system that produced it, yet the actual unions were confined to the workers of one trade in one town, as the printers of Boston, or the shoemakers of Philadelphia.

1835-1870 National Trade Unions

The local craft grouping was not sufficient. The fight these men had against conviction for "conspiring to raise their wages" was the fight of the working class on the one hand against the employing class on the other. Workers felt the need for a union that could express the common working class interest of the entire community. Accordingly, in Philadelphia in 1827 they formed the first city central union, with delegates from many of the local crafts. This more effective form of organization won the first major victory of the American labor movement when by a generalized wave of strikes in 1835 the hours of labor were changed from sunrise to sunset, to ten hours per day.

Even by 1835, however, this city central labor union as a form of organization had already been outdistanced by technical progress, particularly in transportation. The Erie canal had been dug, improved roads had been built, and locomotives were actually spitting along the track at the tremendous speed of eight miles per hour. Both printers and their products moved more readily from town to town. The competition that before this had been confined to the printers of the same locality, was now a competition among all printers and required a national organization by which similar practices and wage rates could be established in all communities, and by which the printer who "ratted" in one town could be punished no matter where he went. In response to this need the first national trade union, that of the printers, was founded in 1835. Until the middle of the sixties, when the Civil War marked the triumph of industrial

capitalism over an agricultural aristocracy, such national trade unions were the typical structures of the labor movement.

These trade unionists were forced to take action not only to protect their own trade, but to protect their interest as members of the working class. The earlier fight for free public schools and against imprisonment for debt and compulsory military service, the persistent and united efforts of employers to smash the unions, the steady antagonism of the courts, the obvious privileges of the employing class to buy immunity from military service in the Civil War—all these everyday experiences made the union men well aware that they had a class interest to defend and that they needed a class organization to defend it. Many experiments were made in building such a class organization. The Labor Congresses of the sixties met, adjourned, and left nothing but a felt need behind them. The National Labor Union was founded in 1866 and despite its promising efforts among eastern factory workers, it disappeared in 1872. The Knights of Labor in the mid-eighties offered the first serious promise of such an organization of the working class. To offset it, trade union officials set on preserving craft separatism, deliberately founded the American Federation of Labor in 1886 as a weapon with which to attack the growing solidarity of labor.

1869-1886 Knights of Labor

On Christmas Day, 1869, a defeated but not dejected handful of garment cutters founded the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor as a secret society. Dedicating itself to the ideal of working class solidarity, it took in workers from many industries, many of them

being members of other unions at the same time. In 1876 it started to work openly, and in the early eighties it launched the first serious effort ever made to organize masses of unskilled workers.

In 1884 and 1885 the Knights built themselves a splendid reputation by their successful railway strikes. Since the defeat of the spontaneous and unorganized strike of 1877 the railway men had been almost completely disorganized. The Knights swept the major trunk lines of the west, winning by the united action of the running trades and shop crafts, and bringing Jay Gould, the most hated and most powerful capitalist of the day, to humiliating defeat.

The year 1886 was a year of intense struggle. Workers everywhere were anxious to strike. The trade unions issued a call for a general strike for eight hours on May first; and despite the attack of the police on the Haymarket meeting, and the "red scare" of anarchism created by the employing class and their journals in their lust for the blood of those whose earnest endeavor had produced this militancy, a splendid and very successful fight was put up. In the upsurge of the working class at last acting for itself, the Knights of Labor grew as in a hothouse, reaching the hitherto unrivalled membership of 750,000.

Its conquests brought out its defects. The Knights of Labor was neither a class union, a mass union, a trade union, nor an industrial union. It tried to be all of these, as well as a fraternal order, and was none of them. It took in as members men who had at one time been wage earners but were so no longer. Terrence V. Powderly, the Grand Master Workman, was Mayor of Scranton, a storekeeper, an employer, and had a finger in almost

every pie from Irish land reform to Kansas agrarianism. The guardians of the sacred tradition of the earlier secret society feared the inrush of members and refused to issue charters or supply organizers in the hectic upsurge of 1886. Powderly opposed the eight hour strike of that year. He acted the Pontius Pilate toward the Haymarket victims. In the fall of the year he called off the Chicago packinghouse strike when it was commonly felt that it was about to be won. The American working class had almost succeeded in converting what had been launched as a fraternal order into the One Big Union that it needed. It failed because of the concentration of power in the hands of a few officials, and because of the structural hodge-podge of the Knights, but chiefly because of the death-blow delivered by the guardians of the vested interests of craft unionism.

The American Federation of Labor

The Knights in their rapid growth had taken over whole locals of many of the trade unions, sometimes starting trade unions of their own, sometimes putting the members taken over into district and semi-industrial organizations. The officials of the trade unions were alarmed at this, and met in December, 1886, for a council of war to exterminate the Knights. The A. F. of L., thus established, ordered a retreat from the fighting spirit of the earlier part of that year, and passed sentence of death on the greater solidarity that the Knights had meant to the mass of American workers.

The set-up of the American Federation was that of a loose Federation of trade unions, each with its autonomy and its jurisdiction carefully safeguarded. "The American Federation of Labor," said Samuel Gompers, "is not

an organization; it is a federation of organizations." Workers do not belong to the A. F. of L.; they belong instead to some international (so-called because of its branches in Canada) that is affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Federation does not even purport to be an organization of the working class.

The triumph of this set-up has been disastrous to the growth of solidarity. The felt need of the American worker has been that of industrial unionism. The A. F. of L. has not only perpetuated the partition of an industry into several or many craft unions; but by permitting these craft unions to take in workers following the same craft in several industries, it has almost made impossible the merger of the several crafts in the same industry into one industrial union. It was only by mighty pressure against the jurisdictional claims of these Internationals that the United Mine Workers, formed in 1890 as a part of the A. F. of L., could claim all workers in and about mines. (Having established this basis of industrial solidarity it promptly set to work to wreck it by setting up a district structure with district agreements expiring at different dates.) The brewery workers and many others have had a continuous fight with the other unions that claim members in the industry they seek to organize. The growth of the American labor movement had thus become a growth up a blind alley.

Various structures have been devised as make-shifts to overcome these difficulties. The Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, etc., have been set up, each with local Councils under them. But because of jurisdictional disputes, these have been torn up, and often the most important unions left outside. More recently Federal Unions of the A. F. of L. have been

offered as a substitute for industrial unionism. These Federal Unions, so called because of their affiliation with the A. F. of L. instead of with its Internationals, were originally devised to organize workers where no local of the Internationals could be established. They are required to surrender their members to the respective Internationals so soon as these are in a position to establish locals of their own. Lately they have been used in the basic industries to organize all employees of great industrial plants. Their very life is continuously threatened by the Internationals, and there is no provision to unite Federal Unions in the same industry in an industrial set-up. Always in structure, and often in outlook, they are identical with company unions. At the beginning of this century, even as today it was apparent that progress toward more effective solidarity could be achieved only by an abrupt departure from the road that the A. F. of L. was taking.

1905 Industrial Union Congress

This abrupt departure was made in 1905 by the founding of the I.W.W. Those who founded it were men whose experience showed them the need for such industrial organization; metal and coal miners anxious that their industrial unity should not be threatened by the jurisdictional claims of electricians and hoisting engineers; brewery workers insistent that all engaged in the same industry be in the same union; railway men realizing that one union in their industry would be more effective and more economical than a score of unions; and class conscious workers of all occupations who realized that what the working class needs is one big union of the working class. By creating a One Big Union that had a

place in one or another of its industrial unions for every member of the working class; by making this structure flexible enough to fit every change in our rapidly changing industrial life; and by vesting all power in the membership, these clear-thinking and cool-headed workers turned out a fool-proof job that has weathered every storm.

And the I. W. W. has had a stormy career. It electrified the west coast with its sawmill strike of 1906. It tamed the coal and iron cossacks of Pennsylvania in 1909 with its famous message: "For every striker's life that you take, a state trooper's life will be taken." It tied up railroad construction in western Canada until fit camp conditions were established. It eclipsed the conservative labor unions with its upsurge of textile strikes in 1912 and 1913. It turned the abject misery of the depression of 1914 into an ominous cry of revolt. It defeated the gigantic steel trust again in the Mesaba Range iron mine strike of 1916. It turned the fight between white and black lumberjacks in Louisiana into a combined fight for a better life. It alone of all unions took an honest stand against the murderfest of 1914-18. It converted the lousy, bundle-laden and hopeless timber-beast of the northwest into a self-respecting organized worker. It organized the docks of Philadelphia and once again made industrial solidarity supreme over race prejudice. It brought out the lumber camps, the oil workers, and the dock workers and seamen of the west coast in a tremendous strike in 1923, not merely for their own demands, but, as a splendid expression of labor solidarity, in a demand for the release of those who had been put in jail for exposing the hideousness of Wall Street's plunge into the European blood bath. It brought

out the company terrorized coal miners of Colorado in 1927-28 in the first strike that ever brought out all fields in the state. Through all these years the I. W. W. had vigorously fanned the flames of discontent and produced strikes not its own. Through the profit-sharing, employee-stock hallucination of 1929, and the hysteria of the panic years in which all other species of radicalism foamed and fumed over every panacea except the building of a vigorous labor movement, the I. W. W. educational work went on, bearing fruit in the clearly voiced demand for industrial organization that came from the working class in 1933 and 1934. And through it all, it developed organization forms ever more and more effective, and has shown that the One Big Union idea is simple enough, plastic enough, adaptable enough, to meet every working class need.

The I. W. W. is the final expression of the growth of the labor movement toward a more and more effective form of solidarity. It is the form taken by the labor movement whereby its very power to bargain most effectively does away with the need to bargain with the absentee owners of industry, and makes the producers the masters of production. It is at the same time the practical working form whereby labor can set up and run a new social order based on the economy of abundance. And because it is all these things that labor has come to know that it will need, it is all the more effective in rallying labor for the everyday struggle. Today the I. W. W. is growing rapidly in almost every industry, winning strikes and setting up shop, ship and pit committees. Truly the day of the I. W. W. is here.

II. THE ECONOMICS OF UNIONISM

The I. W. W. is built to do things. Because of this it contemptuously dismisses the quackery of any brand of economics that fatalistically hands down economic laws alleged to determine wages, prices, and every economic fact of life. Organized direct action has pushed wages up; scabs have been brought in to push wages down; union officials have made foolish time agreements that kept their members plodding along at pre-war wage rates while war time prices soared; it is power and what men do, that counts. Scabs, and rough treatment for scabs, unemployed workers offering themselves at any price; blacklists and picket lines; strike funds and employers' associations; union betrayals and union militancy—these are the factors that for good or ill have determined the results.

The Cheapest Thing on Earth

We live in a world of purchase and sale. We must sell so that we can buy. But there are over thirty million breadwinners who have nothing to sell but their lives, their labor power, their ability to work. So they try to make a living by selling their lives at so much per hour. This is a very peculiar business. Every other business is run for profit; but it is as impossible for a man to make a profit by selling his life as it is for him to get rich by picking his own pocket. There is nothing that he can get back worth what he gives.

The entire nature of the business is such that we are certain to get the worst of it. We sell our labor-power, our very life, at so much an hour; by means of scraps

of green paper and round bits of metal we swap these precious hours, and this energy and ability, for shoes, and bread, and the other things that we need. When the market for shoes shrinks, when the price becomes such that it is not good business to make more shoes, the factories close down; for the supply of shoes, as of all other things that we buy, is restricted by business-like considerations. But this labor-power that we sell—this is pushed on the market to glut the market no matter how bad that market may be. When the market for human lives goes down, and Pa can't find a job, he keeps the kids home from school and puts them to work, and thus gluts the market further. When wages have shrunk too much, the young married fellow is willing for his wife to go to work to help out for the time being. When the market gets completely shot, and all the shoe factories, and shipyards, and clothing factories are shut down, we all stay at home, and eat and sleep, and mate, and breed, and keep on producing human lives for sale, entirely disregarding the fact that there is no market for them. With our very lives we glut the market for our lives and make it impossible to sell them.

Why Do We Do It?

We did not pick this business out for ourselves; we inherited it. In fact, no matter with what pay-checks, time slips and contracts or other business forms it may be disguised, it is not business at all; it is slavery. Wage workers are wage-slaves.

It should be clear that we sell our ability to work to those who own the machines and the natural resources, the things in general on which and with which we must work if we are to work at all. If we owned these things

ourselves, we would have no occasion to offer our lives for sale. Our class made these things for another class, for whom our fathers worked, for whom we work, and for whose children our children will work, unless we, the last slave class on earth, organize as a class to abolish slavery forever.

That we are wage slaves is not a figure of speech; it is a statement of fact. A slave is one who must work for another, producing what he is told to produce, and turning the product over to the master. That is what the chattel slaves did for their living. That is what the serfs did for theirs. That is precisely what we do.

The mere fact that we can switch from employer to employer does not stop us from being slaves; the helots of ancient Sparta like us were the property, not of any industrial master, but the general property of the master class. To one or the other of the owners of industry we must go and seek work. That a member of our class now and then becomes an employer does not alter the fact; slaves have risen to the rank of master before.

The fact that we can quit, be fired, and join the unemployed, is sometimes called "freedom of contract." This "freedom" is granted us because it costs less to put up signs "Men Wanted," than it would to capture us, ship us, stable us, breed us, or buy us. But here we are doing the work that others have set us to do, working the hours that they have set us to work, or sitting home and twiddling our thumbs because they have told us to twiddle our thumbs, being their slaves in all things except insofar as our unions have set us free. Any man may be enslaved; but he who is willingly a slave, and who willingly sells his children into slavery, is no man at all. The I. W. W. could not maintain its self-respect

if it were not a revolutionary union seeking to free the last slave class on earth. We could not hold our heads erect and aim at less. Just as the worker is compelled out of self-respect to join a union to stop others from setting their price upon his very life, so too must the union recognize that this entire business of offering human life for sale at so much per hour is a disgraceful business, and set out to abolish it. This can be done only by "taking possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolishing the wage system."

Where to Fight

The gypping of a working class in this situation presents no great puzzle. It requires no trick currency, bank credits, or other hocus pocus. If these are used they are only trimmings. The plain facts stand out clearly. Another class owns the things with which and upon which we must work. To these we add our labor. The product belongs, not to us, but to them. What we produce has no more bearing on what we get than what the chattel slave produced had on what he got. We can produce 200 times as much as our forefathers could before there were steam engines, motors and modern machines. We certainly do not get 200 times as much. Increasing our production will not increase our pay. This holds true no matter what bonus, gang-piece work or other incentive system of payment may be used. It is because we lack the organized power to get as wages the equivalent of the wealth that we produce, that we are robbed, that we are kept as a subject class, and that we work ourselves into unemployment.

We are robbed when we produce, not when we buy. Were it the other way about, then the more we bought, the more we would be robbed; and, since workers cannot afford to buy much they could not be robbed very much. But our employers, who can buy far more than we do, would be robbed far more than we are. No social order in which the employing class lives without working could be explained in this way. It is at the mine, the mill, the factory, the place where we work, that we are exploited. It is here that we must put up our fight. That is why the I. W. W. does not favor the various programs that dissipate the energy of the working class in efforts to remedy their grievances at all places except the great industries that have been established, not to produce pig iron and shoes, but exclusively for the purpose of exploiting the workers who obtain employment there.

How to Fight

On the job it is the work of the union to increase wages, regulate hours, and improve working conditions. The forces that influence our wages and other terms of employment are such that no one outside the working class can influence these things. The keener the competition for the job, the lower the wages will tend to sink. Nothing but organized labor can regulate that competition. The faster and harder we work, the sooner we work ourselves out of a job. That can be stopped only by an understanding among the workers themselves to set their own pace. The more we fear that the unemployed are anxious to step in and take our places, the more subservient we become, and the more readily do we take the half-loaf that the boss offers. This fear

can be overcome only by a One Big Union that unites the man on the job and the man without a job for their common benefit.

The man on an unorganized job suffers as much as anyone from unemployment. He suffers in wage-cuts and in speed-up, in humiliating treatment, in putting up with rotten conditions. He has just as much interest in improving the conditions of relief whereby his unemployed competitor is kept in cold storage, as Jim Jobless himself has in seeing that the men on the job are organized and will take their work easier and work shorter hours, and thus increase his chances for employment. Jim Jobless has just as much interest in helping John Workox get more pay so that his increased purchases may create a demand for more workers, as John Workox has in unemployed relief, knowing that the more any worker gets, the steadier he himself will work. The only answer to the entire vicious circle whereby exploitation produces unemployment, and unemployment produces still further shrunk markets and therefore more unemployment, and this in turn produces more abjectness, more speed-up and lower wages, all this in turn producing still more unemployment, because it produces an even greater disparity between the wealth produced by labor and the wealth that labor can buy back — this entire vicious circle requires for its answer a class organization that will unite the employed and the unemployed, so that they fight, not against each other, but for their common class interest; a militant union ever ready to play its trump card by telling the owners of industry: If you can't run these industries so that we all live, we will start running them ourselves.

The Class Nature of Unionism

The economics that underlies unionism makes it clear that unions exist only because of the class struggle. No union can work effectively if it proceeds on any other assumption than that the interests of the workers are directly opposed to the interests of their employers. The trade union movement as a whole is in complete accord with the company unions in denying this struggle, in insisting that strikes come about because of misunderstandings, and in asserting the possibility of an "intelligent" capitalism in which employers would be moved by pious union advocates to pay more wages so that their employees could give them a greater volume of business. All this is nonsense. It is not misunderstanding that causes employers to fire militant unionists, nor is it misunderstanding that causes workers to seize opportunities to raise their wages. Our fight against the human exploiter is no more based on his personal character than is our fight against the bed-bug; we fight both because of the way in which they make their living. "This struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

The Fight Is Worth While

We puzzle and scheme how to make ends meet, to pay the grocery bill and the butcher bill, and all the other bills with the pay-check that we get. We buy bread from the baker at the price that he has set on it. He could not let us set the price on it without going out of business. To get the money to buy the bread, we sell our lives at so much per hour—and, if we are not organized, we have not one word to say about what the price

shall be. In this way we can no more expect to make ends meet, than could the baker and butcher expect to keep in business if they let their customers set their own prices on bread and beefsteak.

The fallacy is wide-spread that organized effort to raise wages is not worth while; that the workers are no better off for their higher pay because, it is argued, the increase in wages is eaten up by a consequent increase in price. This is nonsense. If wages rise from \$5 to \$7.50 per day for a group of workers each of whom have been producing a \$20 article each day, what will happen to the price of these articles? Will the extra \$2.50 be added to it? Should this happen, the employer would still have the same \$15 margin as before, and would have no reason to oppose the increase. Even should it happen, it would now take only three days' wages instead of four, for the worker to buy one of these articles for himself. But the \$2.50 cannot be added to the price for the simple reason that nothing has affected the market to increase the price. The employer opposes high wages because he knows that when these men raise their pay from \$5 to \$7.50, the price will stay just where it was, making his margin drop from \$15 to \$12.50. If the men are to be as badly off with their \$7.50 as they were with their previous \$5, then the product must sell for four times their new wage, or for \$30, and thus leave a margin of \$22.50 for the employer. If this were the case the employers would welcome and promote wage increases. Therefore the assumption that higher wages must cause higher prices is absurd.

Just as farmers find it best to restrict the supply of potatoes in order to boost the price, so have workers found it best to cut the hours in order to raise their

wages. "So long as one man is looking for work and not finding it, the hours of labor are too long." By dividing the number of hours work there is to be done among those willing and able to do it, "the great insoluble problem of unemployment" is solved. When no man is left looking for a job, wages will start climbing of their own accord.

The less of our lives that we sell for our living, the better the bargain is for us. To end this glut of human life known as unemployment, we must actually sell less of our lives, not merely fewer hours. If in six hours we exhaust ourselves as formerly we did in eight or ten, there is no gain for us in the change. For this reason we cannot rely upon legislative enactment of shorter hours or upon restriction of working hours by agreement among employers. It is only when the workers have cut the working day by their own organized action that the power is there to assure that speed-up will not offset the gain.

Such a program requires the sort of job organization and job action that is to be found only in the I. W. W. The same job organization and job action is needed to regulate the conditions under which our lives are sold, to enforce safety and sanitary provisions, and to make sure that after we have given up the use of our bodies for a shift, we will have the whole body to take home, not short a finger, a foot, or an eye.

To wrest every possible concession from capitalism; to boost wages; to establish better working conditions; to regulate hours; to absorb the unemployed, and convert their great mass from a dead weight pressing down on the wages of the employed into a mighty force for the betterment of both; and, eventually, to throw this

crazy system of maliciously planned want into the ash-can of history, and replace it with labor's planned economy of abundance—all this will take a labor movement built for effectiveness, built to rally every available force, built as the I. W. W. alone is built.

III. HOW THE I. W. W. IS BUILT

Organization is no more the mere addition of workers than is gunpowder the mere addition of charcoal, saltpeter and sulphur, or water the sum of hydrogen and oxygen. Just as water and gunpowder have qualities that come from the combination of these elements, and that are not to be found in the elements themselves, so has a union of workers a capacity and behavior astonishingly different from the character and behavior of the same group unorganized.

What Organization Does

Almost everything that unorganized workers do is something that harms them. Their very eagerness for a job lowers wages. Their speed and hurry on the job brings both it and them to an early end. Their scrimping and saving lowers living standards. Almost everything from their hurry to work in the morning to their winding the alarm clock at night, though done with the intent of increasing their income, assuring their security, and raising their social position, is something that works to decrease that income, endanger that security, and lower that social position. Today it is painfully clear that the results obtained are directly opposed to the results that have been sought by years of individualistic

striving. This is not because the working class is brainless; it is because the working class is unorganized. Were a man so disorganized that his eyes and hands and feet would not work together, we would scarcely expect him to act for his own good. Neither can we expect an unorganized working class to act for its own benefit.

It is the great transformation from a group of workers acting against their own interests, to a group collectively and knowingly acting for their own interests that constitutes organization.

The results achieved by organization are not miracles. If two men push on a body, one east with 100 pound pressure, and the other west with 90 pounds pressure, the net result is that the body will be pushed east by a force of 10 pounds; if the two men push in the same direction they exert a pressure of 190 pounds, increasing results nineteen times. Similarly, through organization, workers cease acting at cross purposes, and expend their energy for a common purpose. Not only does organization give these workers more power to carry out their plans but it provides for better plans. Thinking and planning become organized group thinking. A group of men working together meet in their union hall to decide on methods of raising their pay. The information of the one is added to the information of the other; collectively they have more information than the best informed among them. The plan of action finally agreed upon is better and more fitting than the wisest of them could devise, for their collective experience is greater than any individual experience. Such a union meeting is a better example of organized deliberation than could be offered by all the parliaments and

congresses in the world. Here it is the men who have actual knowledge of the facts who devise the plan; here it is those who make the plans who must carry them out; consequently there is no "passing the buck" here; there is no reliance on oratory as a substitute for facts; it is indeed the structure of a more efficient society within the shell of the old.

Efficient Union Machinery

A union is a fighting organization, and its first concern must be to be efficient. We measure the efficiency of an engine, not merely by the output of work that it does, but by comparing this with the input of coal, gasoline, kilowatt hours, or other energy used up in doing the work. Efficiency is reckoned by dividing the output by the input. The union must be built both for effectiveness and efficiency. By the industrial union and one big union structure the greatest possible addition of forces is obtained, and thus the maximum effectiveness is achieved. But a union must also be built so that the maximum gains are achieved with the minimum of days lost, sacrifices made, dues or assessments or other input by the membership. Properly devised job organization is essential to such efficiency. A general sympathetic strike to gain what could as readily be obtained by the having the workers of one department of some plant take their work leisurely for a day or two, would not be efficient, even though the desired effect might no doubt be obtained. By far the most efficient strategy of the union is action on the job; stopping work without walking out in some instances, and getting paid flat rates for such a strike; the direct enforcement of working rules;

the slow down to adjust a grievance; or reducing hours by the simple, fool-proof and certain method of working the hours decided upon and then walking off.

To assure effectiveness and efficiency, organization must be built from the job up. It must be free from all brakes on action, whether these brakes be time contracts that oblige one part of the union to scab on another, or the delegation of power to officials to call off strikes or to veto strike calls. The problems of workers in a department of a large industrial plant must be solved by those who are directly concerned, and not left up to the debate of larger meetings of a more general character. When prompt action is needed each unit must be free to take it. All this is essential for efficiency; but to make the fullest use of this efficiency, job organizations must be a part of a larger structure built of such organizations; and while each unit must be as free as the fingers on one's hand, yet, like these fingers, they must be able to be brought together in the mighty clenched fist of One Big Union. The constitution of the I. W. W. provides such machinery.

Local Organization

All members who work on the same job belong to the same job branch. In the case of some large industrial establishments the job branch has to be subdivided into departmental organizations. All members working in the same industry in the same locality belong to the same chartered industrial union branch, where the local accounts are kept, and to which supplies of membership cards, etc., are issued by the Industrial Union. From the Branch these supplies in turn are issued to the most important officer of the I. W. W.—the job delegate.

This job delegate is the fellow who carries an entire office in his hip pocket:—applications for membership, membership cards, due stamps, and forms on which to record his transactions with the membership. This fellow replaces the costly and arrogant business agent of the old trade union. Ordinarily his branch empowers him to act to call meetings, and to arrange for the adjustment of grievances. The ability of the I. W. W. to seize organization opportunities and to expand rapidly, is largely due to this job delegate system that has trained a corps of organizers and given them experience in turning the unorganized men into active unionists, and non-union jobs into union jobs. At the same time it is this job delegate system that, by developing the latent ability of the membership, has safeguarded both the stability and the rank-and-file character of the organization; for in the I. W. W. no man can make himself indispensable and thereby have his way with the membership, and no arrests or other elimination of a handful of officers can stop the organization from going ahead with its work.

It is the work of the industrial union branch, not merely to co-ordinate the activities of the job branches, but to organize all plants in the same industry in its locality. In this the Industrial Union and the One Big Union structure are a great advantage. Expansion into other unorganized plants, is usually based upon the personal contacts of members with their friends in the plants to be organized. The wider the basis of contact, the more readily this can be done; the greater the feeling of solidarity, the more certain it is to be done.

To provide for the fullest possible local solidarity of labor, Industrial District Councils have been set up. It is their work to provide for joint action by all Industrial Union branches on such matters as are of common concern, such as to arrange for strike relief, to enforce boycotts, to carry on the work of industrial union education, to undertake anything in which all workers can participate regardless of the industry in which they are employed.

The General Organization

All members are directly members of the I. W. W., not of the industrial unions. When a member changes his line of work, he is required to transfer from the industrial union to which he has belonged to the industrial union which has jurisdiction over the line of work that he has taken up. There is no charge for this transfer, which is recorded both on the organization records and in the member's book, which is still retained by him. There is an industrial union for each clearly demarked industry; and in one or other of these industrial unions there is a logical place for every member of the working class. Job delegates and branch secretaries are empowered to initiate members and to collect dues in all industrial unions, the consequent adjustments being made by the central bookkeeping system maintained by the general organization.

Each Industrial Union has its own General Organization Committee, which controls the funds of the Industrial Union, these being obtained by remittance of a portion of the dues from the Industrial Union Branches. The General Organization Committee of the Industrial Union promotes new branches, and assists existing

branches in their campaigns, following policies laid out for them at the Industrial Union conventions, and it in general directs organization work within its Industrial Union.

To co-ordinate all these sundry activities in accordance with the principles of the I. W. W. Preamble, and in accordance with the General Constitution, the I.W.W. maintains its General Office, with a system of communication with all parts of the organization, its official organ and literature, and its General Executive Board, which is the executive authority between conventions.

Alike in the Branch, the Industrial Union, and the General Organization, rank and file control is assured by such provisions as that all by-laws and constitutional changes are effective only after they have been carried by referendum; that all officers are subject to recall; that referendum may be initiated by the members through the branch business meetings; that the same persons are not eligible for delegate to an industrial union or general convention on successive years; and provisions limiting the number of terms for which an official may be re-elected.

The I. W. W. also maintains the following auxiliary organizations:

The General Defense Committee was founded in 1917 to protect any worker persecuted for legitimate union activity. Persons who are not wage workers, and so not eligible for membership in the I. W. W., as well as any other persons who subscribe to the principles of labor defense, may become members of the General Defense Committee.

To give the youth of the working class an understanding of the purposes of the labor movement, the Junior Wobbly Union was established in 1928 ("Wobbly" is a slang term for members of the I. W. W., said to have been derived from the attempts of a Chinese restaurant proprietor in British Columbia, whose restaurant was used to furnish relief to I. W. W. railway construction strikers, to pronounce "the three magic letters" — I. W. W.) For adult labor education, and in particular to train organizers and speakers, Work Peoples College has been established in Duluth, Minn., as a residential labor school.

In this manner the I. W. W. provides all the facilities for a self-sufficient labor movement, that can fill every working class need.

IV. THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE I. W. W.

Capitalism must go. The profit system has declared war on our class. Our only answer is to declare war on it.

To the millions out of work the profit system has declared: "Quit working, quit producing the goods that you need—and quit living if you must."

To the millions still at work the profit system has declared: "Step on it; work yourself out of a job; work yourself to a premature old age; poison yourself; rupture yourself; kill yourself at work—we are not in business for our health."

To these combined millions the profit system has said: "Buy so long as you have anything to buy with—but may the buyer beware! We permit no restrictions that would require us to advertise honestly. And though our medicines may kill you, our soaps and dyes infect you, and our very antiseptics harbor the bacteria they are alleged to kill, we must protect business, not buyers."

To these combined millions the profit system has said: "We shall permit no change that is not good for business. True though it be that science has made it possible for all to have enough, we shall stand in the road of your having enough. It is not profitable for us to let you have enough, no matter how easily enough can be produced. We forbid you—all of you—from living fully."

To all men the profit system has declared that war is good for business, bad as it may be for men. It has declared war on us in no uncertain terms. The social program of the I. W. W. is to declare war on the profit system, to push business out of the control of industry, to free the forces that can provide plenty for all, and to establish the workers' new economy of enough.

What We Can Have

There can be a standard of living for all people such as no people ever had before. Every street and home can be made a place of beauty. Slums can be wiped out, and cities rebuilt so that transportation can be faster and less dangerous; so that quiet may be had where it is wanted; so that in living we do more of what we want to, and waste less time in getting ready to do it. Every child can have the educational facilities to develop its abilities to the fullest. Every adult can be assured of the opportunity to work, and of receiving substantially the equivalent of the wealth that he produces, and of the chance of producing all that he wants. All can have the best in medical and other care that science can offer, with the economic inducements alike for quackery and guild restrictions removed. Fear and worry—the fear and worry of unemployment, of war, all the fears that man has of his fellow man—can be banished, and mankind can live and grow in the hope and security that will prevail in the world that labor can build for itself.

Only labor can build such a world. No other class is concerned with building it. No other class is able to build it. It is to be built by ending the present business-like sabotage of the productive forces, and using our

industries, our resources, our scientific achievements to the fullest. This can be done only by those who operate the industries.

No mob will take over this earth; it will be taken over by labor — organized, educated, and fully competent to take it over. It will be labor with a will to work, not labor content with twiddling its thumbs. It will be a working class that has lost the last vestige of the slave, and that has become fully aware that it is only its own obedience to the dictates of capital that has given capital its appearance of almighty power.

The Source of All Power

It appears that capitalists can cut wages, speed up workers, lengthen hours, make wars, break strikes, put labor agitators in jail, and do substantially what they want to do. But wage cuts become effective only when workers do the work at reduced rates. Hours are lengthened only when workers work the longer hours. Wars are possible only because workers slaughter each other in them. So with all things offered as evidence of the power of the employing class. The wage-cuts and the wars occur because the capitalist class has willed them; but the power that gave that will effect is the power of the workers who carried it out. No capitalist scabs on us, beats up our pickets, works cheaper than the rest of us, or faster. This is always done by members of our class. "We can rule the workers," said Jay Gould, "as long as we can get one half of the working class to fight the other half." The dirty work of capital is always done by its class of hired men—even when they have to be elected to the job of doing it.

It is the work of the One Big Union to switch the allegiance of the working class from the institutions of the employing class, and to attach this allegiance to the institutions of their own class. By this simple process of organization, the working class acquires all the power it will ever need, and, at the same time, deprives the employing class of all the power it ever had.

This is the great revolution that will emancipate the last slave class on earth:—Workers by meeting in their union halls, and there deciding what they shall do, and carrying out that decision, instead of the decisions made by the employing class in their directors' meetings, place at their own disposal all the power that runs this modern dynamic world. We, who are the source of all power, need not seize power; that is the strategy of those who would oust our present rulers to rule us themselves. Nor is it necessary that we organize every member of our class; all that is needed is that we have more of our own class with us than we have against us. Shall this be declared impossible?

The Revolt Is On!

This great revolutionary change is already under steam. Wherever workers band themselves together to agree how long they shall work, and enforce this decision, they are enforcing their will and dictating to the owner of industry how long his machines shall run. As the workers organize more and more into the One Big Union of Labor, the decisions reached in their union halls will more and more replace the decisions reached by the employing class, until labor has acquired the sole responsibility for carrying on production. It will face this responsibility as only organized labor can face it.

Through its One Big Union, labor will decide what shall be produced, where it shall be produced, where it shall be moved, and how it shall be used for further production or distributed as a final product.

This is the I. W. W. way out of the current mess. In the American technical set-up we see no other way. Today, when our ways of living, of going about, of getting food and shelter, of disposing of waste, of communicating with each other, have become dependent on such a complex net-work of pipes, and tracks, and transmission lines, that it has become romantic foolishness to think of a mob taking possession of these things and making good use of them—under these circumstances of today, the constructive program of the I.W.W. is a re-assuring answer to an urgent need. "Without industrial organization the hour of working class victory would be the hour of working class defeat."

What will the new world be? The I. W. W. is building it, not prophesying it. Its nature will be determined by the forces that make it, and the conditions under which it is made. It will be a world of plenty, because there is plenty to be had. It will be a world of security, because man will really control his means of livelihood. It will be a world substantially free from crime, for there will be neither need nor inducement for it; free from snobbishness, because there will be no upper class to ape; free from war, because the war-makers will have fallen; free from the misinformation, prejudices and ignorance that it has been good business for big business to spread; free from everything that has sprung either from the squalor, want and insecurity of the one class, or from the useless lives and ostentatious waste of the

other. It will be a world where it will be good to be alive; where mothers can rejoice that they are to have children; where men need no longer fear that they will live to grow old. Knowing these things of a certainty, it is not necessary for the I. W. W. to add to the wrangling prophecies of how the kindergartens shall be run, or what shall be eaten for dinner, fifty years hence; instead we build the power of labor to create the world it will want to create, to harness the forces that nature and science have placed at our disposal, to establish the new world of plenty, the economy of enough. "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

V. WHAT THE I. W. W. EXPECTS OF ITS MEMBERS

The member of the I. W. W. should not look upon the organization as a sort of magic slot-machine into which he is to put fifty cents or a dollar each month, and, in return, receive great and immediate improvements in his pay envelope and working conditions. The dues that he pays each month is collected from him because the union needs it for printing, for rent, for offices, for postage, for all expenses that a union must incur in order to be a union. It pays for the facilities and equipment with which the union works; it will not do the work. To expect the mere existence of the union machinery, the supplies of printed matter, the halls with chairs in them, to organize the working class and get them higher wages, is much as though a man were to buy a car, and for the payment for the car expect it to take him places with neither gas in the tank nor a driver at the wheel. The gas that runs the union machinery can nowhere be bought; it is the energy, activity, and enthusiasm of its members. For that reason it will have to come from its members no matter how much dues they may pay. The union is not a device to do for us what we cannot do for ourselves; it is a device to enable us to do together the things that we cannot do alone. Our dues pay for the upkeep of this device; they do not, and they never can, pay for the unpurchasable doing of the things that we must do ourselves.

What the I. W. W. expects from its members first of all is that they be active. Every member of the I. W. W. on joining it is asked two questions to which he must answer "Yes": "Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?" "Will you study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?" If all members fulfilled this promise, the One Big Union of the working class would be an achieved fact.

Stick with Your Union

We expect our members to stay with us, not only when things go well, but when they don't go well. In fact it is precisely because things do not go well that we need the I. W. W. Everything has been arranged to make it easy for our members to stay with us. The universal transfer system provides for his free transfer to any other industrial union should he change his line of work. Should he be out of work, the constitution empowers the industrial unions to adopt special rates of dues to retain these unemployed members. In such a rank-and-file controlled organization as the I. W. W., there is no reason for quitting in dissatisfaction with the union, no matter how things go. The big idea of the One Big Union—the biggest and best idea on the face of the earth—overtowers any petty personalities or temporary setbacks that the members may encounter. We cannot get the working class to stick if we do not stick ourselves.

The private life of the member is not the concern of the union. We ask him to leave his personal conviction on religious and other questions, as well as his politics or other social affiliations, at the door of the union hall

when he enters, where he may pick them up and deal with them conscientiously when he goes out, not mixing these non-union matters with the affairs of the union, and the union will not meddle with them.

Spread Union Ideas

The I. W. W. asks its members to read its papers and its literature, to listen attentively to its speakers, so that they may be as well informed as possible. We expect our members to be to the rest of the working class what yeast is to the sodden mass of dough in which it is put. In organizing workers, we find that it is easier to put a union card in a man's pocket than it is to put the union idea in his head, and the union ideal in his heart. Without these he is never a union man. With speakers, with printed literature, with meetings of many sorts, the I. W. W. tries to make them union men. But we have to rely upon the more frequent and influential contact of worker with worker on the job, of neighbor with neighbor, to re-inforce the union conviction. It takes community influence to make union men. The One Big Union is devised to develop a union atmosphere throughout the whole community; but to make it accomplish this, it is necessary that its members know its principles, and spread this knowledge among their friends.

It is a hardship for the breadwinner of a household to be a good union man if his household is against him in this. Usually nothing is done to reach his wife and family with the ideas and ideals of the union. Where he knows why he should go on strike, often all that his wife has heard is the appeal in the capitalist newspaper for him to be loyal and keep his job. For him to be an

efficient member of the union, free from all impediments and hindrances, his family must become union converts. This again is best done by building the union community spirit. The auxiliary organizations of the I. W. W. and the social activities sponsored by them, are means to accomplish this.

But it all takes a good understanding by the members, not only of the principles of the organization, but also of the social facts that have given birth to these principles. We realize that it would be fine if all our members could be learned economists. We will be well pleased, however, when our members have taught all of their fellow workers this simple two-word lesson in economics: **Don't Scab.**

When a majority of workers have learned this lesson there will be a different world for us to live in. No matter whose strike it is, don't scab. Whether you are on strike or not, it is your concern, as a member of the working class, to make sure that none of your neighbors scab. Make all your fellow workers understand that men are not out of work because there are too many strikes; they are out of work because there have not been enough strikes. The scab is not serving his own interest; he is doing the employer's dirty work, and will be kicked out and spat upon so soon as he has done it.

The scab is the source of all the misery and the troubles of the working class, and he should be looked upon as more horrible than leprosy, more disgusting than any accumulation of filth, more dangerous than any infested dwelling. His scabbing is the unforgivable offense against the working class.

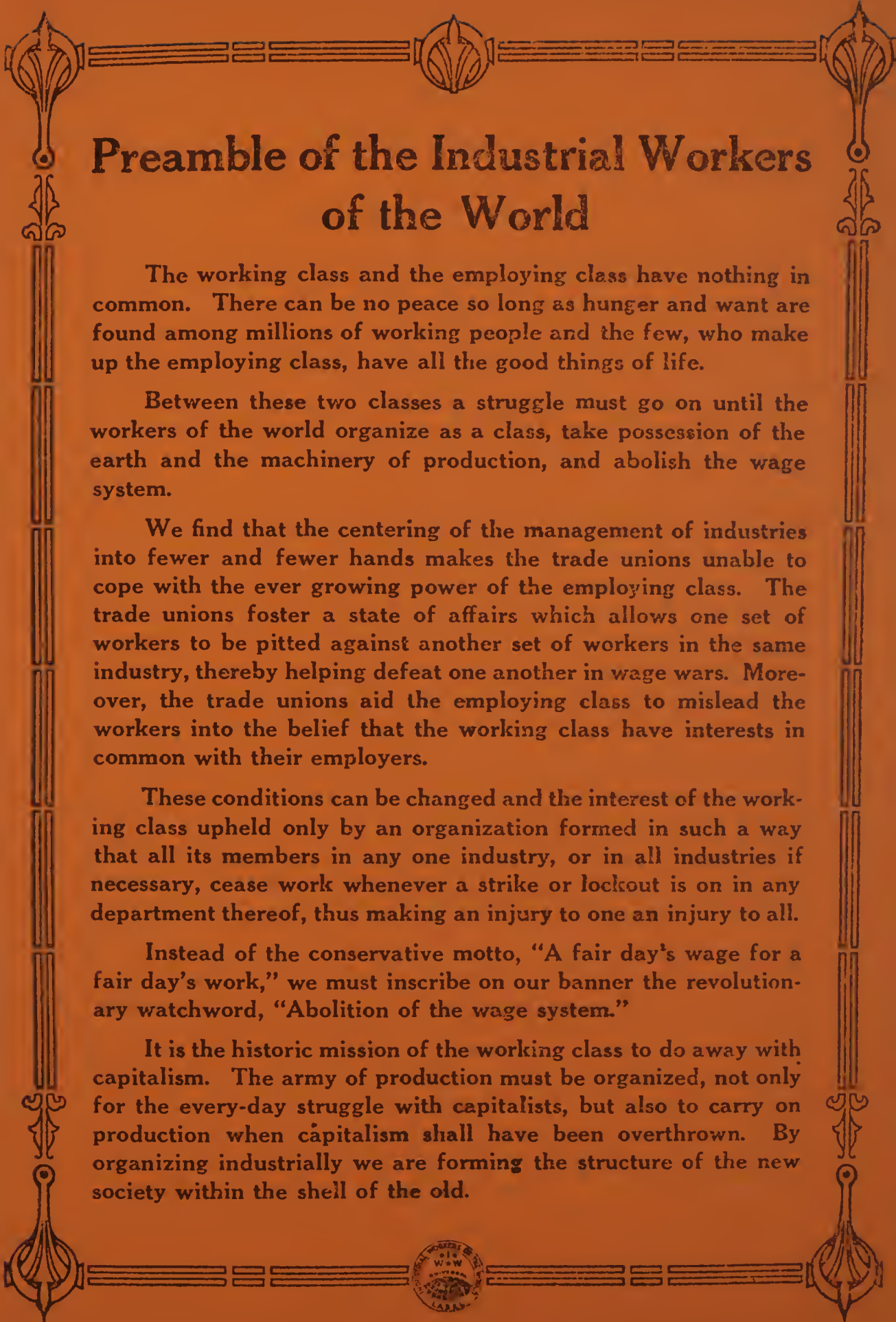
The scab is the occasion for all the violence, arrests and troubles that are connected with strikes. It is the scab that the workers have to fight, and not the employer, since the scab fights for him. When there are no scabs it will be a one-sided fight with labor the certain victor.

The scab is the great pest of our day, and must be treated as a pest. He is a weakling with no conscience, and must be forced to realize that it is unsafe for him to scab. The scab must not be permitted to scab.

To teach this two-word lesson in economics to his fellows, to spread union ideas, to help out in the work of the union in every way that he can, to inform himself as fully about the union program as he is able, to stick with the union through thick and thin, these are the great things that the I. W. W. expects of its members.

What it takes to have a good union, is a good structure, a good program, and good members. We are confident that our structure, our program, and our members are the best in the world. It is up to the members to keep it that way, and to have all workers realize that it is so.





Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

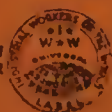
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



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THE I. W. W. PROGRAM



EDUCATION



ORGANIZATION



EMANCIPATION

Labor's Three Stars

Education, Organization, Emancipation! For almost a third of a century these three words have been associated with the revolutionary industrial union program of the Industrial Workers of the World. During these troubled years of struggle and aspiration these words have brought light, courage and hope into the lives of millions of working people. Today they stand as always for everything the working class must have if its members are ever to attain the status of real manhood and womanhood. In this black midnight of doubt, confusion and despair, which is called the "depression," these three bright stars still beckon the workers onward to victory and fulfillment. Let us take this occasion to re-examine these three words in order to see why they have been so inspiring to workers everywhere.

"Why are there three stars? Why not just one?" may be asked. The answer is that Education, Organization and Emancipation are indispensable parts of the One Big Union program. If the I.W.W. were in business merely to spread propaganda designed to "enlighten" the working class, then the first star would be sufficient. If the I.W.W. were simply a pure-and-simple labor union, designed to organize workers in the conventional manner for the everyday struggle with the employing class, then Education, in a class sense, would be a matter of secondary importance and Emancipation a mere abstraction. If the I.W.W. concerned itself in a general way with spreading the flaming message of industrial freedom, then the matter of the educational "why" and the organizational "how" would remain a nebulous dream, impossible of fulfillment. The three stars of the I.W.W. which by the way we inherited from the fighting Western Federation of Miners), were designed to give workers social understanding and economic power in order to fulfill their historic mission of "building the new society within the shell of the old." Organization without education is capable of becoming a force in society, but, of necessity, that force would be a blind and unintelligent one. Education alone is capable of making clear-thinking, class-conscious revolutionists out of passive, uncomprehending, capitalist-minded wage slaves. The AF of L is an example of a labor union devoid of economic understanding and social vision. Liberals and other "well-wishers" and "uplifters" are among those who want to see something done but

who will not take the trouble to do very much about it. The I.W.W. and the I.W.W. alone has a clean-cut program of education which is intended to prepare the working class for forceful and intelligent action. The I.W.W. has a program of organization through which that intelligence and that action can function to free the working class from economic bondage to the Parasite class. Education without organization is futile; Organization lacking Emancipation as its objective can only serve as another bulwark of the established order.

★ Education

The I.W.W. was designed to give Labor a power which would make it invincible. Education, in the I.W.W. sense therefore concerns itself with clarifying the minds of the workers so that they may understand their class position in society and so that they may use their economic power to the fullest possible extent in the everyday and ultimate struggle with the predatory Parasite class. The first step in I.W.W. education is to learn that economic power, and not political action, is Labor's logical and most effective weapon. If the I.W.W. believed otherwise it would be a political party and not a labor union. The second step in I.W.W. education is to learn that mere economic organization, in the conventional sense, is inadequate also, and that the craft form of organization must be displaced by the industrial union structure of the One Big Union. If the I.W.W. believed otherwise it would have no quarrel with the AF of L and old-line unions generally. The third step in I.W.W. education is to learn that even the industrial form of organization is inadequate and incomplete unless it is infused with a revolutionary objective, and unless it is consciously designed to displace the crumbling political state—in other words, to be a part of the Industrial Administration of the future society which must "carry on production when Capitalism has been overthrown. If the I.W.W. believed otherwise it would be lined up with the cohorts of John L. Lewis.

Political parties have failed. In spite of their good intentions they have given the working class little but betrayal and dictatorship. Even the idea of having "revolutionary" politicians dominate the labor unions is doomed to failure. This type of intrigue can only result in ultimate friction and discord. No labor union worthy of the name will tolerate official domination from outsiders. There is still a lot of truth in the statement that "politics and unionism do not mix." The I.W.W., being distinctively and exclusively a labor union stands four-square for that type of genuine industrial democracy which starts with the shop committee and goes all the way up.

★ Organization

Not only have political parties of all shades and colors failed to solve the problems confronting the working class, but craft unions and unions of the so-called "industrial" type have failed, and are failing, also. The I.W.W. affirms that

nothing short of genuine revolutionary Industrial unionism can give to the workers all that they have a right to expect from the organization to which they pay their dues and give their allegiance.

The purpose of I.W.W. education is to center the attention of the wage worker on the job instead of the ballot box—to make him industrially-minded instead of politically-minded. The worker's problem is not a political one. There is no political answer to the technological problem that confronts the modern world. Furthermore, there is no way in which wage workers can force the employing class to accede to demands for indispensable increases in pay and the shortening of hours of labor other than the exercise of economic action. Unless workers have the intelligence and guts to organize and fight, they have no right to belly-ache about the way they are treated. Mass starvation in a land of Plenty could never be anything but a colossal monument to the stupidity and cowardice of the producing class. Therefore the I.W.W. confronts the workers with a program of action and an up-to-date, scientifically constructed union movement constructed along strictly industrial lines to make that program effective.

No matter how perfect the instrumentality for economic betterment may be, it will remain valueless unless the workers take hold of it and use it to their own advantage. The I.W.W. contends that workers, under pressure of increasing poverty and insecurity will be forced either to organize correctly or to go down and out in the struggle to survive. The I.W.W. starts with the assumption that present-day unions are "unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class." We hold it to be a self-evident fact that workers are defeated in strikes and wage disputes solely because they permit themselves to be divided along craft, district or sectarian lines. The I.W.W. proposes to batter down all such barriers and to make real working class solidarity possible. The I.W.W. holds that any truce with the employing class is an armed truce and that the fight must go on until the Parasite class is smoked out of all the industries and the organized army of production takes control. To this end all agreements are dispensed with.

Not only does the mighty power of an undivided working class, organized into One Big Union, give the workers power to defeat the employers in the everyday struggle, but it also gives the workers power to dispossess the Parasite class and to take the administration of industry from their control. Thus, in every struggle, from the small local strike for higher wages or better conditions to the last, great culminating General Strike for Industrial Freedom, the One Big Union structure of the I.W.W. gives the working class the whiphand over their exploiters. With employed and unemployed workers in irresistible numbers, organized **in the same union** and **for the same purpose** the task of abolishing the property claims of the predatory Vested Interests and of keeping the wheels of industry in operation during the period of revolutionary readjustment will be comparatively simple.

★ Emancipation

Many times the question is put, sneeringly, to the I.W.W., "What do you mean 'emancipation'?"—this usually from a person who doesn't have to hire himself out to a boss in order to live. Un-class conscious workers sometimes look blank when the word is mentioned and ask, "Emancipation from what?" Such cases are examples of the kind of education we have been talking about—or the lack of it.

Unless a worker knows that the wage system is simply another form of slavery—if he takes his bondage for granted, never questions the status quo or never looks for a way out—he will never dare to hope for a more equitable social order. But, once a worker gets the picture of the Industrial Commonwealth fixed in his mind, once he begins to dream of the abundance, joy and leisure which modern super-power machinery have made available for all; then he starts to contrast the things that are with the things that might be and his whole outlook on life is changed. He sees millions—himself included—enduring the want and misery of artificial scarcity in the midst of potential abundance. He sees millions of workers kicked out of their jobs because machinery has displaced their labor power. He sees homes wrecked on every side and a whole generation of young folks denied the opportunity to live like human beings. He sees workers shot, beaten, clubbed, gassed and imprisoned when they dare to oppose the will of their economic masters. When this happens—if a worker is capable of thinking at all—he begins to think. He finds out what "wage slavery" means and what the word "emancipation" has meant to some of the finest men the Labor Movement has ever produced. Then, maybe, he is ready for action.

The I.W.W. is opposed to any kind of dictatorship, Capitalist, Fascist, or Communist. We hold that workers are not free when they merely exchange the yoke of the private employer for the yoke of the Socialist state. Emancipation to us means being **Citizens of Industry** in an **Industrial Commonwealth** that is disciplined and scientifically administered, **but where yokes of all kinds are permanently abandoned.** If emancipation doesn't mean freedom, it doesn't mean anything.

Education, Organization, Emancipation, as the I.W.W. understands them, are indispensable, component parts of the One Big Union movement which aims at the abolition of the wage system and the inauguration of cooperative social order in which Man will have food, Freedom and opportunity for growth and happiness.

Issued by

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

2422 N. Halsted, Chicago



The I. W. W.

Reply

To

The Red Trade Union

International

(MOSCOW)

by the

General Executive Board

of the

Industrial Workers of the World

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

1922



PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



Chicago, Ill., November 15, 1922.

Executive Committee, R. I. L. U.,
Moscow, Russia.

Fellow Workers:—

We are in receipt of a communication from Fellow Worker Krebe, in Berlin, Germany, with which was enclosed an "Appeal to the Rank and File of the I. W. W." This "appeal," which we have been requested to publish in our official organs, is signed by Lozovsky, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the R. I. L. U.

The reasons advanced why this statement ought to be given space in the official publications of the I. W. W. do not coincide with our knowledge of facts in connection with events and happenings relative to the intercourse between the I. W. W. and the R. I. L. U. If, as is alleged in the appeal, you desire to "state our views clearly and honestly," much that is only innuendo would be so "clearly and honestly" advanced and supported that sufficient evidence would be furnished, upon which the rank and file of the I. W. W. could base a clear and honest judgment.

We Want Proof, Not Assertions.

The appeal to the rank and file of the I. W. W., to be really informative upon matters in controversy between Williams' report, as our delegate to the R. I. L. U. Congress, and you, cannot be covered clearly or satisfactorily by asserting, as you do, that "we have searched in vain for one correct statement in the report of Joe (George) Williams on the Red International of

Labor Congress"; and "It is so full of lies that a complete reply to it would be useless."

This latter statement seems to us to be significant of a peculiar state of mind, for, if a "complete reply to it would be useless," anything less than a complete reply is not only useless but extremely foolish as well. You offer the rank and file of the I. W. W. an alternative of selection between Williams' report and your statement, which, in the absence of full and complete knowledge, must be made entirely on faith. We, of the I. W. W., are much more thorough than you appear to regard us.

Then, again, when you undertake to disprove one statement by Williams, the result is not a happy one for your side of the contention. For instance, your "appeal" charges that "Williams asserts that we intend to force our theories and methods upon the American masses. Nothing of the kind." In this connection it is not out of place to quote from an article by Lozovsky, published in the Internationalist Communist No. 21, in which he states the R. I. L. U. position upon the relationship of the international to its national affiliations. Considering his position—secretary of the R. I. L. U.—and the medium through which his views are expressed, the International Communist, official organ of the R. I. L. U., it is logical to assume that this pronouncement is authoritative:

Real R. I. L. U. Intention

"The Federalist International, of which these comrades (the French syndicalists) are dreaming, must not direct the activities of the individual

organizations. It may only register whatever they may find to do. This dream reminds us of the past, for we have seen such internationals at work at the beginning of the war. The social revolution will not be advanced, even one step nearer to victory, if we put up one more letter box and paste upon it the label 'Federalist International.' The revolution will be successful, only when the International shall become a real, active force; when it shall unite all the growing movements of the masses, coordinate their actions; when it shall be able to set in motion the international movement; when the workers of one and the same calling shall be able to act simultaneously, in accord with one slogan. He who sets up a Federalist International, as opposed to such a real international, in fact rejects every kind of international, throws the labor movement back and closes his eyes to the real aims and problems of the labor movement."

We do not quote this to take issue with this conception of an international. We do so only to show that the policy of non-interference, as proclaimed in the appeal to the I. W. W. rank and file is not the real attitude of the R. I. L. U., as put forth by one of its foremost and most capable spokesmen, Lozovsky. Is it by accident or design that he assumes one attitude toward the European syndicalists and another, directly opposite, in the appeal to the I. W. W.? Why vote "Yes" in Europe and "No" in America upon the same proposition?

Our conception is also an international of action, proletarian action, and our concern is not about coordin-

ation of national movements for international objectives, but about the domination of the proletarian (economic) forces by non-proletarian (political) ideology. Williams, in his report, points out the intention of the Communist politicians to dominate the economic movement. That Williams' report did not overstate is proven when, in the course of the same article which we have previously quoted from, we find Lozovsky saying, "But when they speak about independence from Communism our disagreement begins."

Unintentional Support of Williams.

But, without quoting from Lozovsky's article in the International Communist, the "appeal," within itself, carries not one, but several propositions which support Williams' statement. With strange shortsightedness and incomprehensible inconsistency you corroborate the charge you would refute, or Lozovsky in his appeal does so in your name, by declaring "(1) We only ask that the I. W. W. avoid the splitting of other organizations where they are well established, by starting a parallel organization of its own; (2) that it confine itself to industries where it is already dominant and (3) that it cooperate with other revolutionary bodies towards the building of a united front against one of its most bloodthirsty opponents—American Capitalism."

The Devil In Cowl and Cassock.

With an assumption of frankness you are here imputing to us a purely destructive intention and purpose — the splitting of unions — when you

cannot help but be aware that our effects are constructive in aim and character. In these proposals, ingeniously intertwined, you submit to us the liquidation of the I. W. W. by asking it to forego every principle upon which it is founded and every policy to which its experience has taught it to commit itself.

Again, you assert that (4) "If the I. W. W. is to be a real factor in the Labor Movement, it **'must change its attitude'** towards other Labor Unions'." This is equivalent to saying that the I. W. W. must cease to be the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. With And For Labor.

Evidently you have been misinformed about the I. W. W.'s "attitude" toward other organized workers, which is winning for it the respect of the rank and file of American Labor.

For your enlightenment we are enclosing clippings from our official English-language paper, Industrial Solidarity, on the recent miners' strike (A) and the railroad shopmen's strike (B). We are likewise enclosing circular letter addressed by the Agricultural Workers' Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. to the striking railroad shopmen (C); and a copy of the resolution adopted by the Spring Conference of the A. W. I. U. No. 110, held in Omaha, Neb., May 1, 1922, which makes provision for preferential treatment for striking coal miners in the grain harvest.

Budding Dictatorship.

If there is no truth in Williams' report, and if the R. I. L. U., as it professes, has no intention to dominate the I. W. W., why command that (5) "it (the I. W. W.) **must** agree upon

uniting with the Lumber Workers' Union of Canada."?

Frankly this mandatory suggestion savors of American rather than Russian origin; it sounds more like Fosterian propaganda than an unbiased and uninfluenced statement by an international body, which "understand(s) that methods and measures are determined by social and economic circumstances obtaining in each separate country"; and which has no ambition to dominate the affairs of workers in America—"Nothing of the kind."

Would it be regarded as impertinent to inquire, whether the repudiation of Cascadden by the Canadian O. B. U. Lumber Workers; the affiliation of what remains of that body with the R. I. L. U. and its known inclination toward the Fosterian policy had any influence in the issuance of this ultimatum to the I. W. W.?

Still further along you admonish the I. W. W. with an imperative "**must**" that (6) "you (the I. W. W.) **must** come in contact with other independent unions, and the various revolutionary minorities in the American Federation of Labor."

Why Whip Only One Horse?

Why not advise these independent labor unions and militant minorities in the A. F. of L., if they are amenable to suasion by the R. I. L. U., to come in contact with the I. W. W.?

As a statement of fact, and for your information, the contacts of the I. W. W. within the old, yellow unions of the craft system are far more numerous than you are aware, and much more effective than you have been

permitted to learn. The militant minorities in the A. F. of L. consist, to a greater degree than is generally believed, of capable and active I. W. W. members. They are not so concerned about advertising as they are about results.

The Political "Negro In the Woodpile".

When you offer such advice to the I. W. W. membership as is diplomatically and very adroitly given, where you say, (7) "this is why we, too, want a **united political and economical front** with the workers' political party, the Workers' Party of America," you certainly and effectively disprove Williams' assertion that you "leave nothing to imagination," for, in this instance, everything is left to imagination. Even outside of the I. W. W., where American workers take political action with some seriousness, the "workers' " party is not known sufficiently well to be mentioned without explanation; and in those circles where people are aware of its existence it is regarded more or less as political light comedy—the Holy Rollers of American "labor politics."

Moreover, upon the question of political action, and affiliation with political parties, or with anti-political bodies, the I. W. W. is definitely and unequivocally recorded as refusing alliance with one or the other. So important has this matter been deemed that the resolution which committed the I. W. W. to this decision is inscribed in the written Constitution and By-Laws of the organization as a continual reminder to the membership. You will find it on page 59 of that document, which reads as follows:

"Political Parties and Discipline.

Whereas, The primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield; and

Whereas, Organization in any sense implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole, and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct and indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed."

Political action, to which the I. W. W. originally was committed, as one function of a working class union, was disposed of in the Fourth Annual Convention (1908), when it was decided to confine the activities of the organization to economic functions—put it upon a strictly proletarian basis.

Since that time it has found its most unscrupulous slanderers and relentless enemies in the socialist parties, and amongst the socialist politicians.

Why Not Consult "Bill" Haywood?

William D. Haywood is in a position to inform you about the virulence and vindictiveness with which the Socialist and Social Labor parties pursued the I. W. W. as an organization, and its members as revolutionists and workmates. He will recount for your

information that tactic... pagall-
da which culminated in the adoption
of Article 2, Section 6, of the Socialist
Party Constitution, that expelled him
and the entire industrial socialist ele-
ment from the party.

A cardinal tenet of I. W. W. policy
is that politics be kept entirely out of
the deliberations of the unions, and
out of the columns of the official pub-
lications as well. This provision, of
itself, would prevent our publishing
your appeal, if there were no other
reasons. But there are other reasons.

The circular which you request us
to publish bears all the earmarks of
a joint production by the Workers'
Party and Trade Union Educational
League, written in New York or Chi-
cago, and mailed to the I. W. W. via
Moscow and Berlin. The arguments
and charges are those to which we
have grown accustomed—without de-
viation, diminution or addition.

Official Responsibility

As officials of the I. W. W., we
would, indeed, be blind to the inter-
ests of the membership, and careless
about our own responsibilities, if we
were to assist the "borers from with-
in" to "liquidate the I. W. W.", or per-
mit them to create dissention in its
ranks, and thus to distract it from the
task upon which it is making gratify-
ing headway.

Permit us to express the opinion of
your request (to publish this appeal)
that it is, outside of every other con-
sideration, not only presumptuous, but
inconsistent, coming, as it does, from
Russia, where the government exer-
cises its power to prevent open and
free discussion, by those whom it re-

right, and requisite to the leadership. Why should the I. W. W., any more than the government of Russia, be expected to open its columns for the propagation of ideas that would imperil it, or impair its usefulness as an instrument of the revolutionary proletariat? Might we inquire, as seems to us pertinent, why you did not elect to use the organs of that party—the Workers' Party, through which you expect "to rebuke President Harding"—to carry your message to the rank and file of the I. W. W., and other American workers?

Haywood, and others now in Russia, will inform you that not even the prestige of the R. I. L. U. would suffice to excuse us for opening up the columns of our publications to Foster's boring and the W. P.'s political propaganda. This attempt to furnish Foster's auger with a Russian handle will deceive no one in the I. W. W.

Face The Facts.

The differences of opinion among the American schools of Labor thought are the logical fruit of American industrial development. Social, racial and various other factors, as well as industrial influences, have played a part in shaping these opinions. These differences should not be regretted, though we are all prone to be dissatisfied with and about them. We may as well face the fact that they are deep-rooted and stubborn. They cannot be wished away,—they must be fought out. They involve principles of philosophy, methods and strategy, and the merits and demerits of the various schools will only be pro-

ven by economic tests. But for us to deprive ourselves of the advantage that organization confers, and this is, in effect, what your communication suggests, would be to render ourselves helpless, and, as we see it, to betray the working class of the United States and the world.

We Are Open To Reason.

It is not impossible to convince the I. W. W., if it can be proven, that its position is unsound economically, philosophically, tactically or otherwise. We are wide open for constructive criticism, helpful suggestions and education, but we cannot regard the repetition of old, wornout and refuted fallacies as having educational value.

As labor organizations go, the I. W. W. has survived over a longer-than-usual period and has won for itself a definite place in the labor movement of America. It would seem to have passed, or at least to be approaching the end of its experimental period. It is getting itself accepted. A fact that is being demonstrated to the regret of its enemies and the discomfiture of those who have slandered it and are, even now, vilifying and misrepresenting it at home and abroad.

Compare The I. W. W. With Its Defamers.

There is not in the history of labor organizations another union that has encountered and withstood a tithe of the persecution that has been visited upon the I. W. W. Its dead are numbered by hundreds—fallen in the front rank of the class war fighting; its ranks are generously sprinkled with maimed and bruised and battered vic-

tims of the class struggle; it has met every challenge of the American ruling class and given of its best that the spirit of labor be kept alive; it has aggressively defended established rights of the workers and is leading in the fight to conquer new rights for them. The jails have overflowed with its membership — undaunted victims of the class war. Its ringing challenge to American capitalist property has sent the sluggish blood of thousands of American workers coursing through their veins and fired them with the aspiration to be free men and women. At such times it has succeeded in riveting the attention of millions upon industrial conditions that victimize the manhood, womanhood and childhood that labor in the mills and factories of this country.

Do Not Know The I. W. W.

Yet, you intimate that the I. W. W. exists in vain, and “unless it changes its attitude to other labor unions” that it will cease to be a factor in the labor movement. How little, after all, you know about the I. W. W. You predict a blank future for it unless, forsooth, it consents to be guided by your council.

For seventeen years its demise has been predicted annually, and at shorter intervals; and its obituary is written and ready in the “morgues” of every reactionary sheet in the United States, including those who speak in the name of a communism to which they are strangers. But, like the report of Mark Twain’s death, these predictions have always proved to be “greatly exaggerated”—and premature. The I. W. W. has persistently

refused to die and establish reputations for the dilettante labor generals who have the progress of the revolution mapped and charted, and who alone are "competent" to lead the proletariat to victory. They are especially endowed and (self) selected to thrust salvation upon the working class. They will tell you that themselves. We have listened to them for, lo, these many years. However, we seem to have an inherent preference for organizing and depending upon ourselves. The I. W. W., for seventeen bitter and bloody years, has struggled to teach organization to us. It has made mistakes, and it has learned from its mistakes. Perhaps it is still making mistakes, but it can be depended upon to remedy them. If not today, then tomorrow, or when experience qualifies it.

Two Questions.

Now, fellow workers, we ask these questions in all seriousness: Do you believe that the R. I. L. U. has so great an experience, more particularly an American experience, as has the I. W. W.? Do you consider yourselves better qualified to deal with, or less liable to be fallable in your judgment about American labor affairs than the I. W. W.?

You see the American labor movement from afar off, and you base your opinions about the I. W. W.'s part in it from information furnished by observers whose partisanship disqualifies them for reporting impartially. Upon such information, and superinduced perhaps by resentment over Williams' report, you justify your "ap-

peal to the rank and file of the I. W. W."

We do not question your sincerity at all. However, we are satisfied that this appeal, based upon misinformation, would not serve the end at which you aim; nor would it be of assistance in mollifying the antagonism that exists between the element whose doctrine it carries, and the I. W. W.

General Defense Committee, An Achievement.

Your reference to the sphere and activities of the General Defense Committee as "political" can only be founded upon a conception that anything which is intended to influence opinion about a governmental act is political in character. Our conception of the G. D. C. and its work is that both are devoted to publicity and propaganda, in an effort to surround the I. W. W. and its membership with such protection as a general opinion will provide.

Through the G. D. C. the membership of many labor organizations, outside of the I. W. W., has been aroused to the danger of a growing evil which selects militant and talented labor personalities for its victims. Besides arousing the working people, this agency has been instrumental in enlisting liberals of all kinds, even including church organizations. It is thus functioning to bring to new and hitherto hostile or indifferent elements a knowledge of the I. W. W., its membership, program and methods; and interest in the problem of the workers is thus created. With whether this committee and its work, or the results of that work are designated political, or oth-

erwise, we are not in the least concerned. To us the General Defense Committee is an extra-functioning body, designed for a particular work and operating in a sphere—outside of the work places—where the I. W. W., by its very nature, is not qualified to function.

To others than those who are hostile to the I. W. W. the General Defense Committee is an achievement, typical of the resourcefulness of this organization. It is not evidence of wrong principle, but of a weak condition. Its function is not politics, but publicity as one means of defense.

Of those portions of the "appeal" which dealt with the officials and the press, you will appreciate that these are matters to be dealt with by the general convention, which is scheduled to convene in Chicago, November 13, 1922. Until then, we, very naturally, shall refrain from commenting upon the things you avow and intimate about us and the papers.

I.W.W Not A Syndicalist Organization

There is evident, in your comment upon European syndicalism, a failure to appreciate that the I. W. W. is not a syndicalist organization. It is an **economic working-class organization**, in which the unit is the industrial union; and in which jurisdiction is industrially determined instead of territorially. It teaches that the power of the working class lies in its ability to control its labor power. This, in turn, depends upon such an organization as the I. W. W. proposes to the workers, and is teaching and assisting them to build up. It places reliance upon economic action and waits only upon op-

portunity to demonstrate the correctness of its contention. It is an economically militant organization, which acts upon the theory that the workers learn to fight by fighting. It places no reliance upon political action, nor does it teach reliance upon physical force. It organizes the wage-earners as workers—the social element upon which, and whose productive efforts, society depends.

Why I. W. W. Is Not Political.

The I. W. W. believes that the time devoted to politics is misspent, and that the energy so expended is misdirected and wasted. We believe that the class character of the state will not permit that institution to aid the proletariat in its class struggle. Therefore, we teach the workers that what they really require is not to influence the state favorably toward them, but to put themselves in such position, through an economic class organization, that they will be enabled to protect themselves against the hostility of the capitalist state.

The I. W. W. is cognizant of the fact that it is trying to destroy a social relationship, and that the accomplishment of this aim will involve strikes and demand agitational, educational and organizing efforts with all that this implies in a capitalist state, jealous of its power and fearful of economic action by the workers. We are not unaware, as you seem to infer, that as the organization grows, and the workers—impelled by a growing consciousness of power—become more and more assertive that clashes will occur between the workers and the forces of the state. Our perspective

shows us that such conflicts are inevitable, and we are satisfied that our economic preparation will enable us to deal with these phenomena when we are confronted with them. These probable occurrences are not outside our calculations, we assure you.

The capitalist class relies upon the state as its agency and instrument for holding the workers in subjection, and to preserve its rights to exploit their labor-power. The workers must provide themselves with an instrument more powerful than the repressive forces of the state—an organization for the control of their labor-power. The workers must make use of the every day struggle to provide the material out of which this agency is to be fashioned. Progress is naturally slow and tedious, as is the evolutionary process. As the idea of industrial unionism takes root and is nourished by the workings of the capitalist system existing nuclei in the industries develop, gradually, but surely and significantly.

Keeping Abreast Of The Revolution.

To us the revolution is primarily a process rather than an event. With capitalist development driving the workers every day in a revolutionary direction, and at an ever-increasing pace, our concern is to take step with the revolution and keep abreast of it. The final act of the revolution, to us, means the birth of a new society.

With this viewpoint, our conception of the labor movement is necessarily monistic. To us the workers are producers; and industry is the social function in which the labor-power of the workers is expended. It is in this cap-

acity that the workers are aggrieved, and it is in this capacity that they are qualified to exert the maximum of social influence — as economic factors. Moreover, as this recognition spreads among the workers the industrial unions will become the expression of it, —the workers will construct the organism of the new society within the shell of the old society. We design to organize the consciousness of the workers, as capitalism has arranged them in the industries and, being thus enabled to control their labor-power, the workers will be irresistible, and competent to carry on the social functions.

I. W. W. Born Of American Labor Experience.

This theory, of which the I. W. W. is the only tangible expression in the world, is being accepted by ever-increasing numbers of the consciously revolutionary workers in the American proletariat. The I. W. W., by its tactics, is consciously constructing the revolutionary organism which will overthrow and replace the capitalist system. Such an idea has nothing in common with political socialism or communism. Neither has it anything in common with syndicalism, as we understand the term. The ultimate objective — a society free from the wage slavery—we do share with both of them. Upon the means and methods by which it is to be achieved we are at variance.

The I. W. W. is not a “freak” organization. It is the natural outgrowth of American labor experience with politics, and with the defeatist maneuvering of labor politicians.

The "D. L. International," of the eighties, which bore some resemblance to syndicalism, is another influence that directed American workers in the development of a purely economic organization like the I. W. W.

Political labor movements, in America anyhow, can only take root in the labor unions, where they find the machinery ready to hand with which to reach large masses of the people. Union funds are made available for political purposes and the organizing and publicity factors are converted to political functions. Politicians in this country have invariably used the union movement as a stepping stone to influence and power for themselves. It is in the nature of politics that this should be so.

The history of American unionism testifies to the destructive influence of labor politics and labor politicians. Experience has proven that when politics moves into a union economic effectiveness moves out, and hope for the workers moves out with it.

European Labor Politics Short-circuited Russian Revolution.

The political inclination of European labor we believe to be responsible for the unreadiness of your continental movements to rally to the support of the Russian revolution. Without such support the Russian workers were condemned to realize less than they set out to achieve. From the American labor movement, under reactionary leadership and influences, nothing less than the antagonism which was experienced was to be expected.

Revolutionary Russia has always

had a sincere friend in the I. W. W. Unfortunately, those who speak in America for Russia are listed among the most pronounced enemies of the I. W. W. When, with a shortsightedness unworthy an international labor body, and apparently responding to influences hostile to this organization, the R. I. L. U. discriminated against the I. W. W. in the matter of representation at the Moscow congress, a breach was opened out of which has grown an antagonism which the I. W. W. can but regret, and for which responsibilities lies with the R. I. L. U.

Opening The Breach.

The delegate from the I. W. W. to the congress represented a real tangible membership, while others seated as American delegates represented nothing but undetermined and undeterminable minorities — ideas and hopes, rather than the qualifications generally demanded of delegates to such assemblies.

You will pardon us for remarking that your credentials committee made a bad and a sad mess of things and, in the acceptance of its report—in that portion covering American representation — the congress condoned its offense and aligned the R. I. L. U. with the enemies of the I. W. W.

The mistaken policy adopted by your body, dictated no doubt by a misconception derived from misrepresentative and deceitful declarations, we can only regard as your responsibility.

Using R. I. L. U. As Bait.

When you, now again, permit yourselves to be used by those who are much more interested in destroying the I. W. W. than they are in overthrowing capitalism we must refuse to aid them by refusing to allow you to use us. We do not believe that you, of the R. I. L. U., conceived this disruptive scheme. We are satisfied that your eagerness to serve labor is being exploited, and your credulity has been imposed upon. You are once again being deceived.

Even before we received your communication we had been informed of its existence by some of our "contacts" in "the militant minorities," and of the use that it was proposed to make of it in this country.

I. W. W. Essentially International.

The importance of international connection is well understood and fully appreciated by the I. W. W. No one who reads its preamble and literature can doubt that the I. W. W. realizes that necessity more than any other existing labor organization. The I. W. W. is an international rather than a national movement. It has often been referred to as "the first real international of the proletariat." Industrial Workers of the World — not of the United States, or America.

We have faith in the ultimate realization for a world-wide united front of the proletariat, for which we have worked, and shall continue to work without ceasing.

Your invitation to the I. W. W. to

be represented at the Second Congress
will be referred to the Convention.

We remain

Yours for Industrial Solidarity of
the workers of the world,

**General Executive Board
of the Industrial Workers
of the World.**

**Arthur Boose
Norman Weir
H. G. Clarke**

**T. C. Smith
Joe Miller
J. Johnson**

E. W. Latchem, Chairman.



Article from front page of Industrial Solidarity, dated April 8, 1922:

Fellow Workers in the mining industry:—

The purpose of this item is to ask your help in getting all the facts about this great mining strike which the labor movement of the world is watching.

We want every reader of this paper to consider himself the special I. W. W. correspondent in his locality, to send us all the local news about the strike.

You do not need to write articles. Just tell the editor in your letter what is taking place where you are. Also, mail to us all clippings from local papers dealing with the strike in any way.

We want full and accurate news about the strike, as our papers must say what other papers leave unsaid. Our papers will have splendid reports on this strike with your help.

Again we urge you to send in all newspaper clippings dealing with the strike. Beside that, write us all important strike news which the clippings do not tell. Watch out especially for the following things:

1. How many mines are shut down; how many are working.

2. Methods used to keep scabs away.

3. Tactics of the United Mine Workers' officials: tell us whether any camps, and how many men are working with union consent; whether U. M. W. or A. officials are talking in favor of separate agreements and settlements.

4. Watch the railroad workers. If any body of railroad men refuse to haul coal during the strike, tell us at once: that is big news and will make magnificent propaganda. If any body of railroad workers even considers such action, let us know.

5. Tell us whether gunmen are used in your locality—company guards, private detectives, cossacks or militia men.

Send in all other important strike news so that all readers of this paper will agree that the I. W. W. papers have told the truth and the whole truth in this great battle of the working class.

(Signed) Editor, Solidarity.

Article from Industrial Solidarity, dated September 2, 1922:

THE I. W. W. IN THE R. R. AND OTHER STRIKES

We are requested to define the attitude of the I. W. W. toward the strike of the railroad shops crafts' workers, now in effect throughout the United States.

In the first place the I. W. W. does not merely adopt an attitude or strike a pose whenever workingmen, organized or unorganized are out on strike. From the I. W. W. strike occasions command such active assistance as it is able to extend without any reservation whatever. It is thus it regards the strike of the railroad shopmen.

For instance, since the shopmen's strike was declared every influence which the I. W. W. could exert has been wielded to assist the strikers. Our members have been instructed to do all in their power to prevent the recruiting of strike breakers, and the service thus rendered to bring about a successful outcome it is impossible to calculate.

Besides this kind of assistance, the various industrial unions of the I. W. W., even before the strike declaration, had instructed their delegates to actively assist striking shopmen in the carrying out of plans which the shopmen had decided upon in the conduct of the strike. The I. W. W. through its members in railroad employments and members in other employments in contact with local strike situations, have assisted to the best of their ability the cause of the shopmen. Moreover, the machinery of the industrial unions have been at the disposal of the striking shopmen in the harvest fields and upon construction work. In fact, wherever a striker came in contact with the I. W. W. as an organization or its members as fellow workingmen, he found understanding sympathy and ready help.

Shopmen's Strike Also I. W. W. Strike.

Insofar it could be done without unduly interfering with the arrangements which strikers themselves made, or which were made for them, the I. W. W. has made the strike of the shopmen its own fight. This has been the traditional policy of the Industrial Workers of the World. We do not feel indifferent to any struggle in which members of the working

class are engaged. We believe their fight is our fight and that our assistance is due them. So that we have not an attitude to define so much as we have misunderstood activity to explain.

The most vindictive enemy of the I. W. W. cannot charge it with strike breaking or conducting any of those devices whereby assistance is rendered to employers for the carrying on of an industry in which workers are out on strike. Our idea of a strike is idle machinery and unoccupied working places. Whenever and wherever we find workers assisting in the operation of a plant or industry when there is a strike, we denounce such workers as scabs whether they are organized or not. Now, men enslaved to a custom, no matter how pernicious it is, do not welcome exposure even when it is honestly intended and borne out by facts. The acceptance of a union card as a license to continue working and thus defeat a striking body of workmen has won the I. W. W. 90 per cent of the opposition it encounters from craft union sources. But we are convinced that our aim is a correct one and gratified to note that, in increasing numbers the members of the craft unions are recognizing that our contentions in this respect are sound.

While we are always ready to extend a helping hand to workers engaged in an industrial dispute we are at the same time interested in assisting them to learn from their experiences on these occasions. Not to do this would be to withhold from them a contribution of greater value than anything else we have to offer. We would not be true to them or worthy of our own conceptions if, because of some temporary advantage or prospect, we refrained from offering constructive criticism. Upon that is predicated the future progress of labor.

Typical Craft Conduct.

The defeat of the will of the maintenance of way men by their officialdom we regretted, though it was a manifestation which is entirely in harmony with the traditions of the craft system of unionism. The I. W. W. literature has pointed out, time and time again, that actions of this kind were to be expected. So, while we were not at all disappointed, we naturally regretted such a blow at railroad solidarity as Grable and his fellows delivered in the first days of the strike.

On the other hand, the action of members of the Big Four brotherhoods in different sections of the country where they have shown a disposition to come to the assistance of the shopmen, we regard as commendable and the most hopeful sign in this struggle. We interpret it as indicating that the spirit of the workers will not much longer brook the restraining bonds of the craft system. Naturally, we shall bend every energy to encourage the growth of that spirit and a multiplication of such occurrences. We feel a pardonable pride in recognizing that these displays of real union recognition are due in great measure to the propaganda efforts which we have carried on for seventeen years.

We are satisfied that as the strike extends beyond the industrial limits of the shop crafts that the prospect of winning increases. We shall do everything possible to help the shopmen win in any event, but our greatest contribution to their success lies in influencing where we can other railroad labor classifications to lend their industrial support to the strike by refusing to function in transportation until the last scab is out of the shops.

Disunity Threatens.

While the seven shop crafts retain their separate autonomies, we see a potential threat to the splendid demonstration of solidarity they have thus far maintained. The circumstances in the railroad shop situation may press them together so that their present unity will be preserved to the end. But the danger that inheres in craft autonomy is always present.

The need for unity of the railroad workers as one industrial group should be amply proven by the railroad workers' experience in the past as in the present. Until these experiences have been given organization expression in the railroad industry, such situations as the present will occur and recur.

From 1877 up to the present time, the railroad workers have had many experiences which should have driven home to them the need for one union in which all railroad workers would be included. The mutual value of such an organization is self-evident. The shopmen, if the other railroad classifications were joined with them would have had their power multiplied. So, too, with the others—engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, etc.

When the Big Four undertook to act together in 1917, their demands were conceded forthwith. If all railroad workers were to act together in an emergency there is no power outside of themselves strong enough to deny their demands.

This is what the I. W. W. sees and what it concentrates itself upon to bring about. Its vision is not limited by the vague and indeterminate boundaries of an industry, but extends to include the workers in all industries. It plans not only for industrial and social betterments today and tomorrow but for the emancipation of labor by the organized workers.

With this end in view, it throws itself on the side of the workers into every conflict in which the workers are engaged. It helps them as it can to overcome obstacles that impede their progress, but it endeavors, above all things, to overcome the handicaps of economic ignorance and ineffective organization which militate against the successful waging of industrial warfare.

With All Workers.

We are with the shopmen in this struggle as we are with the workers everywhere in all their struggles. That they are prone to misunderstand us and misinterpret our motives is to be regretted. But this shall not deny us, or prevent us from doing our best to help them win. Even though they deny us, we shall not deny them. They are of our class and with us they are always right and always worthy of our assistance and support. The Cause of the shopmen is the cause of all workers; their problem is our problem, their fight our fight; we win in their victory or lose in their defeat. We shall unite with them as far as circumstances permit us to, and we shall endeavor to rally all other workers to their support—solidarity of all workers is the prime need of labor.

The future will vindicate our stand. The close of the shopmen's strike will find these workers closer to our position and with a clearer understanding of our actions and our motives.

"Help the striking shopmen to win," is the slogan of the I. W. W.; the I. W. W. industrial unions and every one of their members. That's our attitude, that's our position. This governs our every action in connection with the strike.

Resolution of 1922 Spring Conference of Agricultural Workers' Union No. 110, of the I. W. W.

Whereas:

The members of the United Mine Workers of America are now on strike and experiencing all the difficulties and hardships which the capitalist class of this country can visit upon them, and,

Whereas:

We recognize in these striking mine workers, fellow fighters in the common struggle of the working class against the forces of capitalist repression;

Therefore, be it

Resolved, That members of the U. M. W. A. organizations on strike shall be accorded all the rights and privileges of members of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, in the harvest fields of the United States this season.

**AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL
UNION NO. 110, OF THE I. W. W.**

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, Ill., July 28, 1922

To the Striking Railroad Shop Crafts,

Fellow Workers, Greeting:

In this time of crisis the sympathy of the I. W. W. is with you, and the support and co-operation of its members are yours to command. We recognize that your strike is a skirmish on the long battle front of labor. Need we say that we deplore the odds against which you are compelled to fight, or to assure you that whatever assistance we can render, we stand ready to offer. You are struggling for a living wage and human conditions in your employments. You are striving to retain and stabilize living and working standards at a minimum to which you and we feel the American worker of the twentieth century is entitled. Upon that score you and we are in entire accord. It is our pleasure, as it is our duty, to volunteer whatever help we are capable of giving you, so that in this effort you shall not sustain defeat.

But for many years we, too, have been en-

gaged in an effort to achieve a position where a decent living standard would be secured to us. In pursuit of that object, we have encountered all the opposition which the employing interests could array against us. Brutality has hounded our footsteps and claimed its victims from our members by the hundreds. We have been slandered, vilified, and framed. Our members have filled the prisons and decorated the scaffolds. They have been lynched, tarred and feathered, hunted, crippled, and murdered. The motive underlying and inspiring the long record of vilification and repression was, and is, to prevent organization of the unskilled migratory workers who constitute the bulk of the membership in the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W.

From the tools and minions of the employing interests we expected no other treatment than what we have received; but from workers, particularly from striking workers, we expected an understanding sympathy and active co-operation. It is with pain then, and with some surprise, that we learn of striking railroad shopmen, through their organizations, preparing to invade the harvest fields with a total disregard of our efforts to win living wages and decent working conditions. We had anticipated your coming, and had made preparations to extend to you the hand of welcome. We had expected you to co-operate with us in the true spirit of unionism, so that all of us together might raise the common level of the workers. We are loath to believe that a body of men like you even for a moment, and at a time like this, would waver in your loyalty to the cause of labor. If our information is correct, which we would regret, and the conduct alleged is continued, we shall be compelled to regard it as an act unfriendly to labor, which would indeed be deplorable.

The moral code of labor decrees against resisting a wage cut for yourselves by helping to impose wage cuts upon some other, and presumably more helpless body of workers. The "going wage" of the farming communities is the counterpart of the railroad corporation's wage, as determined by their Railroad Board. You regard it as a matter of principle to resist the wage this Board has set, and the conditions that accompany that wage. By what process of reasoning can you justify resistance in the one (your own) case, and

in the other (that of the harvest workers) force upon us even worse conditions than those you, yourselves, refuse to accept? This is not a consistent attitude, nor is it one that promises to advance the interests of the workers of America. To win for yourselves, if, by the present alleged harvest policy, you would win, would be to have sacrificed the migratory workers—something, which we feel sure, upon mature deliberation, you will not be willing to undertake.

Our delegates in the harvest sections stand instructed to extend every courtesy to striking workers of every calling, and to assist them in every way. We shall expect you to take this matter up seriously, and to devise ways whereby unanimity of action between your members and ours will bring about living wages and human conditions in harvest employments.

Again pledging you the friendship of our members, and assuring you of our entire sympathy; and that our organization is at the service of the shopmen whenever they act in the spirit of unionism, we are,

Yours for Labor Solidarity,

Tom Doyle, Sec'y-Treas.

(Seal)

Tom Connors, Chairman, G. O. C.
A. W. I. U. No. 110, I. W. W.

THE I. W. W.
IN
THEORY AND PRACTICE



By JUSTUS EBERT

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FOREWORD

This book is an attempt to give the reader, in as simple language as possible, an understanding of The Industrial Workers of the World, better known by its initial letters as "The I. W. W."

It is called "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice," because it tries to tell, in a few brief pages, all the I. W. W. stands for, why and how it stands for it, and what it has done and is doing to realize its objects.

Both in theory and practice the I. W. W. begins and ends with the idea that, as the world's industrial workers run the world's industries, they should own and control them as well.

World events are forcing the world's industrial workers to the front. They show that the success of governments and wars depends on the men and women in the mine, workshop, mill, counting room and bank; and on the farms, railroads and ships. These events are doing even more. They are forcing the principles of the I. W. W. into practice in many places in many ways, vindicating the soundness of the I. W. W.

The reader does not need to be reminded of Russia. In the land of the ex-Czar, the principle of workers' ownership, management and control is the foundation of a new social order. Nor should he be reminded of the U. S. A. The Plumb plan, with its part management of the railroad by the railroad

workers, for instance. This is one of many events showing that this country is becoming I. W. W. not only in theory but also in fact.

The I. W. W. made known the principles of workers' ownership, control and management before the war forced Russia to introduce these principles, and the Plumb plan to embody them in part. Further, the I. W. W. worked for them, suffered for them, nay, died for them! The I. W. W. in organizing unions of the workers industrially and striking industrially, made plain how those principles could and would be introduced. World history—American history—now vindicates the I. W. W.!

“The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice” should, on all these accounts, prove of interest to the workers everywhere. It will help them to understand what is back of the I. W. W.—in brief, what it means.

It will also help them to understand, not only the I. W. W., but their own position in the world today—their own destinies and how to direct them; their own aspirations and how to realize them.

Reader, do not destroy this handbook. Pass it among your fellow workers wherever you are employed. It is your book. It is their book. It is the book of the world's industrial workers—the world's working class!





The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice

1.—THE I. W. W. AND ITS BACKGROUND.

The one big feature of the I. W. W. is the way that it continues to live in spite of all attempts to destroy it. It gains renewed vigor in the face of attempted destruction. Wm. D. Haywood well says, "With drops of blood the history of the I. W. W. has been written." He might have added, "And also revised and enlarged."

Organized at Chicago, in June, 1905, the I. W. W. has since been subjected to every outrage and inhumanity. I. W. W. members have been lynched, murdered, tarred and feathered, deported, starved, beaten, denied the right of citizenship, exiled, their homes invaded, their private property and papers seized. They have been denied the privilege of defense, held on exorbitant bail, subjected to involuntary servitude, kidnapped, cruelly and unjustly punished, "framed" and unjustly accused, excessively fined. They have died in jail waiting for trial, been driven insane through persecution, denied the use of the mail and the rights to organize, free speech, free press, free assembly. They have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and all the inherent rights proclaimed by the

Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Again and again have I. W. W. halls, offices and headquarters been illegally raided. Again and again have I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature and office fixtures been unlawfully seized. Repeatedly have the I. W. W. organization and membership been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted. Press, pulpit, "labor" organizations, socialist elements—aye, even anarchist and syndicalists—have tried to destroy it.

CAPITALISM—SECRET OF I. W. W. GROWTH.

Still, in spite of them all, the I. W. W. grows in organization and numbers. Where other organizations would have died, it flourishes! What is even more important, it grows as an idea, a spirit, an influence, energy and force, that affects large numbers of workers outside of its folds—directs their actions and shapes their aspirations; in fact, develops and elevates them into conscious power; not only in the U. S. A., but also abroad.

How are these striking facts to be explained? Are the principles of the I. W. W. immortal? Do they alone make it possible to save civilization from the war and collapse due to the greed and corruption of present-day profiteers and capitalists? Do they alone provide the means by which the change from the old to a new social order, now impending, may be made easy?

Let the facts regarding the constant renewal of the I. W. W. organization and the application of I. W. W. principles the world over answer these questions. Let us also look for another answer elsewhere. Let us seek an answer in the growth of present-day capitalism. We may then realize that the I. W. W. is an outgrowth of the capitalist system.

That, as such, it can only be destroyed when that system is destroyed. Kill capitalism and you kill the

I. W. W. Vice-versa, continue capitalism ever more vigorously and you enrich the soil in which the I. W. W. flourishes.

WHAT CAPITALISM IS — CO-OPERATION OF THE MANY FOR THE PROFIT OF THE FEW.

When we speak of capitalism we mean the present-day system of industry especially. Professor McVey in his book, "Modern Industrialism," defines modern industry as the massing of men, machines and capital in the creating of goods. A simpler definition would be "the massing of labor and capital," for men represent labor and machines capital. What is intended in the McVey definition is to put forth the idea of labor (men, women, and children), fixed capital (land, buildings, machines, etc.) and working capital (cash and credit) as the important elements of modern industry.

Because the capital invested in modern industry is owned by private individuals, called capitalists, and is used by them to exploit labor primarily for their own private profit, modern industry is also known as capitalism. Further, because it gives labor only a part of that which it produces for the capitalists, in the form of wages, and binds the workers through capitalist ownership to the control of the capitalist class, it is also called wage slavery. And thanks to its introduction and extensive use of machinery, driven by power and displacing both labor and skill, modern industry is also called machine production.

In modern industry, raw material is taken from the earth, passed through smelters, mills and factories where it is changed into articles of sale, and then distributed to domestic and foreign markets by way of selling agencies, railroads and steamships. The whole transaction is made possible and facilitated by means of money and credit—by banks and banking. So that modern industry is a working together

of agriculture, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transportation, communication, commerce and finance. Without the constant co-operation of millions of laborers employed in these various subdivisions there can be no industry in the modern sense.

GROWTH OF MODERN CAPITALISM.

Previous to modern industry, there was no great massing of labor and capital for the profit of capitalists; nor was there extensive machinery. The individual owner and worker, who took all the products, most largely prevailed, and hand tools and skill were the general rule. Gradually firms, co-partnerships, corporations and trusts evolved, each absorbing all that labor produced, and consolidating the industrial types that preceded it. All this was due to the invention and introduction of machines that displaced labor and skill, and required more capital than individuals possessed or cared to risk! Hence arose also the need of massing the small capitals of many into large capital. Where at first merchants had supplied the needed capital, now stocks and stock exchanges are required, assisted by banks, trust companies and such fiduciary institutions as the life insurance companies, all dominated by banking groups controlled by a few giant capitalists and financiers.

THE TRUSTS AND INDUSTRIAL EMPIRES.

Some big combinations of capital unite all the subdivisions of modern industry within themselves. They own and control their own lands, mines, ore deposits, oil fields, forests, pipe lines, steamship companies, railroads, selling agencies, banks, etc.—each employing for wages and salaries tens of thousands of workers, including every degree of ability and skill, from that of executive superintendence and inventive development, to the most simple labor.

Where, at one time, numerous independent corporations performed these various functions in competition with one another, they are now concentrated in, and performed by these big consolidations.

A notable example of this type of combination is the United States Steel Corporation. Organized in 1902, its capitalization in the first year was \$1,383,000,000. Since that time the capitalization has been increased to \$1,451,000,000. The report of the corporation for 1918 shows that it owns 124 blast furnaces, 334 open hearth furnaces, 38 bessemer converters, 313 steamers and barges, 61,999 cars, 1,421 locomotives, 3,721 miles of railway and 1,000,000,000 tons of iron ore. The total assets of the steel corporation have increased one billion of dollars since its organization. At the present writing they are \$2,572,000,000. In 1918 its bank account was nearly \$200,000,000, nearly all in banks owned and controlled by it. The properties, agencies, etc., of the steel trust are located in and spread over all the states of the union, and extend into every civilized country on the globe, particularly into South American countries. The U. S. Steel Corporation has very appropriately been called "An Industrial Empire."

Where the trusts do not own and operate all the agencies of either supply or distribution, as in the packers' combination, which does not own the farms of the country, or the coal trust, which does not own the middlemen's yards or the retailers' basement shops, these agencies are so dependent on the big combinations as to be entirely within their power and unable to exist without them. Yet this situation was unknown in this country fifty years ago; the beginnings of the trust movement having been first observed only in the 80s of the last century.

Capitalist combinations are expanding in all directions. They are going into retailing, as in the case of the Tobacco Trust interests, which are behind the United Cigar Stores Co., and the Liggett-Riker-Hegeman Drug Stores; and the Childs Restaurants, which

are backed by the Standard Oil interests. These stores are now preparing to push the chain-of-stores idea into cutlery, clothing and other retail branches. To this end they are purchasing and consolidating companies manufacturing these products.

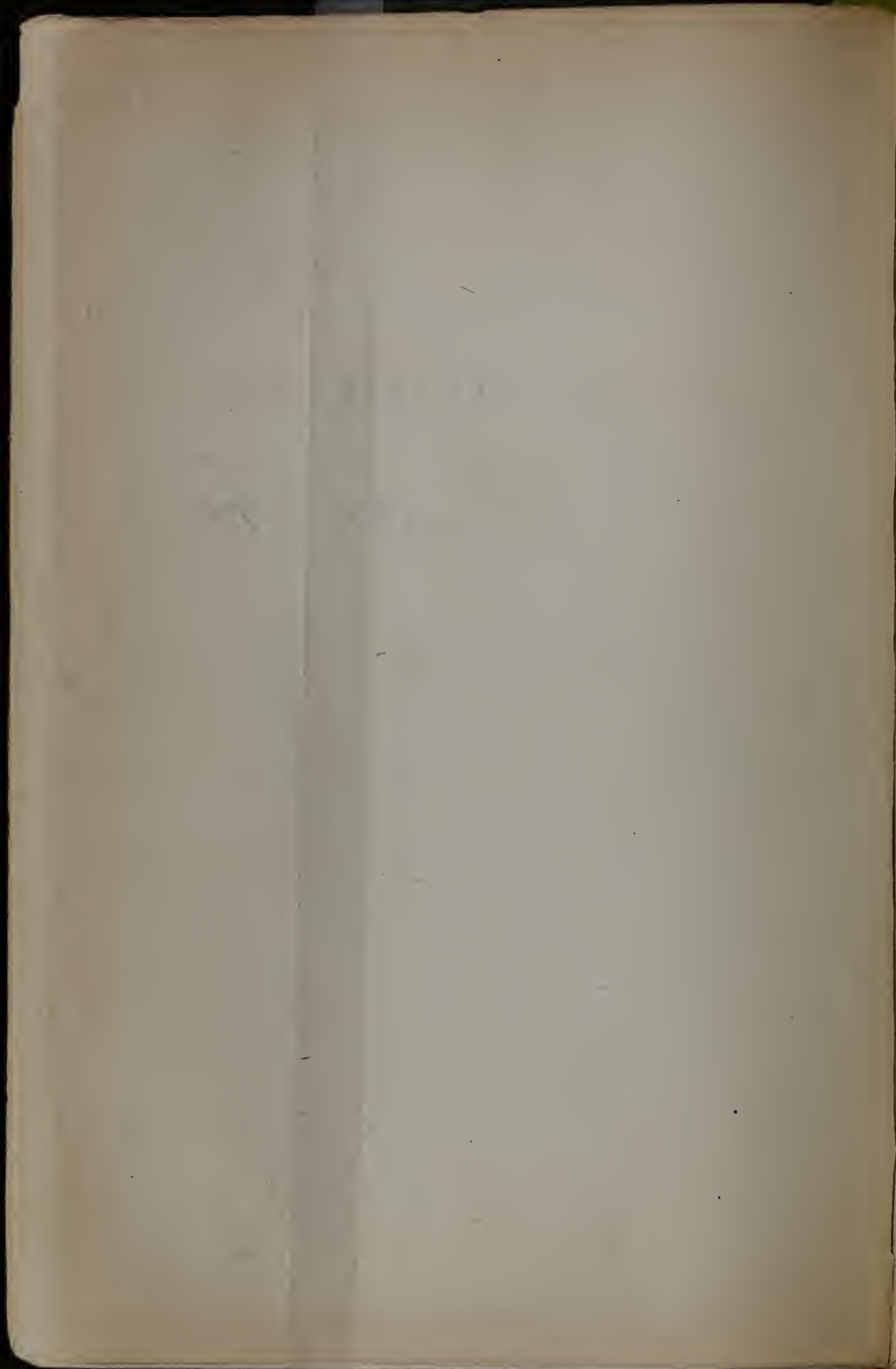
TRUSTS NON-PATRIOTIC—EMBRACE WHOLE WORLD.

The growing international character of "our" colossal combinations of capital next commands attention. One instance is given in the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the "Big Five" meat packers' combination. According to this report, Armour, Morris, Wilson, Swift and Cudahy, will soon control the food of the world. These five concerns rule 574 companies, have an interest in 188 others, and deal in 775 commodities. They have a meat monopoly and exploit beef raising in South America, tea raising in the Orient, and the manufacture of grape juice in New York State. Europe is dotted with their branches. All attempts to regulate them have failed, and the government has been charged with collusion with them to maintain the high cost of food the world over. Their power is local, national and international.

Then there is the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, which owns numerous oil properties and thirteen refineries—seven in the United States, four in Canada, one in Mexico and one in Peru; its pipe lines cover many states; it operates can factories, barrel factories, canning plants, glue factories and pipe shops; it has an ocean-going fleet of fifty-four vessels; it has branches and marketing machinery in Central America, South America, the West Indies, Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, Roumania and South Africa. Some years ago it invaded China and undertook to develop its oil fields in partnership with the Empire then in existence.

These illustrations show that present-day industry

This book
belongs to
Harry Forss



is no longer patriotic. It embraces all the countries of the world. It makes conditions uniform all over the world. It is worse, in its monotonous tendencies, than communism is alleged to be.

WHOLE WORLD MADE ONE BIG INDUSTRY

The world-nature of modern industry was shown in the beginning of the world-war. In its September, 1914, letter, the National City Bank of New York, the largest in this country and a Standard Oil institution to boot, described the havoc then caused in these truly impressive words:

The whole world has tended to become one community with a network of interests and state of interdependence similar to that which exists in a single country. A few weeks ago men were buying and selling, lending and borrowing, contracting and planning, with little attention to national boundaries, when suddenly the whole co-operative system was disrupted. Raw materials were cut off from factories accustomed to use them, factories from markets, food supplies from consumers, and millions of men were summoned from mutually helpful industries to face each other as mortal foes. An outburst of primitive passion in a corner of Europe wrecked the painfully developed structure of modern civilization.

The steps in the growth of modern industry are interesting and many. In the first stage, known as the age of concentration, the trust consolidated many corporations into one, just as in a previous stage these corporations had united many companies. In the second stage, known as the age of integration, many trusts were bound together in single units. In the third stage, known as the period of state control for war purposes, all combinations were more highly solidified, developed and financed under federal patronage and supervision. In the fourth and present stage, state control and inter-association prevail. The state still continues its patronage and supervision, which tend to decline. In its place rises the associations by which the big combinations

act together under private guidance and control. The American Institute of Steel and Iron, for instance, is the name under which all the steel and iron combinations unite to regulate prices and discuss problems to their own advantage. Likewise is the Foreign Trade Export Council, an association representing over four billions of capital interested in securing foreign markets. Lesser illustrations are the United States Chamber of Commerce, which unites all corporations and associations, whether large or small, mainly for domestic protection and advancement.

THE MONEY TRUST—THE TRUST OF TRUSTS.

But over and above all these bodies, uniting and conserving their interests, are the Morgan-Rockefeller groups of bankers. They, through their control of finance, are the dominant factors in modern industry in this country. The strategic capital of the country—its land, lumber, mineral resources, basic manufactures, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, trolleys, light, heat and power, steamships, banks, are theirs by right of ownership and control.

Louis Brandeis in his book, "Other People's Money, and How the Banks Use It," shows how finance is concentrated and the total credit of the country is exploited by allied groups of private bankers headed by Morgan-Rockefeller. President Wilson, when Governor, declared in 1911, "A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit."

ENORMOUS CONTROL OF MONEY TRUST.

Brandeis quotes the Pujo Committee report on the Money Trust. This committee found that the Morgan-Rockefeller allied groups of private bankers held:

In all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations, having aggregate resources or capitalizations of \$22,245,000,-000.

Twenty-two billion dollars is a large sum—so large that we have difficulty in grasping its significance. The mind realizes size only through comparisons. With what can we compare twenty-two billions of dollars? Twenty-two billions of dollars is more than three times the assessed value of all property, real and personal, in all New England. It is nearly three times the assessed value of all the real estate in the city of New York. It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen southern states. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states; North and South, lying west of the Mississippi.

Brandeis believes that this “understates the extent of concentration affected by the inner group of the Money Trusts.” (Pages 33-35.)

WAR EXTENDS MONEY TRUST'S GRASP.

These words were written in 1914, before the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank. But as the Federal Reserve Bank is owned by its stockholders, composed of member banks, the grasp of the Morgan-Rockefeller groups on the finance of the country remains unbroken. The war has, if anything, extended and tightened this grasp. It has changed this country from a money-borrowing into a money-lending country, and has made Wall Street, New York, the rival of Lombard Street, London, as the financial center of the world. Nine billions of dollars are now due the financial controllers of this country to be paid by Europe,, which formerly held two billions in stocks and bonds against them.

The Morgan group are governmental, international bankers, with branches in England and France. They handled the enormous loans and purchases of the allies in this country during the war, amounting to billions in profits. Mr. Frank Vanderlip of the Standard Oil group was President Wilson's financial adviser. His group is representative of the new type of industrial, international financiers. They aim to export capital and establish corporations

all over the world. To this end they have launched The International Banking Corporation. The capital is nominally \$50,000,000. The actual backing amounts to billions controlled by corporations and banks.

WORLD CONNECTIONS OF MONEY TRUST.

During the war the press reported a meeting of international bankers that was held in a neutral country for the purpose of trying to end the war. The situation, however, was beyond their control. Now, Mr. Vanderlip proposes an international commission of bankers to finance Europe and save it from collapse and Bolshevism. Will this move fail, too?

Following Mr. Vanderlip's suggestion, there came a report that the most powerful banking groups in the world, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, and including British and French bankers, besides other American firms, have organized themselves to protect the "rights of foreign investors in Mexico." These groups were also the cause of the Russian problem, with its undeclared war, blockade, and attempted destruction of the Soviet Republic.

Since the war the press has reported many conferences of international financiers in this country for the purpose of rehabilitating Europe and securing the dominance of capitalism over all the nations of the world.

These facts show that from a nation without trusts, the United States has become, in fifty years, a nation with trusts, that are dominated by a trust of trusts, the money trust, which operates in union with the money trusts of other nations. All these nations, are, in turn, dominated by this stupendous international trust—this financial oligarchy of the world.

Such has been modern industrial development.

EFFECTS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The modern industrial revolution from small to large industry and from national isolation to international ramification and financial domination, was accompanied by other revolutions at home and abroad. The population drifts from the land to the city. Farm ownership changes, farm tenancy and laborers increase. Industrial independence gives way to servility; the individual laborer to industrial armies. Even opportunities with corporations vanish. Conditions are uncertain; seasonal employment and lack of employment grow. Skill declines; the homeless, migratory, unskilled worker makes his appearance. Wealth concentrates; corporation levies on the wealth of the country pile up. Tens of millions are in poverty. Prices soar beyond wages. Crises become more serious and threatening. Wars occur; civilization is disrupted and social cataclysm seems near.

POPULATION DRIFTS TO CITIES.

In 1800, four per cent of the population lived in six American cities having a population of over 8,000 persons. In 1910, 46.3 per cent lived in towns and cities of 2,500 and over. One in every fifteen persons living in the United States in 1910 resided in New York City and its suburbs. The farm fails to attract; the needs of industry do.

INDEPENDENT FARMER DISAPPEARS CORPORATION FARM APPEARS.

The census figures for 1914 show 12,659,000 persons occupied in agricultural pursuits. Of this number over one-half are laborers. Of the other half from two to three millions are tenants.

Farms are growing larger. In 1900 there were 47,160 farms containing 1,000 or more acres each.

In 1910, the number increased to 50,135. The corporation ranch, like that of the Taft Co., has arrived. This farm contains 150 square miles of Texas land. On it are company packing houses, cotton gins, ice plants, machine shops, and electric lighting plants. The workers live in company houses and buy in company stores. The factory system is taken to the farm.

Corporation farming will grow more in the future. Tenancy increases with the increase in land values and capital required. These, together with high prices and the lack of investment opportunities elsewhere, are causing big capital to look toward agriculture as its next field of conquest.

INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY VANISHES

The way industrial independence has been ousted by servility is shown in the following facts and figures: The United States Steel Corporation employs 68,000 persons, the General Electric Co. 75,000; the Ford Co. 60,000. Armies take the place of individuals, under the control of corporation employers. The policy of the latter is one of paternalism, slightly modified by labor union organization, or the fear of it.

The 1914 Census gives 8,263,153 persons as the total number engaged in manufacturing industries. Only sixty-one in 1,000 are proprietors and officials. Eighty-eight in each 1,000 are clerks and other subordinate salaried employees. The remaining 851 are wage earners. In the railroad industry, the figures are 1,710,296, for all employees. General officers number 5,750; other officers, 11,153; office clerks, 87,106. That is, the general and minor officers number ten in 1,000, or one per cent. These figures show what chance a worker has to own an industry or railroad, or even to become an officer or clerk.

IRREGULAR EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASE.

The workers do not even have regular employment. In the San Francisco Bay region, during the war year, 1918, fourteen establishments with 14,083 full time employees hired during the year 32,489 persons; 4,000 stayed one week or less; 53 per cent were on the job for less than three months. In the Chicago stock yards 25 per cent of the employees are out of work during the year in some plants. This "turn-over" of labor is typical, especially in big corporations. The army of casual, unemployed labor must be great for their fluctuating needs.

In 1914, just before the European war, the unemployed numbered from three to five millions. Now that the war has subsided, and left capitalism at least 20 per cent more productive than before, the war, unemployment is on the increase again. It threatens to become unprecedented.

RISE OF UNSKILLED, MIGRATORY WORKER.

Most employment tends to become unskilled. This is due to machinery and the minute splitting up of tasks which it permits. Efficiency experts help along the process. Prof. Hoxie, in one of his books, tells of a plant expert who offered to teach him a certain part of a process in thirty minutes.

This unskill admits of the employment of farmers, women and children, in the machine shop and corporation offices. Because of it, men flit from industry to industry; from city to city. It makes the worker inter-industrial and a "runabout," i. e., migratory worker.

MALNUTRITION, PHYSICAL DECLINE AND OTHER ILLS AROUND.

Consider some other effects of capitalism on modern social life. Dr. Thomas Wood states that

20 per cent at least of all American school children, or 4,500,000, are suffering from malnutrition. Dr. R. P. Emerson, a Boston authority, says that the malnourished children are at least a third of all the children in the country. Capitalism underfeeds and starves.

A report by Provost Marshall General Crowder shows that 3,208,446 men were examined by the draft boards. Under greatly modified requirements, 621,606 men, or one-sixth of the number examined, were rejected as wholly unfit to serve in the army. Capitalism conduces to physical deterioration.

It is estimated that there is a shortage of a million and more dwelling houses in the United States.

Rents in all large cities are steadily increasing. From fifty to sixty per cent is the average, though in some cases they have been doubled and trebled. Rent strikes are now a feature of city life. So are strikes against increased food prices and trolley fares, especially through the introduction of the zone system. Capitalism increasingly produces disorder.

PRICES SOAR 'WAY ABOVE WAGES.

During the past twenty years food prices have been steadily rising.

The "Annalist" (New York) publishes an index number of food prices, covering twenty-five articles selected and arranged to represent an average family budget. The index number for 1890 was 109.252; for 1896, 80.096; for 1914, 146.069; for March 8, 1919, 287.461. That means that the prices of food in March, 1919, were twice what they were in 1914; nearly three times what they were in 1890, and over three and a half times what they were in 1896.

Edward Bouton, Jr., puts the increase in prices according to the "Annalist's" Index Number thus: "A dollar will now only purchase 26.6 per cent as much of the necessities of life as it would purchase

in 1896. It has lost 73.4 per cent of its purchasing power in twenty-three years, or 3.19 per cent each year."

Other prices show the same tendency, all over the world. In this country, average prices advanced 84 per cent, while in England, about 64 per cent, from 1896 to 1914, so-called normal years.

The United States Department of Labor estimates that since 1914, in the City of New York, the cost of living had risen 103.8 per cent up to December, 1919.

Since November, 1919, the Industrial Conference Board, maintained by corporate interests, states that there has been an additional increase of 7 per cent ending March, 1920, in the entire country.

A New York City wageworker getting \$5 a day in 1914, if he is as well off as five years ago, should be getting \$10.55 a day for his labor. The labor unions of New York claim that they are relatively worse off, as wages have not increased the same as prices.

Byron W. Holt, in his Chautauqua address, July 13, 1914, on "The Fundamental Causes of High Prices," has this to say concerning prices and labor unions: "If labor unions were an important factor in high prices we should expect to see wages rise faster than prices. On the contrary, average wages have risen only about half as much as prices during the last eighteen years. Prices go up the elevator while wages climb the stairs."

FEW RECEIVE NECESSARY MINIMUM WAGE.

Despite the war, wages show no great advances over pre-war averages for the workers. In Massachusetts industries in 1917, 530,890 men were employed. Only 13.5 per cent received a yearly wage rate in excess of \$1,300, which is considered necessary for a family of five. The majority received less than \$20 a week. In the shoe industry of the United

States, the great body of low unskilled male workers received in 1919, \$16 weekly. This is a little more than half the minimum family wage. In the District of Columbia, three-fourths of the women employed in the printing industry worked for less than the amount of \$16 a week, the minimum standard of living for women in that district. Ellis Searles, editor Mine Workers' Journal, declares that from October, 1918, to October, 1919, the 90,000 miners of Illinois earned an average of about \$800 each; the 27,000 miners of Indiana earned about the same; the 42,000 miners of Ohio about \$700 and the 45,000 miners of Pennsylvania about \$750 each. This in a "good prosperous year."

These are typical illustrations.

WEALTH CONCENTRATES IN EVER FEWER HANDS.

Consider, the net income of the United States was thirty-five billions in 1915 and seventy-three billions in 1918—an increase of over 100 per cent. Where does it all go to? Of a total population of about 102 millions, less than a half million individuals paid income taxes in 1916.

Basil Manly in a Dec. 22, 1918, article written for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, declares:

The plain fact is, wealth in the United States is being concentrated in the hands of a small number of families, less than one-fiftieth of one per cent of the **whole** population, at a rate never before known.

In 1910 two per cent of the people of the United States owned 60 per cent of the wealth. Today it is certain this two per cent owns and controls at least 70 per cent of the nation's wealth and resources.

Harry H. Klein, Deputy Commissioner of Accounts, New York, in a recent article entitled, "What Shall We Do With Rockefeller's Fortune?" declares:

John D. Rockefeller passed his eightieth birthday recently and expressed the hope that he might live one hundred years. Mr. Rockefeller has a fortune

estimated to exceed two billion dollars. His annual income is estimated at more than one hundred million dollars. If he lives twenty years and his rate of accumulation continues, he will have about FOUR BILLION DOLLARS.

CORPORATIONS DRAIN WEALTH PRODUCTION.

Scott Nearing puts the draft of capitalists and corporations on the wealth produced by the armies of workers as follows:

The income tax figures for the latest year, 1917, show \$4,469,901,354 paid by less than 5 per cent of the adult population, as rent, interest and dividends.

War business was good business. The Wall Street Journal finds that 104 corporations from December 31, 1914, to Dec. 31, 1918, after heavy expenditures for new construction and acquisitions, and record-breaking dividends, added a total of nearly \$2,000,000,000 to working capital. Practically all of this increase came from surplus earnings.

Besides that, the inventories showed that the properties of these 104 corporations had increased in value, during the four war years, \$1,522,000,000. (Special Service Articles, Nos. 30, 31, Aug. 21-28, 1919.)

The war made 17,000 millionaires. Seventeen thousand million dollars is exactly the same as \$17,000,000,000. And \$17,000,000,000 is almost the exact sum raised by the first, second, third and fourth Liberty loan drives.

Excessive profiteering during the war and since is responsible for these new millionaires. This profiteering was as high as 290,999 per cent in one instance, that of a steel corporation.

Basil Manly, in the April, 1920, Searchlight Magazine, declares that the net profits earned by American capitalists during the war were equal to the capital stock of practically all the manufacturing plants in the United States. Manly does the best summing up when he says:

In other words, it is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American

people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation today in possession of practically all its manufacturing plants.

Scott Nearing further declares: "According to a Federal Report 30,000,000 are living in poverty in the United States."

Wealth concentration and poverty—such is the United States today, after fifty years of modern capitalism.

ENTER WARS FOR MARKETS AND INVESTMENT SPHERES.

Added to these extremes are wars—national and class wars. In his September 6 speech at St. Louis, President Wilson assured his hearers that "The seed of war is industrial and commercial rivalry." "This war," (referring to the world war) "is an industrial and commercial war." This war cost \$186,000,000,000; 7,450,200 men killed. America's cost was twenty-two billions. More were slain than in 121 years. (Washington dispatch, N. Y. Call, Sept. 22, 1919.)

This war, further, precipitated a social cataclysm, brought on Bolshevism, and laid the basis of future wars. But even if these facts were not present, war would still be a certainty. The war of 1914-1919 came on top of a great world-economic depression that gave forewarning of a class revolution. Today capitalism is running into another depression and is haunted by revolutionary fears. It is compelled to increase prices and output. Either one of these steps increases its perils. Increased prices will increase strikes; increased output, unemployment and social disorder. Already is the nation an armed camp in the war of the classes. This the Boston police and steel strikes make plain. What will be the outcome, another war; another social cataclysm; another Bolshevism?

THE RISE OF ANTI-CAPITALISM.

The conditions produced by modern industry give rise to various endeavors aiming at their reform and abolition, either in part or altogether. The farmers, crushed by the railroads, combinations, and financiers, organized granger, anti-monopoly, anti-trust, greenback, free silver, populists', government ownership and non-partisan movements and leagues. The middle class, crushed in competition with the trusts, and noting their excesses and tendencies, espoused the single-tax, anti-trust, anti-war, free silver, government control and ownership causes. While the workers, ever demanding more control over industry and desiring to emancipate themselves from capitalism and its wars by the abolition of the system, have formed labor unions, labor parties, international workmen's associations and industrial unions aiming to embrace all the industrial workers of the world to take over the World's industries for the world's workers in the impending collapse of capitalist society.

Growth of all kinds must come from within. Modern growth must come from within modern industry—the greatest institution in modern society—from the workers employed therein. International financial oligarchy must be replaced by international labor solidarity, through the international industrial organization, which gives the former its foundation and strength.

WORLD'S WORKERS LOOK TO WORLD'S INDUSTRY.

This growth, as all signs show, is coming the world over. The workers of the world are looking to industry—to themselves—for the redeemers of the world. It is this growth that the I. W. W. anticipated when it organized in 1905. It is this growth that makes the I. W. W. indestructible as an organization, a spirit and an idea today.

The Industrial Workers of the World will only end when world capitalism ends, and the workers' communal society is born.

II.—THE FORERUNNERS OF THE I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World did not spring, like the mythological gods of old, out of nothing. Nor is it another Topsy, that just grew without ever having been born. The Industrial Workers of the World has its origin and parentage in modern economic development and its effects. The present capitalist industrial system is its father, and the labor movement of the past generations its mother. The I. W. W. has a long line of forebears and is proud of its ancestry, both native and foreign, on the maternal side.

Just about one hundred years ago—or in 1820—the United States began to experience an industrial revolution. Then the transformation from household industry to the factory system set in. Transportation was revolutionized by the introduction of the steamboat and the development of canals and turnpikes, and manufactures began to surpass the old industries of shipping and foreign commerce. In these days, along with towns and cities, a labor class began to develop. In New England, the farmers left the land and moved into the textile centers; the daughters worked in the mills. The old conditions began to break down; new ones to take their places. New issues, new class alignments and new movements were thus created.

From 1820 to 1850, the industrial revolution grew. The power loom, the hot air blast in the iron smelting industry, the mower, the reaper, the sewing machine, the friction match, the steam printing press, the use of the screw propeller on steamboats and the steam hammer, were introduced. In 1826, the development of the railroad system began. Locomotive con-

struction began about 1830. The first telegraph line was constructed in 1844. The change was a rapid one—a momentous one.

Along with the introduction of these inventions, came larger cities, more factories, stock companies and a greater division between the capitalist class and the working class. It was during this period that the modern labor movement first appeared in this country. It was then that the workers from the farm and distant lands were brought together in ever increasing numbers in factories and lived together in districts in the cities occupied by themselves exclusively. Under these conditions the workers became conscious of their existence as a separate class in society and began to organize and to exert themselves as such against their employers and the new system generally. It was then that the first of the I. W. W.'s ancestors was born in this country.

I. W. W. POLICY ONE OF CONSTRUCTION.

The I. W. W. believes in three vital things. First, the conflict of interests between capital and labor, that is, the class struggle. Second, the necessity for a labor organization built in conformity with industrial concentration. Third, the abolition of the wages or capitalist system by means of such an organization, under the pressure attending the probable breakdown of capitalism. The I. W. W. calls this "building the new society within the shell of the old."

The I. W. W. policy is a constructive, evolutionary one. It is born of the present system and grew out of it. Throughout the labor movement in past decades, there will be found theories, aspirations and organizations tending in the same general direction as the I. W. W., with ever greater clearness, definiteness, and fulfillment.

CLASS STRUGGLE AN AMERICAN DOCTRINE.

Not Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, but Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, great American

statesmen, both of them, first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil. Sixty years before the two great socialists gave "The Communist Manifesto" to the world, Hamilton and Madison were arguing as to the proper basis of government before the Philadelphia convention to establish a constitution for the United States. Said Hamilton, in support of life office in and control of, government by the strong and powerful:

All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are rich and the well-born; the other are the mass of the people.

Madison was even more analytical and specific in his appeal for a factional party government, representative of all the different interests, as a medium wherewith to balance the extremes of autocracy and democracy. Said he:

Those who hold, and those without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide civilized nations of necessity into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views.

DEVELOPING "THE LESSER INTERESTS."

The industrial development that followed close on the heels of the Philadelphia Convention, with startling rapidity divided society into the class of "the few," called the capitalist class, and the class of "the many," called the working class. It has tended, furthermore, to consolidate the landed, manufacturing, mercantile and moneyed classes into a powerful employing, capitalist and financial class. At the same time, it has developed "the lesser interests"—meaning thereby the interests of the workers in the shops and factories—until they are represented by great labor organizations striving for social control in opposition to the capitalist class.

In the early labor organizations, the class struggle was not so apparent and marked as at the present

time. For instance, the printers' society of New York; founded in 1808, admitted both employer and employee to membership. The New York Typographical Society of 1831, however, had a constitutional clause under which membership was forfeited by journeymen becoming employers. Employers were found to be a clog to progressive action in that they sought to regulate the organization in their own interests. Finally, the breach became a wide-open one, when, in an "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," the first national convention of typographical societies in this country, state bluntly: "There exists a perpetual antagonism between labor and capital."

The change from hand power to steam power printing press, and from small individual to large stock company ownership of establishments, was, no doubt, the cause of this transformation of "views and sentiments," to quote the language of Madison.

THE RISE OF TRADES UNIONISM.

It was also during these early days that labor developed its organization from short-lived strike movements to more permanent forms of unionism. The first labor organization in this country, so far as can be ascertained from the records, was the New York Typographical Society, organized in 1795. It lived two and one-half years. It sought to increase wages and improve conditions. After the trade union was started, the next step was the organization of a trades union, or, as we call it now, a central labor union, or federation, uniting all the local trade bodies.

Prof. John Commons (in his "Labor Organizations and Labor Politics, 1827-1837), declares: "Modern trades unionism as an industrial and political force began with the coming together of previously existing societies from the several trades to form a central body on the representative principle."

Logically, the next phase was that of national trade unions and trades associations. This further development was made necessary by the extensive growth of cities, industries and capitalist interests and aggressions. Thus were the early attempts to organize according to the requirements of industrial development inspired by that development itself.

"THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM."

It was stated above, that Hamilton and Madison first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil sixty years in advance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In this connection, it may be of interest to know that the demand for "the abolition of the wages system" is also originally American.

The facts in support of these assertions are as follows: In New York City in 1830, two Englishmen, brothers, George Henry Evans and Frederick Evans, published a paper called "Young America." At its head twelve demands were printed. Demand 10 reads:

"10. Abolition of chattel slavery, and of wages slavery."

Bear in mind, this was in 1830! And in New York City, too!

The Evans brothers were remarkable in that they not only anticipated Karl Marx, but also Henry George. They expounded land theories similar to those of "the prophet of San Francisco" fifty years before he was heard of. Their twelve demands were supported by six hundred other papers.

The abolition of the wages system was also discussed by other writers. One of them was Orestes Brownson, a famous writer and friend of the distinguished men of his time. He, possibly, was the first "back-to-the-land" advocate. In his book, published in 1857, and called "The Convert," he argues:

"THE MOTHER EVIL OF MODERN SOCIETY."

"Starting from the democratic theory of man and society, I contend that the great mother evil of modern society was the separation of capital and labor; or the fact that one class of the community owns the funds, and other and a distinct class is compelled to perform the labor of production. The consequence of this system is, that the owners of capital enrich themselves at the expense of the owners of labor. The system of money wages, the modern system, is more profitable to the owners of capital than the slave system is to the slavemasters, and hardly less oppressive to the laborer. The wages, as a general rule, are never sufficient to enable the laborer to place himself on an equal footing with the capitalist. Capital will always command the lion's share of the proceeds. This is seen in the fact that while they who command capital grow rich, the laborer by his simple means at best only obtains a bare subsistence. The whole class of simple laborers are poor, and in general unable to procure by their wages more than the bare necessities of life. The capitalist employs labor that he may grow rich and richer; the laborer sells his labor that he may not die of hunger, he, his wife and little ones, and as the urgency of guarding against hunger is always stronger than that of growing rich or richer, the capitalist holds the laborer at his mercy, and has over him, whether called a slave or a freeman, the power of life and death.

"Poor men may indeed become rich, but not by the simple wages of unskilled labor. They never do become rich except by availing themselves, in some way, of the labor of others."

THE "BACK-TO-THE-LAND" SOLUTION.

Brownson continues: "To remedy these evils, I proposed to abolish the destruction between capitalists and laborers, by having every man an owner of the funds as well as the labor on a capital of his own, and to receive according to his works. Undoubtedly,

my plan would have broken up the whole modern commercial system, prostrated all the great industries and thrown the mass of the people back on the land to get their living by agriculture and mechanical pursuits. I know this well enough, but this was one of the results I aimed at. It was therefore I opposed the whole banking and credit system, and struggled hard to separate the fiscal concerns of the government from the moneyed interests of the country, and to abolish paper currency. I wished to check commerce, to destroy speculation, and for the factory system, which were enacting tariffs to protect and build up, to restore the old home industry."

THE COMMUNIST "LAYING HOLD OF" PROPERTY SOLUTION.

Of a different type of writer was Thomas Skidmore. Skidmore was a communist and as such a factor in the New York labor movement of the 20's and 30's. He wrote a book entitled, "The Rights of Man to Property." In this book he argued that men should be compelled to live on their own labor and not the labor of others. The inequalities of private property are born of the fact that some men live on the labor of others, a fact which these inequalities tend to perpetuate in turn. Applying his doctrine to the property conditions created by the progress of capitalism, Skidmore declared:

"The steam engine is not injurious to the poor, when they can have the benefit of it; and this, on supposition, being always the case, it could be hailed as a blessing. If, then, it is seen that the steam engine, for example, is likely greatly to impoverish, or destroy the poor, what have they to do, but to lay hold of it, and make it their own? Let them appropriate also, in the same way, the cotton factories, the woolen factories, the iron foundries, the rolling mills, houses, churches, ships, goods, steamboats, fields of agriculture, etc., etc., etc., in manner as proposed in this work, and as is their right, and they will never

have occasion any more to consider that as an evil which never deserved that character; which, on the contrary, is all that is good among men, and of which we cannot, under these new circumstances, have too much."

THE TRADE UNION CO-OPERATION SYSTEM.

Thus would these two extremes meet, in a practical way, the demand for the abolition of the wages system, the one by going backward, the other forward. The labor unions hinted at abolition through their own organizations, generally in the form of co-operation. The "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," already quoted, says, for instance:

"Combination merely to fix and sustain a scale of prices is of minor importance, compared to that combination which looks to the ultimate redemption of labor. Scale of prices, to keep up the value of labor, are only necessary under a system which, in its uninterrupted operation, gives to that value a continued downward tendency. But when labor determines no longer to sell itself to speculators, but to become its own employer; to own and enjoy itself and the fruits thereof, the necessity for scales of prices will have passed away, and labor will forever be rescued from the control of capital. . . . This is certainly a consummation most devoutly to be wished, and however difficult it may be to attain, if within the range of possibility, ought to constitute the great end to which all our aims and efforts should be made subsidiary."

In all of the foregoing sections, we get a general idea of the beginnings of the class struggle, the early development of unions, and the demand for the abolition of the wages system, both in theory and in fact.

BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIAL UNION TENDENCIES.

The decades that followed those of 1820-1850 were decades that embraced the civil war, in which

workmen ardently fought in behalf of the Union, many of them conscious of the fact that the end of chattel slavery made the abolition of wages slavery easier. Following the civil war, a great corporation and trust development arose. This was the period of great panics, like that of 1873, and great labor outbreaks like that of the railroad strikes of 1877. Class-consciousness among the workers grew. Where, in the early 30's, the communism of Robert Owen had made a great impression on American labor, and in the 40's that of Fourier had considerable sway, now the international socialism of Karl Marx began to make itself felt, through the International Workmen's Association. The result was a growth in labor organization that was immense.

Says George E. McNeil, an authority on the labor movement, "The year 1866 witnessed a great revival of the labor movement. Isolated unions and associations came more and more to see the necessity of amalgamation. An active propaganda was aroused and new organizations were continually multiplying. From thirty to forty national and international trades unions and amalgamated societies were in existence, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men. The people of today (1887) have little conception of the extent of the labor movement of twenty years ago."

A. F. OF L. APPEARS TO COMBAT NEW TENDENCIES.

This new impetus to labor organization gave rise to a desire for ever closer unity, accelerated by a recognition of the fact that craft unions were not strong enough when standing alone. Industrial congresses were thus held, beginning in 1874. Many craft organizations were represented. Out of such tendencies arose the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, in 1881. It was inspired by the International Typographical Union, which was

among the first of the trade unions to recognize the need of mutual assistance and closer relations. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was also rendered necessary by the continued growth and success of the Knights of Labor. This was an organization that attempted to organize all the trades in one body. It threatened the existence of the trade and labor unions, and thus hastened the formation of the trades and labor unions federation, now known as "The American Federation of Labor."

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION.

The new tendency expressed by the Knights of Labor had been growing for years. The International Labor Union of America, formed in 1877, was an endeavor to combine all callings under one central head. It never had a large membership, but branches were organized in seventeen states. Its declaration of principles contains many an I. W. W. germ. We read, for instance, that

"The victory over divine right rulership must be supplemented by a victory over property right rulers; for there can be no government of the people, by the people, and for the people, where the many are dependent on the few for an existence.

"Political liberty cannot long continue under economic bondage, for he who is forced to sell his labor or starve will sell his franchise when the same alternative is presented.

"As the wealth of the world is distributed through the wages system, its better distribution must come through higher wages, and better opportunities, until wages shall represent the earnings and not the necessities of labor, thus melting profit upon labor out of existence, and making co-operation, or self-employed labor, the natural and logical step from wage-slavery to free labor."

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN.

Another organization worthy of note, as contributing to the upbuilding of Knights of Labor tendencies, was the Knights of St. Crispin. This was a body of boot and shoe workers of all trades that recognized that in the age of collective capital there must be a larger co-operation among the wage workers than the craft union is able to give. Their declaration states that, "The objects of this organization are to protect its members from injurious competition, and **secure thorough unity among all workers on boots or shoes in every section of the country.**" The Knights of St. Crispin were what is known today as "a single industry" industrial union, being confined to one industry and organizing on the principles of industrial instead of craft unionism.

They favored "co-operation as a proper and efficient remedy for many of the evils of the present iniquitous system that concedes to the laborer only so much of his production as shall make comfortable living a bare possibility, and place education and social position beyond his reach."

The Knights of St. Crispin were a political power. They had a monthly journal, started co-operative stores, fought many successful strikes, became international in scope, and, it is estimated, had four hundred lodges and forty thousand members at once time and were considered one of the foremost organizations in the world. Their downfall is attributed to "too much politics" and to a failure to appreciate evolution outside of their organization, especially the admission of apprentices and others into the boot and shoe industry. The Knights of St. Crispin existed about ten years, from 1864 to 1874, and were largely absorbed by the Knights of Labor. This was also the fate of the International Labor Union before it.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

The Knights of Labor were organized in Philadelphia, in 1869. Some garment workers, headed by

Uriah S. Stephens, were the founders. The Knights of Labor recognized the submission of labor to capitalist, and attributed it to the disunity of labor and the lack of harmonious action which this disunity promoted. It sought to unite every granch of skilled and unskilled labor, by means of local assemblies, district assemblies and general assemblies, all presided over by a master workman. Its underlying principle was centralization; what it lacked was organization according to industry. It was more of a mass organization than an organization along well defined industrial lines.

REASONS K. OF L. FAILED—A. F. OF L. SCABBERY.

The Knights of Labor also advocated co-operation "as a means of superceding the wages system," and favored public ownership of telephones, telegraphs and railroads to the same ends. It was the climax of after-civil war period efforts toward a more highly developed form of organization than any in existence previous to its advent. It is said to have numbered over a million members. Its death may be attributed to abnormal growth, which was greater than could be even chartered, much less assimilated; to politics; to its lack of definite forms of organization; to centralization, and its corrupt misuses and abuses; but, moreover, to the American Federation of Labor, which, in alliance with the capitalists, who feared the socialistic working class tendencies of the Knights of Labor, scabbed the Knights of Labor out of existence. The brewing, cigar-making, railroading, coal-mining and other industries are full of the history of A. F. of L. scabbery against the Knights of Labor. This scabbery, logically, developed in the A. F. of L. until, in alliance with the National Civic Federation, the A. F. of L. was called by the Wall Street Journal, "the greatest bulwark in this country against socialism."

BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

Labor is trying to break through the bounds of capitalism into a free society, just as capitalism, at its earliest inceptions, tried to break through the bounds of the guild system in its efforts at self-realization. And labor is going to succeed just as capitalism succeeded. The forces behind social development will compel such success. This is evident on all sides. It is mostly evident in the events of the early labor movements and their steady upward development.

Early labor movements demanded the abolition of the wages system. They hinted at the end of this system through their own agencies, mainly through co-operation. In the 80's of the last century we find the labor organizations favoring government ownership and political action to that end. And, more important still, we find them engaging in a campaign that will prepare them to take over the operation and control of the means of production and distribution. This tendency was what distinguished the radical from the conservative unions; this, together with the desire for greater working class unity and organization.

THE KINDERGARTEN IDEA.

In 1886 the Metal Workers of America, a federative body, in its declaration of principles argues: "The entire abolition of the present system of society can alone emancipate the workers, being replaced by a new system based upon co-operative organization of production and in a free society. Our organization should be a school to educate its members for the new conditions of society when the workers will regulate their own affairs."

We find the same idea of the union as the kindergarten of the new society expressed in the writings of the German State Socialists, notably Dr. Johann

Jacoby. In his "Object of the Labor Movement," a speech delivered in 1870, the doctor spoke highly of the labor unions. Said he:

The true significance of these associations, their value, which cannot be overestimated, lies in this, that, wholly apart from the special object at which they aim, they are a school for self-culture for their members; that they confer upon them skill in the independent management of their own affairs and in harmonious action with others for common ends; that, by education, promotion of a comprehension of business and fraternal, public spirit, they prepare the worker for a gradual transition from the prevailing Wage System to the co-operative method of production of the future.

THE LABOR UNIONS AS THE BASIS OF NEW SOCIETY.

Another idea, quite distinct from the above, also developed. This idea regards the labor unions as the organs by which the new society will be ushered in. The first exponent of this idea seems to have been Robert Owen, the Englishman, who spent some years in this country in the twenties of the last century, and whose influence on the labor movement here has been great indeed. Owen advocated in the thirties and forties of the same century a general federation of the workers' unions which would take over and operate all the national industries of England. This idea permeated the world labor movements. In 1868 it appeared in the Belgian labor movement, at the Lausanne congress. Lucian Sanial, in his "Socialism in Belgium (Socialist Almanac, page 67), writes of this congress and its able Marxian leader, De Paepè, as follows:

It may even be doubted whether De Paepe himself did not still entertain the notion, then quite prevalent among workingmen and subsequently exploited by the anarchists, that the trade union form of labor organization would serve as the basis of the social reorganization of labor.

Possibly, Russia proves "the notion" attacked by Sanial of more importance than he believed it to be.

However, this is a digression. Let us listen next to Wm. E. Trautman, editor of the *Brewers' Journal*. Writing on "The United Brewery Workers and Industrial Organization" in the special Labor Day issue of the *American Labor Union Journal* in September, 1903, Trautman declares:

Socialists abroad, as well as here, perceive that the instruments for the management of the Socialist republic, now in process of formation, must be created, and they build the labor organization according to this need. Who can judge how to regulate the required production of utilities in the various lines of industry in conformity with the necessities of the entire society better than those who are directly employed in a given industry?

Industrial organizations are the forerunners of the society founded on Socialist foundations, and within them are the elements preparing for a more scientific management of the implements of production and distribution.

Thus does labor try to break through capitalism, by means of clearer theoretical understanding and improved industrial organization. Thus does it try to "build the new society in the shell of the old."

THE PERSISTENT, PROPHETIC I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in Chicago, Ill., in 1905, has its forerunners—in the development of modern industry and labor organization, combined with the workers' desire for emancipation from wage slavery. Following the Knights of Labor, there came Debs' American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, to contribute to its evolution on the industrial side, while the socialist parties gave much material toward its intellectual phase.

The I. W. W. differs from the Knights of Labor in its more definite industrial forms and principles and from the American Labor Union, which was merely an extension and buttress of the Western Federation of Miners, in its greater scope and more independent

existence. The I. W. W. differs from the American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees in that they were "single industry" industrial unions, while the I. W. W. is a single union of all the industries, combining all the industries in One Big Union.

The fact that the Industrial Workers of the World has had many forerunners should not discourage any one from joining it, or furthering its cause. What is more important is the constant reappearance of this type of union. It must be necessary—labor cannot get along without it—or else why does Labor create such a union so often, despite previous failures? Further, developments at home and abroad demonstrate that society needs such a constructive type of unionism in order to escape reaction and disaster.

The I. W. W., to digress a little, has proved prophetic. When asked by Commissioner Garrettson of the Railway Conductors' Brotherhood, to tell the Industrial Relations Commission in 1914 how the I. W. W. intended to manage industry, William D. Haywood replied:

Take your own executive board; who can run the railroads any better than they?

The Plumb plan, with its part management of the railroads by the railroad workers, would indicate that even the conservative railroad brotherhoods have come around to the I. W. W. idea of workers' control of industry through industrial organization.

How can we conclude this essay better than by quoting a speech delivered in Philadelphia, during the 80's of the last century, by that good friend of labor, the eminent journalist, John Swinton. Swinton, addressing a body, whom he refers to as one of "these great conferences of world-builders in the chief cities of the country," said:

THE LABOR TRILOGY.

"I close by presenting three plain ideas:

"Firstly, I warn you that in these times the workers

are preparing to take a hand in the government of the world—to take hold of the administration of its resources, its business and its politics. The kings, lords, generalissimos, schemers and financiers, who have seized our earth, are incompetent to manage its affairs. They have had their way age after age, generation after generation, and the shipwreck of mankind is the result. But now the day of judgment for them is at hand. Man takes the field to harvest his rights. The old dispensation passeth; a new era glimmers along the sky.

“Secondly, I warn you of the growth of unity of action among the world’s workers, here and in all countries. From state to state, from land to land, they are signalling to each other; through all forms of government they are learning to co-operate; amid all varieties of speech they find the universal language. This is a new thing and a great thing, from which will grow other great and new things.

“Thirdly and lastly, I warn you of the nature of the demands of the world’s workers. They are essentially the same throughout this country, and in all other countries. There is unity of program as well as of action. They must have full scope for their proper power in the community; they must have their allotment of the resources and the heritage of the earth.

“These terms are natural, reasonable and righteous, and the fact that they are everywhere made and everywhere increasing in strength is the assurance that, whatever they may have to encounter, they will yet be secured.”

III.—THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

The history of the I. W. W. began in 1905. The concluding volume still remains to be written. The I. W. W. was at first a derided weakling. Gompers sneered at its “wheel of fortune,” i. e., plan of organization. Now both Gompers and capitalism fear the I. W. W. as all living things fear death.

The I. W. W. is a prophecy—a preparation—partly fulfilled in the Russian revolution, and tending further, in the Plumb plan, to be fulfilled in this country. As Arturo Giovannitti well says: "The I. W. W. is the only socialism of all the socialisms that has succeeded. It alone has come out of the war vindicated and stronger than ever before."

The reason for the impregnable position of the I. W. W. is to be found in the fact that the I. W. W. is born of real capitalism and is inseparable from it. It is the only form of labor organization that conforms to the organization of capitalism and that will carry the latter on to higher planes when it either collapses or is sloughed off in the process of further growth and development.

The application of the constructive principles of the I. W. W. saved Russia after the Kerensky revolution. In this country, they are proposed in part as a solution of the railroad problem. In labor organization, I. W. W. principles are overturning A. F. of L. principles. On all sides, the I. W. W. presses to the front. It is the only solution that can logically be applied to capitalism and its problems. Therein lies the explanation of the I. W. W.'s phoenix-like existence—its constant revival in the face of apparent destruction.

THE SIX FOUNDERS OF THE I. W. W.

In the fall of 1904, six workingmen dissatisfied with the A. F. of L. met and decided that a better form of unionism was necessary and should be organized. They were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain; Clarence Smith, general Secretary-Treasurer, American Labor Union; Thomas J. Haggerty, editor "Voice of Labor," organ of the A. L. U.; George Estes, President United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; W. L. Hall, General Secretary-Treasurer U. B. R. E.; and William E. Trautman,

editor "Brauer Zeitung," United Brewery Workers' organ.

These six men called a conference that came together in Chicago, Ill., on Jan. 2, 1905, and drew up the Industrial Union manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, Ill., on June 27, 1905. It was at this convention that The Industrial Workers of the World, better known by its initial letters, "The I. W. W.," was launched.

The conference was composed of forty men, active in the radical and socialist movements of that time. The Western Federation of Miners pushed the circulation of their manifesto and did much to make the convention successful. One Hundred and eighty-six delegates attended the convention from thirty-six state, district, national and local organizations with a membership of 90,000. William D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was its permanent chairman.

The organizations installed as part of the I. W. W. were the Western Federation of Miners, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Punch Press Operators, United Metal Workers, Longshoremen's Union, American Labor Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees. Fifty-one thousand was the stated membership of these combined organizations, 21,000 of which was almost wholly on paper. Subsequently, one of its real mainstays, the B. R. E., died, while the W. F. M. deserted it:

FRAIL BEGINNING AND PRESENT MEMBERSHIP I. W. W.

On a frail, unsubstantial basis, such as inflated membership and dying, unreliable organizations, was the I. W. W. launched. It has since enrolled approximately 500,000 members. These have come into and gone out of it, only to spread and apply the doctrines of the I. W. W. all over the world. Many of the foremost Russian reconstructionists, like Shatoff,

Nelson, Tobin, etc., are I. W. W.'s. I. W. W. job delegates and proselytes are not unknown even in Japan and China. The A. F. of L. is infused with I. W. W.'ism. This, the recent New York dockmen's strike and United Mine Workers' convention demonstrate. The Socialist and Communist parties are either influenced by its policies or openly support it. The I. W. W. menaces capitalism wherever capitalism menaces civilization. This is one of the many reasons for its virility.

I. W. W. IN FOREFRONT OF LABOR'S DEFENSE.

The I. W. W. has engaged in many a campaign for labor since its founding. It took the initiative in the successful movement to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from judicial murder. The McNamara, Mooney, and other workers' defenses are supported by the I. W. W. The Bolsheviki were first recognized in this country by the I. W. W. This is especially true of The Industrial Worker, which printed interviews with the mate of the Shilka, a Russian ship that arrived in Seattle shortly after the November, 1917, revolution. The I. W. W. is instinctively proletarian. For this reason capitalists attack it and workmen rally to it.

HOTLY CONTESTED I. W. W. STRIKES

The I. W. W. has also waged many hotly contested strikes since its founding. In 1906, it established the eight-hour day for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada. A strike of sheet metal workers in Youngstown, Ohio, in the same year, was lost, owing to A. F. of L. scabbing. In 1907, 3,000 textile workers in Skowhegan, Maine, won improved conditions after a four weeks' struggle and despite strike-breakers furnished by the A. F. of L. In Portland, Oregon, 3,000 saw mill workers struck for the nine-hour day and a wage increase from \$1.75 to \$2.50

a day. The strike and its aftermath forced a raise in wages and also improvement in conditions. It also gave impetus to I. W. W. organization in northwestern U. S. A. A strike of 1,200 metal mill workers in Bridgeport, Conn., was lost through A. F. of L. scabbing. The panic of 1907 caused shut-downs that killed the strike of 800 silk workers of Lancaster, Pa. A prolonged strike at Goldfield, Nevada, was comprised by the treachery of the general officials of the Western Federation of Miners in the spring of 1907. In the fall, however, the I. W. W. gained ground, and under its sway the \$4.50 day and eight-hour day became universal. During the I. W. W. regime in Goldfield, all the local laws were made in the union hall and posted on the bulletin boards of the union.

The panic of 1907, with its shut-downs and unemployment, hit labor unions hard. Especially was the less firmly established I. W. W. affected. The I. W. W., however, participated in many unemployment agitations and movements during this period.

THE McKEES ROCKS STRIKE.

The McKees Rocks, Pa., strike of 8,000 workers employed by the Pressed Steel Car Co., beginning July, 1909, brought the I. W. W. again to the fore. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., came to look at the revolvers—for such they were originally—and went away saying, "They are only Hunkies." Political socialists, among them Debs, made speeches to them, saying, "Vote the Socialist ticket." But the I. W. W. organized them. It formed the sixteen different nationalities and all branches of labor into one compact body that was triumphant. Advanced wages and improved conditions were conceded in the face of the worst opposition imaginable. The Pennsylvania cossacks were given to understand that for every striker killed by them a cossack would be killed in retaliation. The actual application of this warning stopped all killings.

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHTS.

Following the McKees Rocks strike came the heroic free speech fights at Spokane, Wash., and Fresno, California, and, later, in other cities. These fights were deemed necessary to organization. It was thought that without street meetings, such as these cities sought to prohibit, the jobless, homeless, migratory workers could not be organized. The I. W. W. has progressed since. Now job delegates, job organization and hall meetings, instead of street meetings, are the real tactics. The free speech fights were won by crowding jails, piling up expenses to the taxpayers, and otherwise making it cheaper for them to surrender than to continue the struggle.

THE SCHWAB'S BETHLEHEM STRIKE.

About 1910 came a big strike in Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Works in Pennsylvania. Thanks to its McKees Rocks prestige, the I. W. W. was enabled to organize this revolt of 10,000 workers, for such it was. The I. W. W. was proceeding finely when the A. F. of L. came along and claimed jurisdiction. Rather than cause friction, the I. W. W. withdrew. The A. F. of L. then divided the strikers into some fifteen different international unions. Some of them got agreements, but the strikers, on the whole, got nothing but defeat. This was as the I. W. W. had anticipated and predicted. It is the usual A. F. of L. outcome.

The shoe workers' strike in Brooklyn, N. Y.; textile and shoe workers' strikes in Haverhill, Mass.; clothing workers' strike in Seattle, Wash.; railroad workers in Prince Rupert and Lytton, B. C.; lumberworkers in the northwest and at Grabow, La., were next entered into and either won in part or in whole, or else led to many indirect gains.

THE LAWRENCE AND MESABA RANGE STRIKES

Then came the Lowell textile strike. This was followed by the great Lawrence textile strike of

1912. This strike was an epoch-maker—a turning point—in the whole labor movement of the country. It gave practical demonstration of industrial unionism on a large scale. It transformed strike tactics and won big gains for the textile strikers, besides influencing textile wages upward in many sections of the country. On top of the great Lawrence strike came the textile strike at Little Falls, N. Y.; the silk strike at Paterson, N. J.; the Akron rubber strike, the Wheatland hop pickers' strike, and the Mesaba range iron ore miners' strike.

WAR STRIKES AND PERSECUTIONS.

Finally, just before and at the beginning of the war, the I. W. W. conducted big strike movements among the agricultural workers, oil workers, copper miners and lumber workers. The success that attended these movements is believed to have inspired the agricultural, copper, oil and lumber trust interests to foment the attacks on the I. W. W. made during the war. These attacks resulted in the lynching of Frank Little, the deportation of 1,200 miners from Bisbee, Arizona, the tarring and feathering of seventeen oil workers at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the prosecution of the I. W. W. in Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita and elsewhere. Over 200 members, including all the officers of the organization, were convicted under the infamous anti-labor espionage law. These men were given sentences of from one to twenty years in prison. These attacks resulted in a thousand and one lesser infamies against the I. W. W. all over the country. This campaign against the I. W. W. was based on the slogan, "The I. W. W. is receiving German gold to call strikes." This slogan was not proved in the Chicago or any other trial. The I. W. W. is not pro-German, but anti-capitalist. Hence, the attacks on it.

GREAT VALUE OF I. W. W. ACTIVITIES.

Taking it all in all, the activities of the I. W. W. have been out of all proportion to either its member-

ship or its means. They have been of great value to the working class in their results. The Lawrence strike alone put from five to fifteen millions more wages annually into the pay envelopes of textile workers throughout the country. Subsequently, its memories halted threats of wage reduction at Providence, R. I., and New Bedford, Mass. The Wheatland strikes brought about improved conditions and more wages for the ranch workers throughout California. So with other strikes. The agricultural workers now work ten hours a day at \$4.00 per day pay; get good sleeping quarters and food, where formerly they had to sleep any old place, eat bad grub and work from sun to sun for about \$1.50. The lumber workers have secured shower baths, sanitary conveniences, good bunkhouses and beds, improved food, the eight-hour day and \$5 a day pay, where formerly they led the lives of beasts in filthy camps and were worked long, intolerable hours at low wages. During the war period, the fear of the I. W. W., aided by the demand for labor, caused wages to be increased frequently throughout New England, in the silk mills of Paterson, N. J., and elsewhere.

I. W. W. INFLUENCE ON LABOR ORGANIZATION.

In addition, the pressure that the I. W. W. exerts on other labor organizations is great. They fear the invasion of their field by the I. W. W., or they are stimulated into action by I. W. W. criticism and initiative, with good results. This is evident in the textile industry of New England, and the silk industry of Paterson, N. J. Why, even Gompers himself tried to beat Gary by using the I. W. W. as a club against him, as he has done against other capitalists.

Talk about "boring from within," a "permeative syndicalism," why, the I. W. W. gets results in the A. F. of L. that they could never hope for! No wonder that Gompers and capitalism fear the I. W. W.! It is a real power for working class good!

I. W. W. AND "INDUSTRIAL DECOMRACY" SHOP.

The I. W. W. has also compelled the recognition and adoption of its principles by the leading corporations. They have created what is known as "the industrial democracy" shop, for the purpose of stemming the tide of I. W. W.'ism. These shops are based on a system of industrial government in which labor has representation. They were unknown before the advent of the I. W. W. They are failures, however, because they are neither honestly conceived nor intended. The "industrial democracy" that they practice only strengthens the capitalist autocracy which it is supposed to overthrow. Wherever tried, "the industrial democracy" of corporations has been the cause of strikes and an intensification of the class struggle. This speaks well for the intelligence of the workers, who know the real thing when they see it. It also speaks badly for the alleged shrewdness of the capitalists, who hope to save themselves, by such stupidity, from the real industrial democracy of the I. W. W.

I. W. W. AND LIBERALISM.

The I. W. W. has been able to achieve this power for working class good, and to exert this influence on corporation development, sometimes by favorable conditions, but more often by the reactionary methods of capitalism itself. Capitalism is brutal in its labor attitude. It is unprogressive generally. It blocks the path of progress, bidding the race stand still. All the liberal, socialist, radical and progressive elements, accordingly, unite in assailing it, either in part or as a whole. These elements often rally to the I. W. W. To them, the I. W. W. is the proletarian forerunner of the new society, the militant protestant against capitalist reaction. Thanks to their frequent assistance, the I. W. W. is often triumphant.

I. W. W. PRESS AND EDUCATION.

I. W. W. progress is also due to the I. W. W. press. This press now publishes three English weeklies, one English monthly magazine, and seventeen foreign language papers. Leaflets, handbills, bulletins, pamphlets have also been printed by the millions. As an educational factor alone, the I. W. W. is great. This part of its activities are largely under-rated by its members and the working class generally; though recognized by its opponents, who jail its editors, confiscate its literature, raid and nail up its publishing places. Education, organization, emancipation, are the guiding stars in the I. W. W. firmament that aid in directing working class activities, and creating I. W. W. power.

I. W. W. HISTORY MORE THAN A RECORD.

The history of the I. W. W. is something more than a record of the achievements of a labor organization. It is the history of capitalist degeneracy—of a social revolution giving rise to a new society, whose structure the I. W. W. endeavors to prepare in accordance with evolution and in advance of capitalism's final collapse, which appears not very far off.

I. W. W. AND DIRECT ACTION

It is for these reasons that the I. W. W. is viciously misrepresented and attacked. For instance, direct action, a basic doctrine of the I. W. W., is misinterpreted as violence, dynamiting and lawlessness in general. Nothing is further from the truth, for if direct action is lawlessness, then so also is the democratic theory of American government lawlessness, for they are both essentially the same. Direct action means industrial action directly by, for, and of the workers themselves, without the treacherous aid of labor misleaders or scheming politicians. A strike that is initiated, controlled and settled by the workers directly affected, is direct action. Industrial action

for political purposes, such as a general strike to enforce labor laws, promote laws favorable to labor, veto unjust laws, secure the release of labor and political prisoners, and the industries for the workers, is direct action. The control of industry directly by the workers themselves is direct action. Direct action is combined action, directly on the job, to secure better job conditions. Direct action is industrial democracy.

Direct action is action on the job by the workers directly concerned. It is action without recourse to or betrayal by either leaders or politicians. The seventeen trades that secured the forty-four-hour week, not by legislative enactment, but by strikes, or the threat of strikes, used direct action. The I. W. W. lumberjacks who walked off the job after working eight hours, until they thus secured the eight-hour day, used direct action.

The control of industry by the workers themselves, and the use of such control to promote the welfare and secure the emancipation of labor, is direct action. Direct action means peaceful action—strikes, passive resistance, slowing down, etc.—directly at the base of capitalist control and exploitation, namely, the industrial, or economic base, by the workers themselves, for the benefit of themselves and society as a whole. Direct action is, in its ultimate use, social action, i. e., action for the welfare of society, as against the wars and uncivilization of capitalism.

This applies to all I. W. W. doctrines. They are interpreted, not according to I. W. W. use, but the capitalist misuse, of them. The reason is evident!

I. W. W. AND VIOLENCE.

The I. W. W. is charged with violence. The violence that the I. W. W. commits is the violence of passive resistance. It is the violence of removing hands from the machinery of production and stopping the employer's profits. There can be no greater

violence against capitalism than the stopping of profits and dividends by a peaceful stoppage of labor.

As William D. Haywood very eloquently said, when discussing "the violence of the Lawrence strike," in Cooper Union, New York, May 21, 1912:

"They (the strikers) committed no violence except that of removing their hands: big hands, delicate hands, baby hands, some of them gnarled and torn and crippled. But they removed those hands from the machinery. And when they took those hands away from the machinery the machinery was dead.

"And that was the 'violence' of the Lawrence strike. And there is nothing more violent in the eyes of the capitalist class than to deprive them of the labor power out of which they get all their capital. There is nothing that will make the capitalist class so mad, that will make them froth at the mouth, so quickly as to see a working man with his hands in his pockets, or a working woman with her arms folded, or the little children playing with their dolls or their tops or their marbles. If they belong to the working army, they want all those hands busy. Not to see them busy means that the golden stream has ceased to run into their coffers; that is what makes the capitalist class crazy. It is this that has driven them mad."

CAPITALIST PROFITS AND VIOLENCE.

P. I. Dunning, English economist, says of capitalist profits:

With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain ten per cent will insure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to a chance of its owner being hanged.

The war, with its immense sacrifice of humanity, and its stupendous increase in profits for capitalists,

proves Dunning did not exaggerate. Yet it is capital, "capital, that comes into the world," in the language of Marx, "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," it is this capital that charges the I. W. W. with violence! O, what a satire on truth and the credulity of mankind!

I. W. W. HISTORY ONE OF CHANGE.

In addition to being a history of misrepresentation by its capitalist opponents, the history of the I. W. W. is a history of change, of tendencies, of adaptability to conditions and requirements. This often gives the impression that the I. W. W. is chaotic, anarchistic, when it is only evolutionary.

The I. W. W. began in 1905 as an attempt to consolidate existing unions in an industrial unionism to embrace them all. The attempt failed. It was a case, once more, of putting new wine in old bottles. It got the I. W. W. nowhere, except to a state of decline.

It was only when the I. W. W. organized new elements in the industrial world that it got a firm foundation and grew. The unskilled, migratory workers enabled the I. W. W. to cut away from old forms of unionism and try the experiment in industrial union forms that is not ended as yet, but which has been of inestimable value to the working class, as already indicated above.

THE I. W. W. AND POLITICS.

Likewise, the I. W. W. began as an attempt to fuse the leading socialist economic and political tendencies of the country. This attempt failed, too. This failure was due to the same reasons that underlie the failure of the anti-trust movement, namely: the impossible submission of basic economic forces to superficial political regulation and control.

The two socialist parties made the I. W. W. a battleground for their own supremacy. The I. W. W.,

as a matter of self-preservation, had to get rid, first of one, then of the other. Increased growth and economic results showed the wisdom of replacing theoretical dogma and supremacy with real working class organization.

TREACHERY OF POLITICAL SOCIALISM.

The treachery displayed by the socialist political movement against the working class economic movement was also a cause of I. W. W. transformation in political philosophy. The Swedish general strike, which was betrayed by the social democrats in office in order that they might uphold their own political prestige, was a case in point. The official acts of Millerand and Briand in France are also noteworthy as contributing to political change in the I. W. W. The constant deriding of the general strike as an anti-war measure, on the part of the German social democrats, helped along the tendency still more. So also did the practical, if not theoretical, preference of the United States socialist party for Gompersism and craft unionism, as expressed in the ousting of Haywood, and anti-sabotage attacks, both of which cost the socialist party a loss of 50,000 members; and both of which Hillquit, in his St. Louis convention speech, substantially admitted had been very harmful to the socialist party of this country. As for the socialist labor party, it transformed itself into a scab detective agency of the capitalist class in its zeal to crush the nonsocialist labor party I. W. W. After all this, do you blame the I. W. W. for wanting none of the socialist movements as an integral part of itself? Let the socialist movements of the world prove their proletarian character by their acts, and they will have no greater friend than the I. W. W., which is only too anxious to unite with workers everywhere.

GROWING ASCENDANCY OF INDUSTRY.

But there are other and more vital reasons for the I. W. W. abandonment of conventional politics than

the attempted control of the I. W. W. by socialist parties or the treachery of political socialism generally. The increasing use of industrial action to effect political results favorable to labor, as in the case of the English triple alliance, is one of them. Such cases show industrial action to be more effective politically than parliamentarianism. Other reasons are to be found in the growing ascendancy of industry over politics, especially during the war. The war was essentially industrial in origin and was prosecuted by means that, in their last analysis, were essentially industrial in character. Further, the war evolved industrial forms of administration that were fore-shadowed many years before in the theories and speculations of the I. W. W. regarding forms of government in the future society.

Years before the war began the I. W. W. visionary foresaw the time coming when congresses on political lines would be replaced by congresses on industrial lines. To a great extent this has already arrived, as witness the war boards of England and the United States and the extra-political round table conferences in this country since the war, not to mention Soviet Russia, with its representation based on factory, shop and union lines. These tendencies will continue more in the future than in the past, unless all signs fail.

It is owing to these salient facts, combined with the terribly tragic fiasco of political socialism in Germany, with its pro-Kaiserliche "general strike is general nonsense" and its pro-capitalistic anti-industrial sovietism—it is owing to all these facts combined that the I. W. W. has evolved still further from political confusion to a mental clearness that recognizes, with Karl Marx, that the class that controls the means of production and distribution of society at any given time controls society at that time, politically and otherwise.

POLITICS INHERENT IN INDUSTRY.

The combined treachery and failure of political socialism, together with the rise of industry as the

real political force, has caused the I. W. W. to look within industry itself and the industrial organization of the workers therein for the working class politics of the future. The war has made this task the only political task of the working class. And, in so doing, it has vindicated the I. W. W. politically and enabled it to come out of the war stronger than ever before, while leaving political socialism weak indeed.

The great union movements at home and abroad since the war—notably the decision of the 1919 English Trade Congress in favor of industrial action and against parliamentarianism as a political factor, combined with the furtherance of the Plumb plan by the American railroad workers—proves the I. W. W. politically profound and triumphant indeed!

PRACTICAL INFLUENCES OF I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is not anti-political. Nor is it non-political. It is ultra-political. Its industrial activities have affected the political institutions of the country in a manner favorable to labor. George West, the well-known journalist and publicist, is authority for the statement that the I. W. W. Lawrence strike of 1912 precipitated the formulation of the labor measures of the Progressive party. There is no doubt that progressives and liberals in general have been influenced by I. W. W. activities, in trying to ameliorate labor conditions by legislation, and so are state and federal administrations. Following the Wheatland strike, the housing commission of California used its authority to clean up labor conditions on all the ranches in the state. In the early war period, thanks to the I. W. W. lumber workers' strike, the governor of Washington and Carlton Parker of the Federal Board, recommended the eight-hour day for the lumber industry. In many states the A. F. of L. uses the I. W. W. bugaboo to secure enactments from legislatures just as it secures concessions by the same means from employers. Without doubt, the I. W. W. is ultra-political.

It goes without saying that, as an ultra-political factor, the I. W. W. exerts an influence on political parties. In the 1912 Lawrence strike it destroyed the Democratic presidential aspirations of Governor Foss by pillorying his misuse of the militia. That same strike caused a revolution in the Socialist party, that led to the ousting of Haywood, the anti-sabotage attacks, the loss of 50,000 members, and the regrets expressed by Hillquit in his St. Louis convention speech.

I. W. W. HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

At the present time, history is repeating itself once more. Even John S. Spargo, in September McClure's Magazine, calls for the abolition of I. W. W.'ism by the abolition of its causes in capitalism. Others, more openly capitalist and less professedly socialist, are making practically the same argument, viz., kill the I. W. W. by removing the conditions that create it.

Further, college professors, historians, book reviewers and space writers are beginning to discover that the I. W. W. is the forerunner of Bolshevism, the British Labor Party program and the Plumb plan, that must be reckoned with by improving labor conditions, giving labor a voice in industry and removing the discontent on which all these movements thrive. In other words, political liberalism is once more influenced by the I. W. W.

I. W. W. AND REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Political parties also reveal their knowledge of the existence of the I. W. W. as before. The Socialist party is more friendly. It gave much aid to the I. W. W. during the war hysteria which resulted in the persecution of all the progressive elements. It now endorses industrial unionism in general, while its rivals, the Communist Labor party and the Communist party, endorse the I. W. W., specifically and unreservedly. Even Socialist Labor party members are

questioning the political soundness and tactics of their own party and are leaving it to join the I. W. W. In the United States Senate, Senators Walsh, Ashhurst, King, Poindexter, Borah and others spend hours discussing the I. W. W. Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee, according to the Boston Globe, in a Massachusetts speech on Aug. 27, said: "The Republicans will, after the next election, take charge of the problems now confronting the country and solve them. Labor will have full voice in the councils of the nation, commensurate with its loyalty and dignity. As for the I. W. W., it is a traitor, and there is only one remedy for a traitor. It is to take him and stand him up against a wall."

That will not be necessary if, as Chairman Hays says, the Republicans will solve the problems now confronting the nation. These problems, however, have a way of taking charge of those who think, like Chairman Hays, that they are taking charge of them. The result is the making of more I. W. W.'s. Even now, the process is going on under Chairman Hays' own eyes. Yet all that he can see is a stone wall for those who see better than he.

CHANGED I. W. W. OF FORMER DAYS.

But this is a digression. Let us return to our philosophical consideration of I. W. W. history. When we do this we will find still other changes in the I. W. W. Take the impulsive character of the I. W. W. of early days. Compare it with the more set and determined I. W. W. of today. There is a reason.

In its early days, I. W. W. members actually gave up their very selves in behalf of the Mexican revolution against Diaz. They also engaged in bitterly contested free speech fights in western cities that cost them many lives and many days in prison. They rushed to the aid of every strike and became the persecuted of the land, for labor's sake. They were "the flying squadron of liberty" sailing forth to battle in the cause of the working class everywhere. Their

one great idea was to be of real, not theoretical service to the proletariat, and to lead the latter in the ways of more successful tactics and organization.

SHOP IS WORKERS STATE.

The early ideas of the I. W. W. have not changed. But conditions have, and with them the I. W. W., too. With the growth of the I. W. W. as a real organization, founded on unskilled, migratory labor, and with the ascendancy of industry as a political and unionistic factor, the I. W. W. began to see that the worker is all-powerful on the job, and that that is the place for him to function. The job—the shop—is, in I. W. W. belief, the worker's state, the medium by and through which he will introduce reforms and the new society. Hence, the greater I. W. W. devotion to job organization in preference to all other activities.

WAR, CAPITALISM AND THE I. W. W.

Especially have the stupendous lessons of the war impressed the I. W. W., perhaps more than all other social elements. The war has given to the I. W. W., in the methods used to destroy it, a better understanding of its own organization and its own requirements. These persecutions and deportations have shown that the I. W. W. is no longer sectional, but national, aye, international, in scope. And that, consequently, it must act on a more extensive scale in its own behalf. Further, the lessons of the war itself have revealed the vast development of capitalist organization, and the necessity for a vast organization of labor to overcome its present evils and prospective breakdown. The war has sobered the I. W. W. into a realization of the tremendous work before labor, if it would save society from a reversion to savagery in behalf of progress forward to a new society.

SABOTAGE REJECTED.

The war has caused the I. W. W. rejection of doctrines which it may have preached but never practiced. One of the I. W. W.'s bitterest opponents, Rudolph Katz, heaped well-deserved ridicule on the I. W. W. when he said: "The I. W. W. preaches sabotage, but does not practice it. The A. F. of L. practices sabotage, but does not preach it." (This latter reference is to the dynamiting activities of the structural iron workers under the leadership of the McNamaras.) The war created conditions that caused the I. W. W. to discard this doctrine as unnecessary to progress; in fact, as useless. ?

CAPITALISM THE REAL SABOTEUR.

The war has disclosed the combinations of capital as the real saboteurs of modern society. It has shown these combinations failing in and delaying war work in order to secure their own plunder and profits first, as in the spruce producing scandals of the northwest. It has shown these combinations cornering the nation's food supplies, and otherwise sabotaging its resources to their own enrichment and entrenchment. It has shown the necessity for saving society from more capitalist sabotage by way of the I. W. W. plan of socialized ownership, viz., ownership by its industrially organized many instead of its few capitalist combinations. Hence, the I. W. W. rejection of sabotage, even as a doctrine to be preached, though never practiced.

CAPITALISM THE REAL VIOLENCE.

And so with violence and lawlessness—if the I. W. W. ever preached these doctrines before, which it did not, it need never do so again. It has plenty of reconstructive work cut out for it, in saving the peoples of the earth—the working classes of all the nations—from the violence and lawlessness of cap-

ititalism. The war has also brought home that lesson to the I. W. W. It has exposed capitalism, through no less a mouth than that of President Wilson in his St. Louis League of Nations speech, as the cause of war and all the absence of humanity and law attending it. To capitalism it is wrong for the I. W. W. to preach violence, while it slaughters millions, injures many millions more and destroys billions in wealth and property. To capitalism it is wrong for the I. W. W. to preach lawlessness, while it destroys every constitutional right, and makes the struggle for a world democracy in reality a triumph of world plutocracy. So let it be. The I. W. W. will no longer be charged with even preaching these doctrines, but will spend its time instead organizing the workers so as to render the capitalist practice of them impossible. Construction, not destruction, is the program that the war and its lessons forces on the I. W. W. now more than ever before. Not the critical, but "the affirmative side of the I. W. W.," as a friendly historian calls it, is now brought into evidence, as another lesson of the war and the capitalist sabotage, violence and lawlessness that accompanied it.

CO-OPERATION PRESENT I. W. W. POLICY.

Other changes may also be noted in the I. W. W.—changes away from both the centralistic and decentralistic factional quarrels of old, to a more democratic, co-operative medium between both extremes. It is now recognized that centralization is top-heavy, destructive of self-reliance and continued existence, despite persecution, on the part of the rank and file. It is also recognized that decentralization makes for isolation and weakness. It lacks cohesion and force on and over any other than local grounds and small groups. It is unfit for the giant industry of the day, with its armies of workers of all kinds, working in co-operation under a centralized capitalist head, operating in combination with

similar heads. Under such circumstances, decentralization decentralizes none but the weak working class organization, which it disrupts with its theoretical discussions. Co-operation is the cure for both decentralization and centralization. Co-operation not for the sake of theory, but for the sake of actual results. Co-operation from the bottom up, instead of coercion from the top down; co-operation on a big industrial scale, instead of on a petty group scale. Co-operation between job delegates, shops, branches, industrial unions, the One Big Union administration and the workers' organizations the world over. This is the I. W. W. reaction, in practice, from its own internal development, and the world developments about it—especially the development of the industrial democracy in opposition to capitalist autocracy.

WAR SUPREME I. W. W. TEST.

The war was the supreme test of the I. W. W. Under the cloak of patriotism, the I. W. W. was assailed all over the country, largely on the initiative of big lumber, mining and agricultural interests against whom strikes had been waged. The attack was nation-wide, savage and unrelenting. Lynching, murder, tar and feathers, deportations, insanity from persecution, intimidation and terrorization of I. W. W. members generally, were its outstanding features. I. W. W. members were also conscripted and sent abroad, further draining its membership and vitality. Vincent St. John, in his excellent pamphlet, "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," sums up this period very well when he says: "But in spite of all, the I. W. W. still lives and is slowly but surely building up the organization that will strike the shackles of wage slavery from the limbs of the world's workers and make this earth a fit place for free men and women to inhabit." (page 34.)

The war not only did not destroy the I. W. W., but by causing the breakdown of Russian czardom and the inauguration of workers' ownership, manage-

ment and control via the factory committees and soviets, it gave an unprecedented impetus to I. W. W. principles and forms of industrial organization by, for and of the workers everywhere. The war, by its reaction on Russia and through Russia, on the world at large, has given the I. W. W. a greater lease of life than it ever possessed before.

IV.—I. W. W. PRINCIPLES AND FORMS.

Labor was never as much alive to its own importance as it is today. Labor is in a state of discontent and unrest. It is struggling to realize a better society as it never struggled before. Like another Prometheus, it is trying to free itself from the rock of reaction to which it is bound.

The war has brought home to labor its significance in life. President Wilson, in addressing the A. F. of L. convention, made plain that, without labor, wars cannot be won and governments survive. Kaiser Wilhelm, appealing to the Krupp workers at Essen, to stand by the Fatherland, demonstrated that without labor, **there can be no Fatherland.**

In brief, the war demonstrated that **Labor is the State. It is the foundation rock of modern society.** When that rock moves, as move the rocks of the earth in a quake, then there is an upheaval. **Systems fall; the old society is destroyed; the face of modern life is transformed.**

The conditions that have prevailed since the war have only served to drive home to the workers the lessons of the war. They have given to labor movements such a size and importance as to cause governments to tremble. In England, the Triple Alliance of Labor, composed of the miners, railroad and transportation workers' unions, rises to menace the lying government with a great strike in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic and the solution of English social problems without the use of the military against labor. In this country, President Wilson's

advocacy of the League of Nations is interrupted by Labor's demands for either more wages or reduced prices.

OBJECT OF I. W. W.

Labor, giant Labor, awakened Labor, is becoming the governing power. It has only to organize so as to make that power effective. This is the object of the I. W. W.—to give Labor a form of organization that will make it invincible.

To understand the objects of the I. W. W. one thing is necessary. That is, it must be recognized that the I. W. W. is not aiming to overthrow "constituted authority," or government. The I. W. W. aims to administer industry. Government is being overthrown by world developments. It is these developments that compel Labor, including the I. W. W., to act in a spirit of self-preservation for all society.

Nor does the I. W. W. want to destroy the family or religion, and "promote anarchy." The family and religion are destroyed and anarchy is promoted, by the conflict of economic interests—both national and international—over which the I. W. W. has no control. The I. W. W. seeks to end this conflict, to the advantage of all mankind.

In other words, always bear in mind that the I. W. W. is not an organization that aims to fit mankind into a procrustean bed, regardless of its development and tendencies. What the I. W. W. aims to do is to be abreast, if not ahead of the actual trend of world society. The I. W. W. is itself an outgrowth of this trend.

I. W. W. ULTRA-POLITICAL.

This brings us to another mooted question, namely: Does the I. W. W. believe in and advocate politics? Absolutely! The I. W. W. is neither anti-political nor non-political. The I. W. W. is ultra-political. That is, the I. W. W. recognizes that getting votes and winning offices is not politics of a fundamental kind.

WORLD PEOPLES COLLEGE

Politics is the control of government through industrial control. Politics is the control of society through control of the means of its livelihood. It is the change of politics from a territorial to an economic basis that constitutes the modern revolution, as reflected in the Russian Soviet Republic, the overshadowing supremacy of the trusts in the United States, and the growing dominance of labor organizations in governmental matters in England and the United States. "Is the I. W. W. anti-political?" Please don't ask that question again. We need our time for other work.

THE BRAIN WORKER AND THE I. W. W.

Oh, yes; we almost forgot that most palpitating of questions. Does the I. W. W. organize the brain workers? As we know of no workers who work without brains, we are compelled to answer, "yes." It would be ridiculous for the I. W. W. to go into dissecting rooms and organize only the brainless skulls that the students operate on there! The I. W. W. organizes all wage workers—all of them, no matter how employed or exploited by employers. A college professor who is exploited at a salary by an educational corporation is eligible to form, together with his fellow employes, an educational industrial union of the I. W. W. An electrical genius employed by an electrical trust at a big salary, like Steinmetz of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, N. Y., for instance, may become a member of the Electrical Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., if he wants to. In short, the I. W. W. organizes all who work for wages or salary, regardless of classification, which is considered no bar to membership. Only stockholders, owners, employers—all non-wage workers are barred. **The I. W. W. is an organization of wage workers** just as they work, without trade, sex, color, religious, or any other distinctions, styles of shirts and collars included.

THE NEGRO AND THE I. W. W.

"What," we hear somebody shout (somebody from the South, with Southern prejudices, most likely), "you don't mean to say that you organize the Negro; and that you make him the equal of the white man in your I. W. W. industrial union?" That's right, Mr. Questioner. As the employer compels us to work in the shop on an equality of wage slavery with the Negro, we fail to see why we shouldn't meet him on the basis of that same equality in our union. The Negro is exploited precisely as we are. Why, then, shouldn't we organize him precisely as we organize ourselves—"we whites"? The claim that the Negro may have a different skull is a child-like savage, can never be educated above menial employment, has a peculiar odor, is lustful, dishonest, treacherous, except when mastered like a colt, and all that other "bull," never worries the employer. He hires the Negro to take our places when we strike. He educates him to run machines, and develops his brain in ways untold. Why, then, should we bar the Negro? We don't and we will not, any more than we would bar the Jew, who, according to the same wonderful yarns, can give the Negro cards and spades in the matter of biological, cranological, mal-odorological and other shortcomings.

Yes, sir, the I. W. W. aims to organize every man, woman and child that is in the leaking, rotten boat of capitalism, so that we can all pull together for the shore of social safety and freedom just over yonder. From the brain worker and the Negro—from the stunted kiddie and robust woman—from all in wage-slavery the I. W. W. draws its strength. It is embraced by them all, because it embraces them all.

How do we aim to do this, more specifically? Read on, and we shall attempt to tell.

A. F. OF L. AND I. W. W. COMPARED.

Comparisons may be odious, but they are also instructive. By comparing A. F. of L. forms and prin-

ciples of organization with those of the I. W. W. we will be better able to understand the latter.

The A. F. of L. organizes by trades, the I. W. W. by industries. The A. F. of L. separates labor, the I. W. W. unites it.

The A. F. of L. declares that "the interests of capital and labor are identical". The I. W. W. asserts that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

The A. F. of L. believes that the capitalist system is a final one. It accordingly resists the development of a new society. The I. W. W. believes that capitalism is a stage in social progress that is breaking down. The I. W. W., accordingly, organizes industrially, in order to prepare the workers to carry on industry and society when capitalism shall have collapsed.

The A. F. of L. organizes by crafts to bargain. The I. W. W. by industries to take over industry.

The A. F. of L. is the bulwark of capitalism. The I. W. W. is the framework of the new society erected in the shell of the old.

Elucidation will help comparison in getting the best understanding of I. W. W. aims possible, as follows:

The A. F. of L. regards an industry as a series of autonomous trades that may be federated together for mutual protection. The A. F. of L. may be likened to the man who sorts out and separates the various strands of a steel cable and then ties them together with a string in the belief that he is keeping their original strength intact. The I. W. W. indulges in no such delusions. It regards the trades as the interwoven and interdependent strands of the steel cable of industry and organizes them as such. And then it weaves all the steel cables of the separate industries into a steel cable of all industries, thus making them able to support the weight of any attack of capitalism on the working class, in just about the same manner that the huge multiple steel cables of a suspension bridge sustains the tremendous tonnage of the structure.

HOW A. F. OF L. MISORGANIZES.

Let us illustrate.

In the printing and publishing industries, for instance, the A. F. of L. has split the workers into twenty-two separate trade unions. These organizations do not and cannot work together. Believing in local and trade autonomy, and the mutual interests of capital and labor, they organize separately in each city and make separate contracts with employers in each city. They are thus compelled to preserve and advance their own trade interests in each locality as against those of their fellow workers in the same locality and elsewhere.

The San Francisco and Chicago pressmen's strikes were lost because separate unions and trade contracts prevented united action on the part of sympathetic stereotypers and compositors, who gladly would act with their fellow-workers, but were contract bound to do otherwise.

The New York City "44-14" movement was crippled by these same separating tactics. The pressmen, feeders, compositors, etc., of Philadelphia and Boston signed contracts for themselves, to govern wages and conditions in their respective cities. The situation thus created was used against the New York City "44-14" movement. New York publishers had their printing done in these cities, in the successful effort to force their striking employees back to work. The situation was still further complicated by the conduct of the New York Photo-Engravers', Electrotypers', Bookbinders' and other unions, all of which refused to furnish their labor to employers that yielded to the "44-14" movement. They also furnished photo-electro plates of typewritten matter for magazines against which their fellowworkers in the printing and publishing industries were striking. To make matters still worse, the international officers of the striking pressmen, feeders and compositors, arrayed themselves with the employers' associations on

the basis of trade contracts and the mutual interests of capital and labor, with the result that five pressmen's unions were outlawed, and scabbed on by officially organized unions; and "the vacationists" of Big Six were denounced as the Bolsheviks and Huns of the labor movement. Instead of being assisted in the spirit of solidarity—in the spirit of all labor against all capital—the New York "44-14" movement was attacked by A. F. of L. "unionism" in the spirit of "victory for employers only." The attack was a success.

A. F. OF L. SEPARATES LABOR.

These failures bring home the disunity caused by A. F. of L. local and trade divisions and the practical application of the "mutual interests" theory within the printing and publishing industries. They demonstrate that the A. F. of L. is a separation instead of a unification of Labor. Labor, as a whole, cannot unite on the principles of such an organization.

The failures, however, are not confined to the printing and publishing industries. They are typical of all the industries that are misorganized by the A. F. of L. These industries are split into 117 international unions which are, in turn, split into local unions, each with different contracts. For instance, during the recent New York Dockman's strike, it was shown that the agreements entered into by the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association with the Marine corporations, divided the men in each port into two distinct divisions, each with different wage scales and interests. These agreements, further, divided port against port. Under these agreements, could port stand by port?

A. F. of L. separation prevents labor from presenting a united front against capitalist aggression. Combined with A. F. of L. theories of the mutual interests of capital and labor and the finality of the

capitalist system, this separation makes labor its own worst enemy. It makes the A. F. of L., in other words, capitalism's greatest hope and bulwark. The capitalists, like, Gary, who combat the A. F. of L., are blind to its essentially capitalist character and function as a protector of capitalism.

HOW I. W. W. ORGANIZES—ONE BIG UNION.

Separation, to the destruction of working class unity, and the preservation of capitalism, could not happen in the I. W. W. Where the A. F. of L. goes into an industry and organizes twenty-two loosely federated trade unions, separated by local and trade autonomy and contracts, the I. W. W. organizes all the workers in that industry just as they work, on the basis of the class struggle. It organizes the workers in conformity with the organization of the industry in which they are employed. There is no division according to locality, tools used, skill required, or specialty of labor performed, but organization according to products, transported, or communicated everywhere.

The industrial union no more plays one section of the country, or one trade in an industry, against another, to the detriment of labor, than the employers' associations play them against one another to the detriment of capital. In the lumber workers' I. W. W. strike of 1917, the lumber industry in the five northwestern states was tied up tighter than a drum for over three months. There was no local or trade autonomy there. There was industrial action with industrial results, beneficial to labor in the end.

I. W. W. SHOP AND WORLD ORGANIZATION.

The cell of industrial union organization is the shop, or plant, or establishment in which the workers are employed. This shop, or plant, or establishment is in turn, organized in a local branch of the industrial

union, or union of the industry in which the plant operates. The branch may be connected with the branches of other industrial unions in a district council. Or it may be connected with a district council of other branches of the industrial union itself. The industrial unions are, in turn, bound together in one big union—in the Industrial Workers of the World, which spreads abroad when and wherever possible as industry spreads abroad. World-corporations and world-industry are facts; so also must world labor organization be.

I. W. W. PROMOTES CLASS SOLIDARITY.

The idea underlying the I. W. W. form of organization is solidarity! Industrial Solidarity!! Working class Solidarity!!! Joseph J. Ettor, addressing the Lawrence Textile strikers at the Franco-Belgian Hall, on Jan. 25, 1912, most eloquently voiced the I. W. W. idea when he said:

“The days that have just passed have demonstrated the power of the workers. The power of the workers consists of something more than the power of the capitalists. The power of the capitalists is based on property. Property makes them all-powerful, socially and politically. Because of it they control the institutions of attack and defense; they have the laws, the army, everything! They can employ agents to go around to plant dynamite and to provoke disorder among the workers, in order to defeat them.

“In spite of all that, the workers have something still more powerful. The workers’ power, the one thing more powerful than all the property, all the machine guns, all the gallows, and everything on the other side, is the common bond of solidarity, of purpose, of ideals. Our love of solidarity, our purpose and our affection for one another as workers, binds us more solidly and tighter than do all the bombs and dynamite that the capitalists have at their disposal. If the workers of the world want to win, all that they have to do is to recognize their own solidarity. They have nothing to do but to fold their arms and the world will stop. The workers are more powerful with their hands in their pockets than all the property of the capitalists. **As long as the workers keep their**

hands in their pockets the capitalists cannot put theirs there. With passive resistance, with the workers absolutely refusing to move, laying absolutely silent, they are more powerful than all the weapons and instruments that the other side have for protection and attack."

These words have proven prophetic on more than one occasion since the Lawrence strike of 1912.

THE JOB DELEGATE.

The work of organizing, under present I. W. W. methods, is generally begun by the job delegate. He is a member who works on the job, that is, is regularly employed in a shop or plant, etc. He is empowered by his industrial union to organize that job. He accepts and initiates as new members all the wage workers employed on the job. He instructs them in their rights and duties; supplies them with due books, stamps, constitutions, referendums, and other organization matters. When the job is sufficiently organized, he calls a shop meeting and turns its affairs over to the shop organization. He always carries I. W. W. credentials. Otherwise he is unauthorized to organize.

THE UNIVERSAL DELEGATE.

A development of the job delegate idea, is the universal delegate. He is not limited to any one job or industry. He aids all job delegates. He is empowered to initiate members of all industrial unions, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the locality where he is employed, or active.

The job delegate system is the I. W. W. attempt at a real rank and file movement. It is an attempt to build the organization from the bottom up, and to get away from dependence on paid organizers and officials who acquire prominence and use their prestige to the detriment of labor. This anti-bureaucratic tendency favors real wage workers as the

officials of labor unions; limits the term of office, and otherwise endeavors to keep the organization free from officialdom and dry rot.

The job delegate system has proven to be the mainstay of the organization. By means of it the I. W. W. was held together during the terrible oppression attending the war hysteria, when even meetings were impossible. The I. W. W. slogan now is, "Be an I. W. W. booster! Be a job delegate!"

I. W. W. JOB CONTROL AND SHOP COMMITTEES

The basis of the I. W. W. organization, as already pointed out, is the shop, or plant, or establishment, which, in I. W. W. language means the same thing. The shop organization is democratic. Its principle is rule from the bottom up, for all and by all those working in the shop. Shop meetings are held at which all matters affecting the shop, the industrial union and the I. W. W. are formulated and decided, through the initiative, referendum and recall. Every member is privileged and encouraged to bring forward grievances, solutions, and ideas favorable to the uplift of the working class and society. It is recognized that the I. W. W. shop organization is the cell of the new society, based on workers' ownership, control and management.

In addition to doing all of the foregoing, the shop organization elects a shop committee which acts under its guidance and instruction. The shop committee presents all wage and other demands to the employer, but has no power to conclude any settlement without the approval of the shop organization, acting either alone, or with the other shop organizations through the industrial unions and the I. W. W.

PREPARING TO RUN INDUSTRY.

The I. W. W. shop organization develops technical knowledge in the working class and prepares it to

take over technical management in behalf of society when capitalism shall have collapsed, as it gives every indication of doing. It is made possible by the general tendencies of industry, which, through the high cost of living, the increasing intensification of labor and the elimination of skill, are making the demands of labor more general than specific, as in the case of demands for increased wages and reduced hours, all of which are now being made without regard to differences in occupation or trade.

The I. W. W. shop committees were first introduced in the Brooklyn, N. Y., shoe strike of 1911. The shop committee of Frank & Harris, selected from all the branches, then presented a scale of prices and regulations acceptable to all concerned. The I. W. W. shop committees thus antedate the English shop steward movement by about seven years. They differ from the English institution in that they represent industrially organized trades, instead of the separate trade unions in the shop.

Under the shop organizing system of the I. W. W. the "organized scabbery" of the A. F. of L. trade unions is impossible. All the trades in the industry, acting as a unit, on the basis of the conflicting interests of capital and labor, strike together and settle together. Any shop or branch including more than one shop, that violates the industrial, class union principles of the I. W. W. is expelled, as are also any and all members of the I. W. W. so doing. An I. W. W. organization at Great Falls, Montana, was expelled en masse for signing a contract with employers.

A SAMPLE OF ORGANIZED SCABBERY.

We repeat, under the I. W. W. plan of organizing all shops, plants, establishments, or jobs, into an industrial union, no shop, or plant, would strike alone. This has been demonstrated in all I. W. W. strikes. Nor would one shop or plant, be used against another on strike, as is done in the A. F. of L. Take the

Willys-Overland auto strike in Toledo, Ohio, May, 1919, for instance. In that strike the machinists in outside independent shops, scabbed on their striking co-members in the Willys-Overland shop. The facts are given in "The Boomer," the I. W. W. metal and machinery workers' industrial union organ, for September, 1919, as follows:

"The Willys-Overland Co. locked out its employees on the morning of May 5, because they refused to work more than forty-four hours per week. During the following weeks, it slowly filled the shops with non-union and unskilled workers. School boys and country boys were put upon the elaborate processes of the machine shop and of course, the bosses found it an expensive job. So the Overland Co. hit upon a better plan. Lacking the union tool makers and die makers, it began to send out the finer operations to outside, independent machine shops, where the operations were done and the work returned to the Overland scabs.

"And the outstanding facts was this: That these outside shops were organized union shops, employing I. A. of M. members—brother members of the same union that was striking in the Overland.. And these I. A. of M. brothers did the work for the Overland that their co-members had refused to do.

"But even in the I. A. of M. there is a limit to the endurance of the rank and file. Seeing themselves being defeated by their craft brothers, the strikers called a special meeting of the I. A. of M. to call a general strike of all Toledo machine shops. This strike would have saved the situation and defeated the Willy's-Overland. Indeed, the strike vote carried by a majority of 200 in the special meeting, but under the reactionary rules of the A. F. of L. a two-thirds majority was required. The general strike proposal was declared lost and the I. A. of M. men continued to scab on each other."

The Toledo machinists are now trying to get their union, the International Association of Machinists,

to change to a metal industrial union. But the A. F. of L., in order to protect the various international craft unions involved, will not permit such a step. It has already ousted the Auto Workers' Union, for refusing to disband and surrender its members to the interested craft organizations.

I. W. W. AND GENERAL STRIKE.

The A. F. of L. is organized, not only to prevent industrial unionism within an industry, but also the industrial unity of all industries. The A. F. of L. is a federation of trades and labor unions, not an organization based on industry and embracing all the industries in one big union, like the Industrial Workers of the World. Its object is to bargain with the capitalists as crafts, not to organize the workers as a class to run industry for themselves and society.

The I. W. W. calls such actions as the Willy's-Overland affair and the threatened dismemberment of the Auto Workers' Union, "organized scabbery". They, by dividing the workers, help the corporations to win. The following incident will assist in making the I. W. W. viewpoint clear:

During the Lawrence Textile strike of 1912, Joseph J. Ettor, general organizer of the I. W. W., addressed a meeting of the Wool sorters' Union. After his address he was asked "What is a scab?" To which Ettor replied, "A scab is a worker who by any act aids or abets the employers in times of conflict." Thereupon another worker wanted to know: "Do not the principles that apply to the definition of a scab also apply to an industry?" "Yes," replied Ettor; "the Industrial Workers of the World means the organization of all workers in one big union according to industries. When an industry goes on strike, if it needs the help of the industry immediately related to it, it will call on that industry to make common cause with it. It it requires the help

of still other industries, the I. W. W. will act on the same principle." Such is the I. W. W. It recognizes that industry is general; so much strikes be.

A. F. OF L. EVASION OF REAL UNIONISM.

The moral of the above story can be applied by any worker. The A. F. of L. unions are trying to apply it many ways that evade real industrial union forms and principles. For instance, take the steel strike of 1919. Therein the strikers were led to believe that the railroad workers and the coal miners would act in sympathy with them. This was impossible, owing to contracts with employers. These contracts compelled the railroaders and miners to act as separate organizations, and on the principle of the mutual interests of capital and labor. No real industrial union is so organized as to act independent of other industries. Nor does a real industrial union sign contracts with employers.

HALF-BREED ORGANIZATIONS.

The failure to recognize completely the new developments in industry has caused the old trade union to compromise with them. The result is half-breed organizations, that are neither trade nor industrial unions, with most of the vices of the former and few of the virtues of the latter. Alliances, departments, federations—all are but attempts to evade the real union, the one big union advocated by the I. W. W. They confuse and confound unionism instead of simplifying and strengthening it.

Take the allied printing trades, for instance. Wherein does it promote graphic industrial unionism? Most of the time of the organization is spent in trying to decide whether the union label shall be the exclusive property of the typographical union, or whether the pressmen shall also have the right to withdraw it from struck shops, too? When this is not on the floor, the "important" work consists in

either refusing the amalgamated lithographers' association admission or devising ways and means of splitting that organization in favor of the photo-engravers' and the pressmen. Some "industrial union tendencies."

And then those departments! Say, workingmen, honest, did you ever hear of a "department" in the A. F. of L. doing anything else than provide a James Lord, or James O'Connell, or some other labor misleader with a good fat-paying position, wherein to choke radical developments? So far as we can see, a department is a curb on real progress; and an expensive one too, considering the salaries paid to departmental officials. So far as observable, the departmental feature does not prevent the individual trade strike and sell out, as when, in the building trades department, the bricklayers, plasterers, electricians, etc. go it alone, and sacrifice the laborers, whenever conditions will permit, to their own interests.

As for the shopmen's system federations, who can forget how, in the Harriman railroad strike, the International Machinists officials played the other crafts interests against one another, for their own associations ends. More "industrial union tendencies," no doubt.

Take again, the harbor strike in New York City. There we see a united front of all the boatmen's trade unions disrupted by two of the unions in the so-called Marine Workers' Affiliation selling out. In this, as in all the other cases, the wrong forms and principles of organization prevailed.

But the new day is dawning. On all sides are the rank and file asserting themselves against official betrayal and wrong organization. In addition, the I. W. W. is growing as it never grew before.

PROOF OF I. W. W. SOUNDNESS.

The proof of the soundness of I. W. W. forms and principles of organization is to be found in the bitter

attacks which are made upon them by the corporations and capitalists institutions generally. The capitalist class instinctively realizes the dangers to its interests involved in the thorough organization of labor intent on improvement and emancipation.

Further proof is shown in the success of I. W. W. strikes, such as those at Lawrence, Mass., in 1912 and in the latter day strikes of the lumbermen and miners of the Northwest. In Lawrence, the I. W. W. united all branches of the textile industry, all the organized unions, and the unorganized workers, in one big strike committee that won. In the Lumbermen's and miners' strikes the I. W. W. pursued the same policy in the face of even greater odds than at Lawrence, and won. Where the I. W. W. loses, incomplete organization, combined with overpowering opposition of all kinds is generally the cause. Lawlessness is mainly the weapon of the opposition.

A final proof of the soundness of I. W. W. forms and principles of organization is to be found in the spread of one big union organization and ideas in Canada, Australia, England, Russia, Germany and this country. The I. W. W., thanks to industrial evolution and I. W. W. propaganda and example combined, is the inevitable solution of the problems of capitalism for the working class the world over. This fact is dawning on labor everywhere, as events, such as the revolts in the A. F. of L. and the suspension of A. F. of L. mine workers' locals, plainly show.

PRESENT I. W. W. STRENGTH.

The I. W. W. has at present (Nov. 1, 1919) twenty-one industrial unions in working order. This besides a General Recruiting Union, comprising a large number of branches. In addition, there are also a considerable number isolated unions in industries without a sufficient membership to form an industrial union. The total good-standing membership is estimated at 100,000.

The Industrial Unions are each presided over by a general organization committee of five members and a General Secretary-Treasurer. The Industrial Workers of the World are presided over by a general executive board of seven members, representative of the industrial unions, and a general secretary-treasurer. All are subject to instruction, referendum and recall. All have their present headquarters at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The following are the chartered industrial unions; Marine Transport Workers', No. 8; Bakery Workers', No. 46; Metal and Machinery Workers', No. 300; Shipbuilders' No. 325; Agricultural Workers', No. 400; Fishermen's No. 448; Furniture Workers' No. 480; Oil Workers', No. 450; Rubber Workers', No. 470; Lumber Workers', No. 500; Construction Workers', No. 573; Railroad Workers' No. 600; Shoe Workers', 620; Metal Mine Workers', No. 800; Coal Miners', No. 900; Textile Workers', No. 1000; Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers', No. 1100; Printing and Publishing Workers', No. 1200; General Distribution Workers', No. 1300; and Foodstuff Workers', No. 1500; Tobacco Workers', No. 1150.

Industrial unions, No. 300, No. 400; No. 500, No. 573, No. 600, No. 800, and No. 1100 report an increase of 28,000 in membership from Sept. 1, 1918 to Sept. 1, 1919. As this increase was made during the severest stage of the war persecutions, it testifies most eloquently to the fact that the I. W. W. has a vitality that capitalism cannot crush.

I. W. W. WORLD-WIDE.

The I. W. W. like the world-corporation and world-industry is world-wide. It was represented at the Amsterdam International Conference. Also at the Budapest meeting of the International Labor Secretariat in 1910. The European movement, in turn, was active in the successful agitation for the release of Ettore and Giovannitti in 1912. Subsequently, one

of the I. W. W.'s most representative men, Wm. D. Haywood, visited Europe, and spoke in England and Ireland, aiding the industrial union movement there. The I. W. W. has affiliated organizations in Great Britain and Australia. It also conducts correspondence and has connections with the labor movement of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Scandinavia, Mexico, Argentine and other South American countries; all of whom work in friendly co-operation with it, are interested in its progress, and look to it for guidance as the industrial labor organization of the most advanced industrial country in the world. As Wm. D. Haywood well said to Robert Minor, "The sun never sets on the I. W. W."

An organization so well founded, so thoroughly in accord with world tendencies and world labor movements can only have a great future, despite its small, though influential membership in the past. The I. W. W. can well afford to look forward instead of backward. Its prospects are brighter and better for good than ever before in all its stirring history of nearly fifteen years of existence.

V.—CURRENT QUESTIONS AND THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is called on by many students to state its attitude on various questions, relationship and problems. This is as it should be. If the I. W. W. itself is not an answer to social problems, if it cannot define its own attitudes, it had better call in its charters, lock the doors of its various headquarters, and leave the field to an organization that meets these requirements.

Generally speaking, the I. W. W. believes that most social problems are caused by the capitalist exploitation of labor. To this exploitation can be traced the need for foreign markets, fields of investments abroad, and world wars. To this exploitation is also traceable gross materialism, savage irreligion, lack of ideal aspirations, the curbing of ambitions of a

social nature, the stifling of the intellect for any other than personal or class ends, race wars, class wars, in brief, all the ugly, ghastly horrors of modern life.

The I. W. W. accordingly believes that the solution of modern problems and the establishment of better social relations and ideals, requires the abolition of capitalist exploitation. Otherwise, the evils will not only continue but grow worse in addition. However, too often, this statement is not acceptable; specific knowledge is desired, as follows:

DOES THE I. W. W. WANT TO DIVIDE UP?

Though this is a very venerable old question, lots of smart young men ask it. The answer is—No; the I. W. W. wants to stop dividing up. Today the worker, in order to secure employment and live, must divide up his product with the capitalist employer. As the capitalist employs many laborers, his share of the division is large. It makes him both wealthy and powerful. By securing all that it produces, the I. W. W. will stop capitalist dividing up, and make labor wealthy and powerful instead of poverty-stricken and weak, as it is now.

WILL NOT GIVING LABOR ALL IT PRODUCES DESTROY CAPITAL?

This question is a survival of an old, exploded theory. According to this theory, capital is due to the savings of the individual capitalist. Hence, if the individual capitalist cannot take from labor and save, where is capital to come from? Capital is no longer a result of individual savings, but of corporate, social saving. For instance, corporations, composed of changing stockholders, nowadays provide for depreciation, new construction, new capital, etc., out of the products they take from labor. That is, they reserve a certain portion of profits for these pur-

poses. The I. W. W., when in control of industry, will do essentially the same thing. It will reserve a portion of labor's products for industrial progress and social welfare, with the consent of the laborers.

ISN'T CAPITALIST ABILITY NECESSARY TO DIRECT INDUSTRY?

Yes; it is necessary to direct industry into the national wars and class wars, the world-hell generally, in which society now finds itself. Otherwise we can get along without it. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as capitalist ability and direction. There is such a thing as the ability and direction of large numbers of salaried men and government scientists—co-operative and social ability—hired by and exploited by the capitalist class for its own damnable profit-making, civilization-destroying system. The I. W. W. will do away with this misuse of real ability. It will utilize real ability for social instead of private capitalist ends.

DOES THE I. W. W. ORGANIZE THE BRAINWORKERS?

The questions raised as to the relation of the brain worker to the labor movement are of English origin. In England, intellectual socialists exist who raise the brain worker to a separate status, where in this country he is considered as only one of the many cogs in the mechanism of capitalism and organized as an integral part of that same mechanism.

The reason that the brain worker is exploited for wages, or salary, as are all other workers, is to be found in the peculiar trust or financial ownership of industry. Lucian Sanial, the well-known economist, once said of this ownership (Socialist Almanac, p. 126):

We may further observe that this is in essence a financial movement. The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers, who

make no distinction between industries, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value, expressed in money, and leave to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use values.

Translated into simpler language, this means that the financiers hire others at salaries and wages to create profits for them. These hired men have executive and organizing ability, inventive, chemical, clerical and mechanical skill, persuasive selling powers, legal and business training, not to mention muscular and physical strength of every degree of development and variety of capacity and endurance. On their expert reports and suggestions as executive committeemen, department heads, efficiency managers, engineers, organizers, experimenters, inventors, analysts, chemists, accountants, advisers, supervisors, foremen, mechanics, laborers, helpers, etc., depends the evolution and operation of modern capitalist industrial enterprise. This enterprise is run by hired subordinates of all kinds, who have no property rights, nor deciding voice in it, and who are all subject to the financial absolutism on top, that governs it.

The I. W. W. organizes these men just as they work for the financiers, without regard to their technical classification. It has many so-called brain workers; that is, intellectual proletarians, such as journalists, artists, civil engineers, managers, etc., etc., in its ranks. There is no problem of the brain worker in the I. W. W. The I. W. W. recognizes his value, as it does the value of the humblest workers. The I. W. W. organizes them all. One for all, all for one, is its slogan.

WITH THE A. F. OF L. IN EXISTENCE, IS
THE I. W. W. NEEDED AS A LABOR
ORGANIZATION?

In the first place, this question is wrong in implying that the A. F. of L. is a labor organization. The

fact that the A. F. of L. is an organization composed of laborers does not make it a labor organization. The German army under the Kaiser was an army of Germans, not for the Germans, but the Kaiser. So, too, the A. F. of L. is an army of laborers, not for labor but for capital. In the last analysis, the A. F. of L. is committed to the perpetuation of capitalism. It is so organized as to make that perpetuation possible.

On the other hand, the I. W. W. is opposed to capitalism and strives to inaugurate an industrial democracy to supplant the rule of the capitalist financial oligarchy. Composed of laborers, for laborers, by laborers, as it is, standing firmly on the class struggle and making no contracts, or alliances, with employers, as it does, the I. W. W. is the only labor organization in this country today.

In the second place, the I. W. W. is needed because of the incomplete organization of the workers by the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L., owing to high initiation fees, job monopolies, race prejudices, color lines, etc., cannot and will not organize all the workers. The result is great masses of unorganized.

Lauck & Sydenstricker, in their book, "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," give the grand total of trade union membership in 1913-1914 as 2,700,000. This includes the A. F. L., railroad brotherhoods, independent and miscellaneous bodies, and the I. W. W. In 1919 the A. F. of L. itself claimed 3,000,000 members, and launched a drive for 4,000,000.

Consider what these figures mean. In agriculture alone, for instance, there are 6,000,000 laborers. This is twice as many workers in one industry alone as in the entire A. F. of L. membership. Again, the 1914 census gives 8,263,153 persons as the number employed in manufacturing industries. A large army of women and children has since been added. So that it is safe to state that 10,000,000 is about the number now. This is more than three times the total

A. F. of L. membership for 1919. In the railroad industry 1,710,296 persons are employed. Only 561,700 are organized. This is typical of all industries.

From the figures here given on agriculture, manufacturing and railroading—18,000,000 in all—it is evident that the A. F. of L. has organized a number of workers equal to only one-sixth of the workers employed in these industries. If we take the entire body of workers, variously estimated at from thirty to forty millions, we discover that only one out of every ten is organized in the A. F. of L.

What with Canadian labor organizations withdrawing and with internal revolts on all sides, resulting in "outlaw" organizations, as in the pressmen's association—add to all this the increasing tendency to the formation of independent labor unions—and it will be evident that the A. F. of L., as a "labor organization," is not what it seems to be.

Another labor organization is needed to organize labor more completely on modern lines. The I. W. W. is the only body that meets the new requirements.

WHERE IS THE I. W. W. STRONGEST?

In the Pacific Northwest. There, thousands of lumberjacks migrate from log camp to log camp in the constant search for a job. What are they up against? The greatest of monopolies—combined railroad, landholding and lumbering monopolies! Hear the report of the Bureau of Corporations on "The Lumber Industry," on some of the opponents of the I. W. W. in the Pacific Northwest: "The Southern Pacific has 4,318,000 acres in northern California and western Oregon, and, with the Union Pacific, which controls it, millions of acres elsewhere. The Northern Pacific owns 3,017,000 acres of timberland. . . . The Weyerhauser Lumber Company owns 1,945,000 . . . Finally, to timber concentration and the land concentration is added, in our most important timber section, a closely connected rail-

road domination. The formidable possibilities of this combination in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere are of the gravest public importance. In the last forty years concentration has so proceeded that 195 holders, many inter-related, now have practically one-half of the privately owned timber in the investigation area (which contains 80 per cent of the whole)."

It is this vast concentration that the I. W. W. has fought most successfully! Where formerly the workers were compelled to carry their own blankets, sleep in filthy bunk houses, with no washing and sanitary conveniences, were provided with poor food, badly cooked, and were required to spend long hours going to and from a day's work at low pay, they now get blankets, good beds, clean bunk houses, shower baths, good food, better cooked, together with an eight-hour work day and \$5 a day pay.

This has only been achieved after a persistent struggle against terrible odds, that included loss of life, repeated arrests, imprisonment and, apparently, the total destruction of the I. W. W. Today the I. W. W. in the Northwest, with Seattle as the center, is the strongest stronghold of the I. W. W. It is in this section that job organization, job control and job delegates flourish. It is in this section that one of the best I. W. W. weekly publications, The Industrial Worker, is published. It is this section that evinces the most industrial union tendencies.

Another strong I. W. W. organization near this section is the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800. This organization has had to fight the lawless Phelps-Dodge-Ryan-Guggenheim-Standard Oil-Amalgamated mining interests. It was this combination that deported the Bisbee strikers, among whom the I. W. W. figured most actively and prominently. It was this combination that lynched Frank Little at Butte.

Despite them all, the I. W. W. grows, pushing the A. F. of L., International Mine and Smelter Workers'

Union (formerly the Western Federation of Miners), out of existence, while gaining ground and winning improved conditions in many places.

The I. W. W. miners at Park City, Utah, was the first American labor organization to strike for a six-hour day.

Enough said.

THE FARMER AND THE I. W. W.

The farmer and the I. W. W. is another relationship that the I. W. W. is called on to define and to determine. But really industrial evolution is determining it instead.

Industrial evolution has taken from the farm many of its former functions. Canning, packing, preserving, refrigerating, storing, milling, manufacturing and transporting farm products was once all done by farmers. Now trusts perform all these acts. They, accordingly, monopolize farm production and determine its activities, in combination with the money trust.

Frederick Howe shows that this condition had made farming so unprofitable in 1915 as to cause a decrease in the per capita production of meats, milk, cereals and potatoes. It has also caused the entrance of the corporation into farming, in order to insure supplies. In New York State, for instance, the Borden Milk Trust has gone into dairying in order to get sufficient products for its own business. This was rendered necessary by the decrease in milch cows in the state, due to low prices to the farmer.

The same thing is noticeable in canning and preserving. Corporations, like the Lipton Co., the Burt-Olney Canning Co., and others, are insuring their own supplies by conducting their own truck farms. In addition, the big farm corporation, as a farm corporation pure and simple, has arrived and is increasing in numbers. The Taft Co., with its 150-mile farm; the Miller & Lux Co., whose lands run contiguously

through six states, numbering millions of acres, and other giant corporations, are reducing farming to an industrial basis. They are creating an agricultural proletariat, and the farm conducted on industrial principles of profit-making. They are preparing the communal agriculture of the future.

All these tendencies contribute to a revolution in farming. They have given rise to farm laborers and tenancy to an astonishing degree. Of the 12,690,000 persons reported by the 1914 census as occupied in agricultural pursuits, one-half, according to Scott Nearing, are farm laborers. According to the estimates of the Walsh Industrial Relations Commission, from two to three millions more are tenants. Frederick Howe states that 37 per cent of all farms in 1910 were operated by others than owners. He adds, "In some parts of the country from 60 to 70 per cent of the farms are cultivated by the tenants for non-resident owners." From all of which it would appear that about two-thirds of the farmers of this country are not farm owners.

The revolutionary tendencies of farming are likely to increase, instead of decrease. Another authority, Frank Tracy Carlton, believes that the development toward larger farms, the efficient utilization of machinery thereon, the present high prices of farm products, the increase in land values, and the decrease in opportunities for extensive investments in railway and manufacturing enterprises, will tend to cause a rush of capital into agriculture in the near future. He adds:

The application of capital on a large scale, the appeal to scientific agriculture, and the introduction of scientific management and cost accounting, may be expected to work marvelous changes. Many omens of changes to come may be discerned.

Since Professor Carlton wrote those words, Armour & Co. have entered agriculture in California. The scientific imagination has again proven prophetic!

Now, the I. W. W. reacts in response to these tend-

encies in two ways. One is theoretical, the other practical. Theoretically, there are some I. W. W.'s who believe that the small farmer must be saved, and that the I. W. W. should combine with him against capitalism in so doing. Others believe that since agriculture is becoming industrialized, and is largely determined by the I. W. W. factors, it should be regarded by the I. W. W. as an industrial proposition, to be organized industrially and operated industrially.

It is the farm laborers, the hop and fruit pickers, the ranchers, the harvest stiffers, etc., etc., that the I. W. W. has found easiest to organize. They are generally employed by large farmers, like the Dauss Bros., or large corporations, like the Miller-Laux Co., who have proven by their ruthless exploitation of labor that "the employing class and the working class have nothing in common." It is among these savagely fleeced workers that the I. W. W. has one of its largest industrial unions at present, namely, Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400. This is as it should be. Such a basic industry should be the basis of the I. W. W. as well as of society. The organization of agriculture by the agricultural workers will be the supreme necessity of the new society.

The I. W. W. agricultural workers' industrial union is alive to its important mission. It has not only secured increased wages, reduced hours and better accommodations and conditions for agricultural labor, but it is awake to the many-sided problems that beset agriculture and the I. W. W. It has already published a book on the subject, and the membership of Industrial Union No. 400 (Agricultural Workers), are writing an agricultural handbook of their own. It is seeking to interest the "home guard," has the tenant farmer under consideration, unites all races, colors, creeds and sexes—in fact, is organized in a truly scientific educational spirit for the ultimate good of the farm workers and all society.

The I. W. W. agricultural workers are helping along the tendencies toward the socialized agriculture of the coming day!

WHAT IS THE I. W. W. REMEDY FOR THE HIGH COST OF LIVING?

When all is said and done, there is only one remedy. That is to abolish the high cost of capitalism by abolishing capitalism itself.

It is not the "cost of high living" that makes the cost of living high, but the high piles of interest, rent and profits to the capitalists—the high cost of capitalism to the workers—that does the trick.

The working class turns over to the capitalist idlers, products amounting to billions in wealth; it further gives billions more to be used in expanding their already enormous capital and make allowance for its depreciation. After that, do you wonder that the workers have little in their own pockets where-with to meet the increased cost of living, while their exploiters not only live more extravagantly than ever before but also are wealthier than ever before ?

So we say, abolish the high cost of living by abolishing the high cost of capitalism to the workers, via the abolition of capitalism itself.

Don't think that the cost of living can be reduced by changing tariffs, presidents, the control of administrations by other parties, or even by conferring new honors on Sam Gompers.

The cost of living has been rising steadily all over the world for the past thirty years. It made no difference whether earthquakes rocked Italy or not; or whether God and the Kaiser stuck together or fell out. It made no difference whether crops failed or were exceptionally large—the cost of living went up and then up some more. No matter what happened, where or how it happened, up it went!

The cause is generally said to be the constant decline in the value of gold, which is the standard meas-

ure of all values under capitalism. Where formerly a gold dollar would buy, say, a pair of shoes, it is now so easily and abundantly produced by the labor socially necessary to its production, as to make it so cheap that you must now spend two gold dollars to buy the same pair of shoes that you bought before. Consequently, if you want to get more shoes, you must get more dollars, more wages, wherewith to buy them. And, in order to get more wages, you must, as workingmen, have more and better organization such, as the I. W. W., that will not rest until wages represent, not your necessities, but your earnings—all of your products. Then you will have abolished capitalism and its high costs of all kinds.

HOW WILL THE I. W. W. ADMINISTRATION FUNCTION?

Through democratically selected representatives from industrial instead of territorial groupings; all subject to instruction and recall. Corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, are administered that way. They administer affairs requiring thousands of employees in many cities, regardless of geographical or political lines. In some instances, like Altoona, Pa., they dominate the very cities in which these workers live. In other instances, like Gary, Ind., the citadel of the Steel Trust, they even plan the city and create new systems of instruction, in addition. Every institution in society—press, pulpit, school—is being modified either in co-operation with or under the influence of corporations. The University of Cincinnati, for instance, gives vocational training of all kinds in conjunction with actual employment on the railroads and in other industries. The Union College of Schenectady, N. Y., has been transformed practically from a theological seminary into a technical annex of the General Electric plant there. The center of I. W. W. administration will be industrial, instead of political, in keeping with the tendencies of the age.

DOES THE I. W. W. RECOGNIZE RACE LINES?

No more than the corporations and employers do when they work all the races together for profit. It is only when the employers want to destroy organization among their employees that they appeal to race hatred. The I. W. W. refuses to help the bosses in the work of dividing labor by raising race issues.

The I. W. W. organizes the Mexican miner, the Spanish fireman, the Negro workers of all kinds, the Japanese fisherman, the Chinese cook, the Hindu construction worker; in fact, all races, regardless of religion, color of skin, shape of skull, or kinks in the hair. As long as they are wage workers, and can straighten out the capitalist kinks in their brains, the I. W. W. welcomes them, every one of them.

In 1911 the United States Immigration Commission found that in twentyone basic industries, 42 per cent of the wage earners were of native birth, while 58 per cent were foreign born. Of the native born, one-fifth were Negroes. Consider what this would mean to any organization based on race or color lines. It would mean the exclusion of the majority of the workers. Its race prejudices and color lines may account, in part, for the comparatively small membership of the A. F. of L.

In the matter of immigration, the I. W. W. believes that that can be regulated by an industrial organization of labor embracing all parts of the world. By means of such an organization the workers could be warned against the seductive lies of steamship companies and the alluring promises of high wages, steady work and advancement made by deceitful corporations, intent on cheap and strike-breaking laborers.

DOES THE I. W. W. FAVOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

Decidedly not! In the eyes of the I. W. W. there is no real league of nations, as yet. There is a league

of capitalistic-imperialistic exterminations, secretly formulated in Paris. Its first object is to exterminate the world organization of labor that is opposed to imperialism and war. Its second and greatest object is to exterminate every attempt at a new social order, as in Hungary and Russia. As Senator Johnson well says, "The League of Nations is an attempt to put progress in a straight-jacket."

Scott Nearing calls "The League of Nations" a "league of robber nations," in whose organization "the people" of the nations have had no say. He further shows that its composition is made up of the dominant capitalist groups of Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and the United States, all of whom prey on weaker nations, stealing their territory and property away from them, in the search for foreign markets and fields of investment. This, in the name of "law and order," "stability," "culture," and "democracy."

As the concrete expression of "a world made safe for democracy," the league of nations is a ghastly joke. As an attempt to make the world safe for financial oligarchy it is a demonstration of the desperate straits in which world-capitalism finds itself at the present time.

The I. W. W. favors a league of the world's workers against the world's ravishers. It favors the organization of labor on the lines of world industry, to strike on such lines against war and the outrages against humanity arising from capitalism. In Italy, sailors have refused to man ships intended to help in the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. In Seattle, Wash., longshoremen refused to load ships with ammunition consigned to Kolchak, the Cossack military representative of a Cossack capitalism, seeking to destroy free Russia. These, and other events, indicate how the real league of nations is forming and acting.

With corporations in existence having world-wide branches, with inventions like the steamship, wire-

less, aeroplane, etc., eliminating distance, time and national barriers, the industrial organization of labor on a world basis is not only possible but necessary. Especially is it necessary in view of the attempted control of world interests by world financiers. Labor alone, acting on a world-scale industrially, can save the world from the stupendous disasters into which the conflicting group interests of the world's financial oligarchy may at any time hurl it.

IS THE I. W. W. ANARCHISTIC?

That all depends on what is meant by "anarchistic." According to the popular use of the word, it means a resort to violence, disorder and lawlessness. In this sense of the term, modern capitalism is "anarchistic" and the I. W. W. is not!

The lynching of Frank Little by mine corporation thugs at Butte, Mont., was "anarchistic." The deportation of the Bisbee strikers by the same elements was "anarchistic." The murder of five I. W. W. on the steamboat Verona by armed members of the Commercial Club was "anarchistic"! The raiding of the I. W. W. hall in Centralia was "anarchistic," as was the shooting of nineteen union miners in Butte in April, 1920.

Has the I. W. W. or any of its sympathizers ever lynched a capitalist? Has it ever deported 1,200 of them into the desert, at the point of a gun? Has it ever murdered five of them by shooting into a boatload of them? "Is the I. W. W. anarchistic?" Think it over!

Ponder also on the disorders, violence and lawlessness that ensue from the wars and cataclysms resulting from the capitalist search for world markets and fields of investments. Then remember that the I. W. W. is opposed to war. After which ask yourself again, "is the I. W. W. anarchistic?" Ask yourself who's "anarchistic"?

Outside of capitalist "anarchy" there are many

brands of real anarchy, however. In fact, there are many more brands of anarchy than the famous "57 varieties," or the various religious sects of the world, not to mention the numerous socialist parties and craft unions. Every anarchist has a little anarchy of his own. So we answer:

The I. W. W. is not anarchistic, if anarchy means a perverted Nietzscheanism, or gross individualism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means group isolation and decentralization. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means voluntary utopianism, instead of economic determinism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means opposition to labor organization on the lines of modern industry. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means an absence of administration by orderly processes. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means the rule of the individual, or minority. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means an absence of co-operation in a democratic spirit for social ends. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means a denial of the class struggle and the preservation of political and economic middle-classism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means reaction, or a return to pre-modern industrialism. According to the large variety of anarchists, anarchy is all these.

The I. W. W. is not anarchistic. It is industrial-unionistic. It avoids the anti-organization impotency of anarchism on one hand and the bureaucracy of state socialism on the other. Anarchists speak of themselves as I. W. W.'s, communists, and socialists. When they so do, they but demonstrate the anarchy of anarchism.

VI.—THE IDEALS OF THE I. W. W.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are ethical in character. They are ideals of justice, fraternity and brotherhood the world over. They spring from the injustices of capitalism, which require the surrender of labor's product to capitalist profits, interest and rent; and, further, compel the subversion of all of labor's

genius and aspirations to the support of the system that viciously despoils and destroys them, as the occasion demands. Against the injustices of capitalism, with their exactions of labor's product and labor's life, working class organizations have always warred, until now they realize, as never before, that it is only through the abolition of capitalism itself that they can escape from them.

The I. W. W. attempts to give this realization practical form. The I. W. W. ideal is that of a working class so organized industrially as to be in a position to take over industry and thereby abolish the Prussianism of the capitalist class the world over; when the necessity for such a course arises, as it appears to be doing more pronouncedly every day.

The ideal of the I. W. W. is industry by, for and of the workers—in a word, industrial democracy. Through a democratic, industrial system, the I. W. W. aims, not to destroy industry, but to eliminate its capitalist exploitation, thereby making it a more actual social institution in every respect than it is at present. Such a system throws the responsibility for its maintenance directly on the bulk of society engaged therein, viz., the workers themselves. Thus, the industrial democracy of the I. W. W. means working class liberation from capitalist thralldom. It means untold benefits to society.

A NEW SOCIAL REBIRTH.

Every class liberation has caused a vast social awakening and rebirth. When the embryonic capitalist class shook off the trammels of the guild system and the divine rights of kings, social development took a mighty leap forward, the greatest in history. When the working class shakes off the incubus of capitalism and the divine rights of the capitalist class, it, too, will give an unprecedented impetus to social progress. For then will be released the

flood of latent possibilities now dammed up by the limitations and proscriptions of capitalism—sweeping many so-called problems before it.

INDUTRIAL DEMOCRACY ALREADY FORMING.

Already is the organized working class regarded as the forerunner of the new industrial democracy, a democracy in which the extremes of privileged wealth and power for the few and poverty-stricken slavery and denial of opportunity for the many will be transformed into the greatest development of all on a basis of economic and social equality.

Already is the working class showing great executive and organizing ability, great grasp and understanding of weighty problems, in its co-operative, political and labor movements. These involve billions of capital and human happiness untold.

Already is the working class demonstrating the possession of great statesmanship in its conferences and conflicts with governments and capitalists, on strike issues and questions of national and international importance. The increase in ability in this respect is only matched by the increase in determination to prevail.

Already is the working class developing great personalities that in other times might have been the engineers, generals, orators, poets, etc., of those times, men whose names glow with pride in the imagination and hearts of the working men who appreciate both the greatness and the weaknesses of mankind.

Already is the working class creating a press, a forum, a drama, a literature, an art of its own—a network of institutions and activities, a many-sided culture, a dawning epoch, whose penetrating influences bring ever more talent to its expansion, to the great detriment of capitalist culture and the slow destruction of the capitalist epoch itself.

LABOR ABLE TO RE-CREATE SOCIETY.

It will not do for capitalism to cry out that labor is not competent to undertake the great task of social transformation, for it is on the competence of hired labor of all degrees and kinds that capitalism now depends; only, capitalist policy destroys the competence of labor, just as it destroys the products of the soil, in order to keep up profits.

Nor will it do for capitalism to say that labor is without either ability or genius, for capitalism, in order to secure labor's support, by bribes of place and position, parades the names of railroad presidents and inventors who originally sprang from the ranks of the working class. The working class is now, as always, a mine of ability and genius—a pay streak that always pans out well for the capitalists, and that will pan out well for future society.

Nor will it avail capitalism any to claim that the working class is lacking in either morality, responsibility, or thrift. Without these virtues in the working class, capitalism itself could not endure a moment. It is working class honesty and fidelity to duty that keeps capitalist billions intact and enables the railroads and all the other enterprises to run on scheduled time and in due order. As for thrift, whose are the savings in banks? Who pays the industrial life insurance premiums? Who joins the building and loan associations, the co-operative societies and the credit unions? The capitalist press answer is, the wage earners!

All that we can say is "God help capitalist property, if ever the working class get the capitalist idea of morality, responsibility and thrift, for then society will be an even worse chaos and slaughter house than capitalist 'virtue' has already made it."

I. W. W. IDEAL A WELL-ROUNDED ONE.

The ideal of the I. W. W. is one of more rounded development for all. To this end, it aims to secure

more leisure and diversified employment. Just as many able men find recreation and expansion in the pursuit of many vocations and avocations, so it is the ideal of the I. W. W. to create conditions admitting of a many-sided growth in the average worker. By these means, the average worker will become a better judge of questions affecting industry and life in general. Combined with his own varied abilities, will be other and like abilities, to the advantage of all concerned.

This rounded development is already beginning in the working class. In working class life, many workers may be found who are not only proficient in their own particular industrial specialty, but who are, in addition, organizers, speakers, parliamentarians, editors, writers, poets, musicians, etc., etc. The varied requirements of industry, with their seasonal and uncertain employment, give rise to another variety of many-sided workers. So also does the ambition to escape wage slavery give rise to students of all kinds among the working class.

In brief, it may be said that the more highly developed worker of the future is already in the making. The ideal of the I. W. W. is to continue the tendencies thus begun, especially so as to transform the workers now employed in brain-benumbing and soul-destroying occupations into better material for the new society.

Education is not the only I. W. W. function. Preparation is another one.

CAPITALISM ITSELF HELPS REVOLUTION.

Capitalism itself helps along the revolutionary process, though unwillingly and unconsciously. Its profits must ever be replenished, its property abnormally increased. To these ends, it educates even the lowest strata of the workers. And higher up on the mountain tops, it makes scientists and technicians of those who toil, in order that it alone may accumulate and become all-powerful.

The process of educating the worker under capitalism is revolutionary. It not only transforms the brain of the workers but also their outlooks and aspirations. They soon perceive that upon them depends capitalist civilization and that without them it could not exist. Consequently, the modern working class tends steadily to wish to possess the entire contents of capitalism, power and all. Not for themselves alone, to the subjugation and degradation of others, but for the good of all; for the fraternity and brotherhood of all.

Where, in ancient Rome and Greece, the philosophers and geniuses, like Aesop, became slaves, under capitalism the slaves—their name is legion—become philosophers and geniuses. They labor for a new social rebirth, that, in the very nature of social evolution, cannot be denied to them, except at the peril of a reversion to savagery for the entire human race. Humanity rises and falls with the working class.

EMANCIPATION RICH IN POSSIBILITIES.

The liberation of the working class from the thralldom of capitalism is rich in beneficial possibilities. Consider the harm done to productive labor by capitalism. Capitalism coerces labor. It denies to labor the right to organize or to bargain collectively. The result is a continuous warfare between capital and labor, that tends to the increased demoralization of industry, and incredible losses to society. Remove capitalism, give to labor its own products, and the incentive thus created will be productive of greater industrial output and social security. It will save society from the chaos now threatening, because of the increasing intensity of the struggle between the capitalist and the working classes.

Society must, perforce, recognize that coerced, dissatisfied labor is never efficient labor. Nor is the labor that intuitively, perhaps unconsciously, feels the degradation of capitalist paternalism. Nor, fur-

ther yet, is monotonous, machine-driven labor. Labor that is without incentive, self-respect or prospects of development, is wasteful labor. It is discontented labor, perhaps not turbulently nor violently, but instinctively. Capitalism is sabotaging itself in the creation of modern, discontented labor. And though it lashes labor with whips of scorpions—nay, because it so lashes labor—will its own sabotaging tendencies increase. Capitalism is itself, automatically, destructive of labor's productivity and labor's loyalty.

Release labor from thankless capitalism! Release labor from paternalistic capitalism! Release labor from oppressive capitalism! Release labor from degrading, enslaving capitalism, and you release forces for social good that only the workingman who knows, in his own person, the repression of capitalism, can dream of!

Give labor its own mastery! Throw labor on its own responsibility! Give labor a sense of manhood and womanhood of infinite possibilities—do all this, and you give to society an impetus to productivity that will be unprecedented. History—the history of the abolition of chattel slavery and of feudalism—approves such action in advance, for such history is the history of great social impetus, thanks to class liberation!

I. W. W. NOT STATE SOCIALISM.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of state socialism. State socialism is based on political representation. It is bureaucratic. Its function is not to administer but to govern. Its aim is to raise the levies needed for army and navy expenditures. It tends to replace the oppression of the private capitalist with that of the authority of the state. It makes the state the employer and capitalist. It makes the politician the ruler. It insures the income of the capitalist bondholders who finance it. It is pro-capitalist and anti-proletarian.

I. W. W. INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are the ideals of industrial administration. The industrial republic of the I. W. W. is based on occupational or industrial representation. Its function is to bring together all the factors of industry, in order to meet industrial needs and fulfill social requirements. Its concern is not to repress, but to develop; not to govern, but to adjust—to administer according to the wisdom of the workers most basically and directly concerned. It makes the workers their own employers, their own capitalists, their own beneficiaries.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not ideals of mob government. To scientists and technicians will go the problems of chemistry and management, to be worked out in co-operation with all the labor elements involved. Artists, sculptors, architects, will concern themselves with art, sculpture, architecture; teachers with education; railroad men with transportation; the factory workers with the factory. All will be organized according to their industry and entitled to representation in the industrial republic on the basis of their employment.

I. W. W. ENCOURAGES INDUSTRIAL STUDY.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are such as to encourage and require a study of industry in all its phases. It has given a new interest to technology, as a result, that cannot fail to be of far-reaching value to the new society coming. As a beginning, several of the I. W. W. industrial unions have organized a Bureau of Industrial Research to prepare handbooks on each of the great industries of the world, simply written and sold at cost price.

This work has already taken practical shape in the woolen industry. The I. W. W. members employed therein have classified all of the woolen factories in the country, together with their location, nearness to sources of supplies and markets, annual

output, etc. They have classified this data with a view to its practical use, believing that it will be necessary to enable successful management by the workers, when occasion requires.

The conclusion of I. W. W. textile studies is that many of the woolen factories may be disbanded or consolidated, and an increase of 40 per cent in output effected. They refuse to give this information to employers now, as they want its benefits to go to the workers' industrial democracy instead of the capitalist exploiters of their genius.

The slogan, "Get wise to your industry," is one repeatedly sounded in I. W. W. press and discussion.

I. W. W. A TENDENCY, NOT A THEORY.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of theory, but of tendencies. In this country, for instance, before the war, the teachers' union demanded "democracy in education and education in democracy." Education, in other words, should be more by, of and for educators, in the interests of all, than by, and of, politicians, business men and intellectual slaves, for the perpetuation of capitalism. After the war, the Plumb plan appeared, with provision for the part management of the railroads by classified railroad workers.

Other and more striking phenomena, indicating the rise of I. W. W. ideals in the tendencies of the day, are to be observed in the extra-political round-table conferences at Washington, D. C., called to allay labor unrest. But still more striking is the 1919 coal crisis, wherein we saw a titanic struggle whose sole issue was the administration of the coal industry on a basis satisfactory to labor. This issue required the setting aside of the usual legislative and private procedure, and called forth extraordinary measures. In fact, industrial problems tend to become ever more extra-political, legal and ethical in their adjustment and solution.

This same development toward the realization of the I. W. W. idealism is world-wide. What the teachers and railroad workers are striving to do here, the railroad men, postal employes, miners, teachers, actors and others are striving to do in England, Italy and France. In Russia, they have achieved what their brothers elsewhere are yearning to do—the latter now more than ever before—thanks to the stimulation of Russian example.

ITALIAN AND UNITED STATES RAILROADERS SUSTAIN I. W. W. IDEALISM.

The urge toward the idealism of the I. W. W. is to be found in the increasing self-knowledge of the workers. To this may be added an increasing recognition of the inefficiency, corruption and inhumanity of capitalism. In Italy, in 1910, the Union of Italian Railroaders, inspired by socialist ideals and the bad conditions of the railroad system, proclaimed themselves ready to operate the railroads. Their contentions sound almost like those of the United States railroad men of the present day. Through Odon Por they alleged that the state had proved its utter incapacity for managing the railroads, because, primarily, of graft. Our railroaders say, because, primarily, of looting by private financial groups. The Italians further stated that the technical incompetence and deficiency of the bureaucratic administration called to run the enterprise had demoralized the whole passenger and freight traffic and caused a growing deficit in the treasury of the state. Our railroaders allege the very same condition, which, they say, was created for the purpose of causing a sentiment favorable to the return of the railroads to private control. The Italian railroaders of 1910 go on to declare that while the state has created thousands of new sinecures and highly paid offices, it has utterly neglected the technical part of the system. The American 1919 repetition is almost identically

the same. The Italian railroaders clinch the matter by contending that, on the other hand, the industrially organized railroad men have learned through continuous discussion of the details of the system, the principles of organizing, managing, and combining its factors. Their constructive and analytic criticism disclosed all the flaws of the railroad administration, proved that the state is an uneconomical institution, and demonstrated all the detail necessary to a successful reorganization of the railroads. They indicated that they must get back, above all, their whole liberty, and that in order to secure from the railroads greater benefits for the public, they must become personally interested in the enterprise. This is practically the American railroaders' approach to, and solution of, the railroad problem, also. It is the way labor approaches all modern problems, through its own direct participation and solution on the job—its own direct action, growing out of its own contact with conditions and the recognition of the need for its own organized initiative.

CAPITALISM FORCES I. W. W. FORWARD.

In this country, labor is not organized to take over and run industry, in order to overcome capitalist inefficiency. American labor, outside of the I. W. W., is organized only to bargain with the capitalist, according to crafts. It is not organized industrially to take over industry. However, it will be forced, nay, is being forced, to abandon that misconception of labor organization. Its own defeats are causing it to recognize the closely knit character of the modern industrial system and to organize, accordingly, within it, for its control and management in the interests of society by the industrially organized workers. In this work, labor everywhere will be aided by the growing paralysis of modern life, through capitalist incompetence and principles. The latter, in the face of increasing technical knowledge, tend to increase

social dangers by stimulating high prices, inflation, strikes, overproduction, unemployment, crises, and, last but not most important and sinister of all, wars.

The prospects of the future, judged by the horrors of the past, are that society will either have to overturn capitalism, or be overturned by it. With the same capitalist tendencies at work in world-struggles as formerly, with Japan taking the place of Germany as the imperialist-capitalist goat, because of its grasp on Asia, there is need for a constructive, evolutionary plan by which society may be saved and civilization actually restored once more. American labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., has no plan. So far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, society can go to hell. It is the I. W. W. only that foresees and prepares against just such a disaster.

The I. W. W. plan is evolutionary, peaceful. Capitalism alone will make it revolutionary and violent. All signs point that way. The age-old struggle between the new and the old is being repeated once more on an unprecedented scale. The brand of Cain will be on capitalism's head in the future as in the past.

I. W. W. IDEALISM COLOSSAL.

The idealism of the I. W. W. is immense in its magnitude. It strides more continents than the Colossus of Rhodes. Its heralds are the seafarers on the waters of the earth, the cables beneath, and the aeroplane in the heavens above. No transatlantic engineer throws a throttle but what he puts steam not only into his engine but into the boiler of the I. W. W. No Leviathan plows the ocean except to carry the argosies of the I. W. W. to a world constantly growing smaller and more neighborly in its popular inclinations. The world was Tom Paine's country, to do good his religion. The I. W. W. has the same fatherland as Tom Paine, the same ethical aspirations.

To subjugate the world was the dream of Alex-

ander, Caesar and Kaiser Wilhelm. To free the world from subjugation is that of the I. W. W. To carry on, not in world-slaughter, but in world-eman-cipation, is the I. W. W. object. To create, not a world-republic of letters, but one of labor, such is the I. W. W. mission, aided by world development.

I. W. W. COMES TO BUILD UP, NOT TEAR DOWN

The ideals of the I. W. W., let it be said again and again, are constructive, not destructive. The I. W. W. aims to build up, not to tear down. It erects the new society on material provided by the old. It carries progress to higher material and ethical planes. It retains giant, co-operative industry, with its profuse wealth-production, for all, because it is only made possible by all, and not by the few who now exploit it and grow powerful and tyrannical from the exploitation.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are co-operative, not competitive. They are social, not individualistic. The I. W. W. views man as at war with nature and compelled to unite to wrest from nature the secret of its forces and the means for man's own subsistence. Only as man ceases to war with man will nature yield up her secrets and man triumph over necessity. To the degree that man does this does man pass from the stage of beastly materialism to a far-flung brotherhood, unsurpassed and unsung in all history.

The ideals of the I. W. W. aim to develop well-being in all of its phases. The I. W. W. aims to abolish poverty. To poverty, the I. W. W. opposes the increasing fecundity of nature under scientific exploitation and the increasing productivity of the mechanical genius of man. The I. W. W. aims to abolish class hatred. To class hatred, the I. W. W. opposes a society made one by common, fraternal interests. The I. W. W. aims to abolish war. To war, the I. W. W. opposes the cementing influence of

world-industry, aided by the growing world-consciousness of the world's workers.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are real, not utopian. They have their origin, their embryo, in capitalist development. They aim to continue this development further for the good of all instead of the aggrandizement of a few. The capitalists are now the only romanticists, the only utopians. They believe the impossible and imagine the impossible. Though they know their system evolved out of previous systems, they hug the fond delusion that evolution will stop with it. And they are called "hard-headed men." That's what they are, indeed. Their "ivory domes" are so hard that the absurdity of their ideas will never penetrate to their alleged brains, or so-called vision.

THE IMMORTALITY OF IDEALISM.

Idealism is irrepressible. It never dies. The idealism of the I. W. W. cannot be repressed, because it is the idealism of a new epoch already challenging and overthrowing that of the old. The I. W. W. has suffered martyrdom and still thrives. Its attempts to revitalize the initiative and the energy of tens of millions the world over is an attempt to which it gives foremost expression but not birth. It is the working class themselves the world over, reacting from the futilities and horrors of capitalism, that have given birth to the movement for industrial democracy, industrial fraternity and industrial communism. On them, and on the forces behind them, depends this great movement. You may kill the I. W. W. but you can't kill them.

History should cause the oppressors of the I. W. W. to pause. The scaffold never yet killed an ideal, or throttled a movement inherent in the nature of events or in the hearts and heads of mankind. The early Christians were massacred. The Appian Way was lighted up by torches made of live Christians.

The Christians were butchered to make a Roman holiday. Despite this fiendish, diabolical treatment, Christianity flourished and grew. And though Constantine, in order to destroy its revolutionary features, made a state religion of it, the communism of Christ now reasserts itself on a more practical and grander scale in the communism of Lenin.

JOHN BROWN'S SOUL STILL MARCHES ON.

Lovejoy's press was thrown into the river and he himself was afterward murdered. William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through Boston streets with a rope around his neck. John Brown was hanged. Yet his soul marches on, not only to the abolition of chattel slavery, but of wage slavery, too; John Brown still lives, reincarnated in the abolitionists of modern times.

For over 700 years has Ireland been oppressed and devastated. Yet Irish idealism lives unconquered. The Emmets of yesterday are replaced by the Connollys of today. During the year 1918 British imperialism claimed forty million victims in India. Instead of destroying Indian idealism, this staggering murder but increases it, giving it a heroism and grandeur unparalleled. Tens of millions more have died in the world-war, on the battlefields and as a result of the various economic blockades. Nevertheless, despite this appalling blight, humanity everywhere raises its crushed spirits and aspires to end monstrosities once more. To the communism of capital the world over, with its rapine and slaughter for profit and property, it opposes the communism of labor, with its brotherhood of all and its peace for all.

IDEALISM ALWAYS INSPIRING.

Idealism is historic. Though it never teaches oppression, it always inspires the oppressed. And it is the idealism of the ages that inspires the I. W.

W., backed by modern imperialist-capitalist tendencies. So long as the latter have nothing but a huge slaughter house to offer humanity, for the profit of a few, so long will humanity endeavor to end them, in the interests of all.

Notwithstanding all the slanders cast upon it, by oppressors who misuse and coerce it, human nature is not so vile as to tolerate the foulness of capitalist "civilization" indefinitely. Capitalism has been weighed and found wanting. The handwriting is on the wall. The new era already casts its shadows before.

So the I. W. W. looks forward, not backward, buoyed alike by the sacrifices of the past, the prospects of the present and the possibilities of the future. It believes that, no matter what happens, evolution will continue to evolve and revolution to revolve. All things live, run their appointed course and die. Life is a transition to a better existence. So says theology. So says the I. W. W. Brief has been the span of capitalism's existence, barely 150 years since its first pronounced appearances. And today sees it nearly undone, struggling desperately to survive, and taking on the look of galvanic life rather than new vitality. And the new society looms up large ahead. History may write its grandest records on its pages.

The present cannot long endure. Its antecedents are against it. All precedents, as the lawyers say, are against it. Co-operative in character, and depending on all for existence, capitalist exploitation must be eliminated from co-operative industry, in the interests of all.

Under all of the foregoing circumstances, to lynch, tar and feather, outlaw, and otherwise maltreat the I. W. W., will avail capitalism nothing. Persecution warms the hearts of men toward the I. W. W. Persecution causes men to lend ear to the I. W. W. Persecution makes proselytes for the I. W. W. more numerous than it makes martyrs. It is this over-

production of proselytes that makes the business of ideal extermination humanly impossible. And it is this overproduction that will finally submerge capitalist exploitation everywhere.

THE I. W. W. A CALL TO THE BEST IN MAN.

The I. W. W. is a call to the wise, the kind, the generous of all mankind, especially to the working class. It is not a bravado's defiance to social development, but the cumulative reasoning of many great minds, perhaps crudely applied, but at least possessed of all their elemental strength. It is germinal, rather than full-grown. It is a beginning, rather than a completed article. It is raw, rather than refined; real, rather than sophisticated; apparently intricate, yet simple; reckless, yet with reason. It is a wonderful manifestation, a multi-compound of psychology, economics, sociology, government, art, poetry, ethics and religion. Yes, religion! Fanatical, sublime! The religion that makes living its creed; that would endow men with the attributes of gods instead of monsters; that has its Christs in its Littles and its Calvary on the railroad bridge from which he was dangled; that knows first causes, appreciates the inner personality, the soul, of Labor, and that seeks the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth in a more beautiful existence for all men.

Dreamers! yes! So were the communists of the early Christian Church. So were the abolitionists of chattel slavery. So were the builders of the capitalist structure, now cracked at the foundation and in danger of collapse. For, what is it to dream, if not to achieve?

And, considering all the signs, the I. W. W. is destined to achieve.

THE END.

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE.

The following are the sources of the material used in this handbook:

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CHAPTER II: "Rise of New West" (chapter on "New England"), F. J. Turner (Harper Bros., New York); "Economic Influences Upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850," F. T. Carlton, University of Wisconsin; "Readings in American Government and Politics," Charles Beard (MacMillan Co., New York); "Documentary History of the Early Organization of Printers," Ethelbert Stewart (November, 1905, Bulletin, Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.; "Labor Organizations and Labor

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CHAPTER III: "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," Vincent St. John (I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "Speech of Wm. D. Haywood on Case of Ettor and Giovannitti, Cooper Union, New York," pamphlet Ettor-Giovannitti Defense Committee, Lawrence, Mass. (out of print); "Capital," Karl Marx (Swann-Sonnenschein ed., p. 786); "The Rise of a New Society," Justus Ebert (out of print); files of I. W. W. press and personal recollections of the present writer.

CHAPTER IV: Largely derived from contemporaneous capitalist, labor and I. W. W. press, One Big Union Monthly, and I. W. W. leaflets, such as "Justice to the Negro," "An Address to American Workers," "Why We Lost the Last Strike," "Driving the Idea Into the Printer's Brain," etc. etc.; also "The Trial of a New Society," Justus Ebert (out of print); "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," Vincent St. John (I. W. W. Pub. Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "The Lizard's Trail," Carl E. Person (Lake

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CHAPTER V: "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," Lauck & Syndenstricker (Funk & Wagnalls, New York); "The Socialist Almanac," Lucian Sanial (New York Labor News Co., New York); "The High Cost of Living," Frederic C. Howe (Scribner Co., New York); "The Industrial Situation," F. T. Carlton (Revell Co., New York); Scott Nearings Special Article Service; "An Appeal to Timber and Lumber Workers and a Chapter to Farmers Who Farm the Farms," Jay Smith, Alexandria, La.; articles on "Tenant Farmers," Covington Hall (I. W. W. press); "Labor and the League of Nations," Scott Nearing (Rand School, New York); "The Everett Massacre," Walker C. Smith (I. W. W. Pub. Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "The High Cost of Living," T. G. Dougherty (out of print).

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APPENDIX I.

THE COMMUNISM OF CAPITAL.

As Seen by Lincoln, Cleveland and Wilson.

The relation of government to industry is the subject of much discussion. Henry D. Lloyd, in his book, "Lords of Industry" (p. 46), sized up the situation thus: "The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government." Frank L. McVey, in his "Modern Industrialism" (p. 288), declares, "The result (of American industrial development) is what might have been expected: an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a state that is puny when compared with it."

Other men prominent in American life, notably Dr. Charles Eliot, in his 1911 Fourth of July speech, have expressed substantially the same thought. But more important and interesting still than all of the foregoing is the development of the viewpoints of various Presidents of the United States on the subjects of industry and the state.

On Nov. 21, 1864, President Lincoln wrote to Wm. P. Elkin a letter in which he said:

I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption, in high places, will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people, until all the wealth is segregated into few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

In how far Lincoln's suspicions proved well founded is shown in the 1888 message of President Grover Cleveland, who warned against the control of government by "the communism of capital." Said President Cleveland:

Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government. But the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which assiduously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of misrule.

Now finally, as if to verify both Lincoln and Cleveland, and also mark the development of industrial control in this country—the triumph of the communism of capital—we have President Woodrow Wilson's expose of "invisible government." Says the greatest of war presidents, Woodrow Wilson, in his book, "The New Freedom" (p. 57):

The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States.

The student of American development can well afford to reflect and ponder on these unofficial and official contributions to a correct understanding of the relative strength of industry and government in the United States. Remember, they are not Socialist contributions, nor anarchist contributions, nor I. W. W. contributions. They are what opponents to socialism, anarchism and I. W. W.ism regard as "100 per cent American" contributions. Read those names over again—Lincoln, Cleveland, Wilson—and be convinced!

APPENDIX II.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO.

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at
Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve, alongside the discarded machine. A deadline has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class di-

visions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer, that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hood-wink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by

their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotence of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proved abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdictional struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax, should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry

in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

APPENDIX III.

PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's pay," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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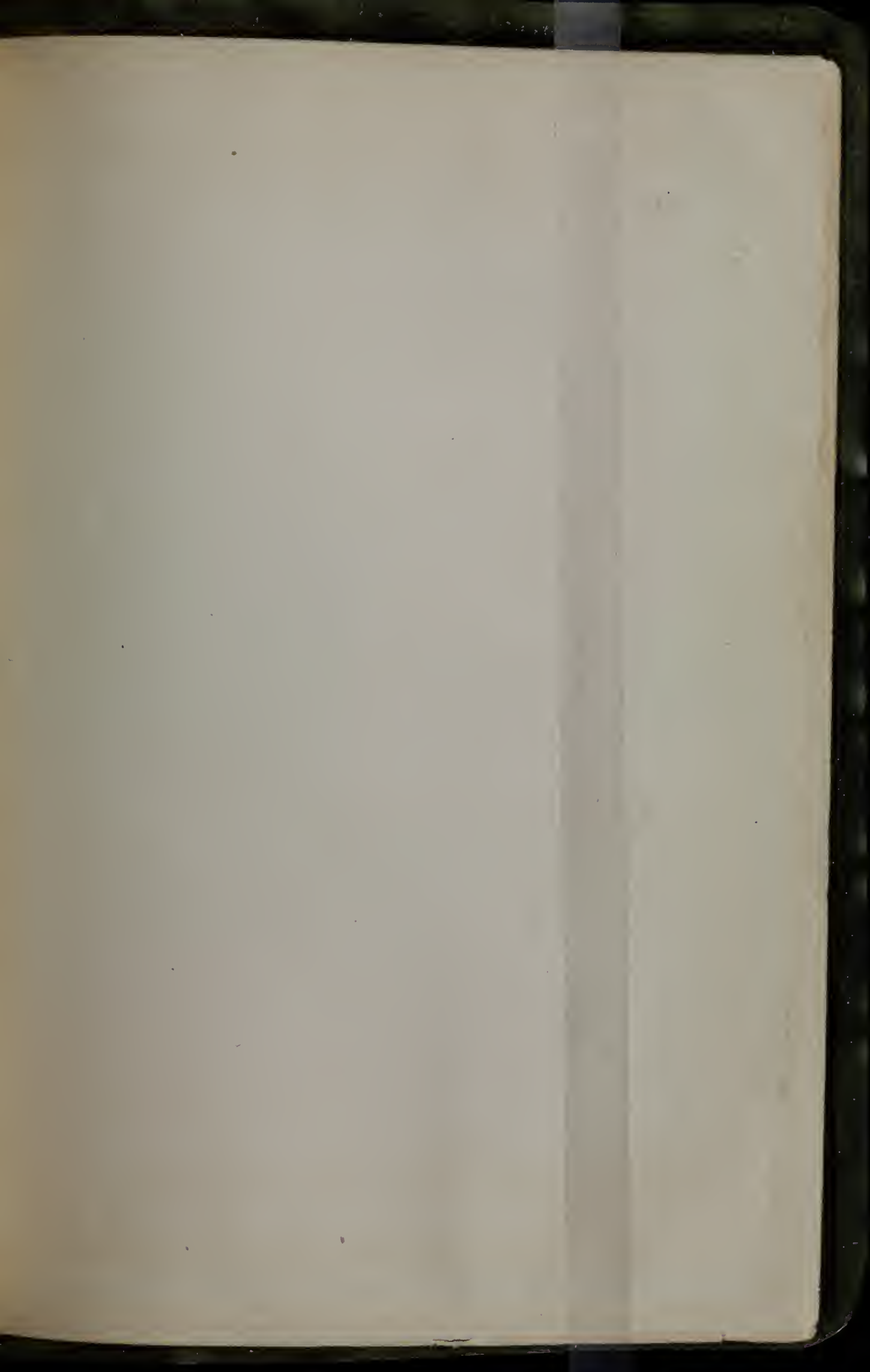
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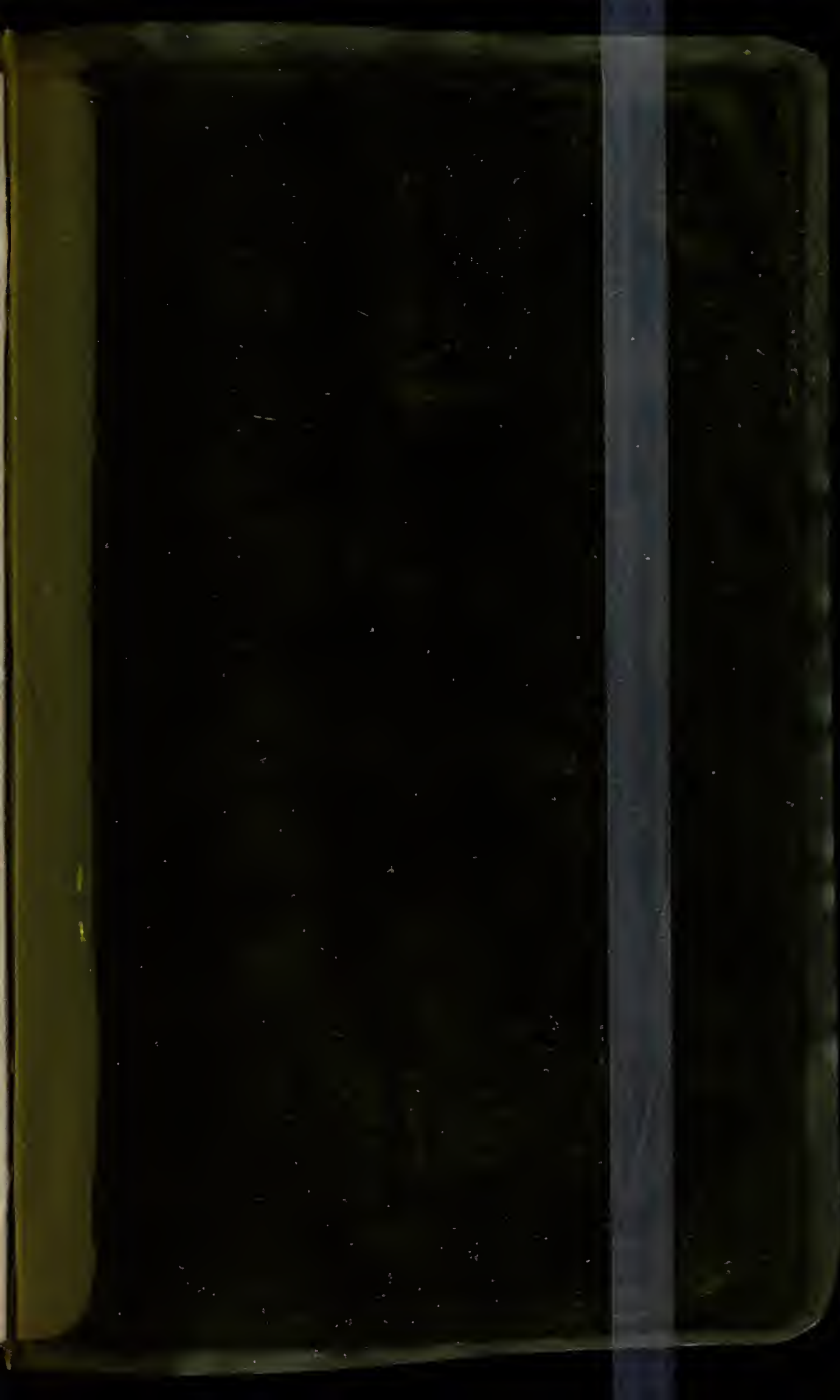
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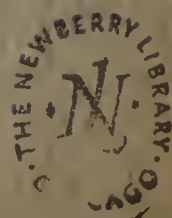
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This country also has other perversions of I.W.W. theory. They exist in company unions, employee representation and employee participation in stock ownership plans, works councils and labor fronts, not in labor union control. The corporations of America know how to turn a good labor idea to their own advantage. American labor should, therefore, be eternally vigilant lest it be the victim of fake industrial unionism, detrimental to the social good.

Workers, don't destroy this book. It is your book, the book of the industrial workers of the world. It will help all workers to understand, not only the I.W.W., but themselves as well. They occupy the key places, the strategic places, in the present-day set up. They are the Atlas that supports the modern world and will be invincible when organized in real industrial unions.



The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice

1.

THE I. W. W. AND ITS BACKGROUND

One big feature of the I. W. W. is the way that it continues to live in spite of all attempts to destroy it. Organized at Chicago, in June 1905, the I.W.W. has since been subjected to every outrage and inhumanity. I. W. W. members have been hounded, persecuted, lynched, denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and all the inherent rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness.

Still in spite of all, the I.W.W. grows in organization and numbers. Where other organizations would have died, it flourishes! Even today it is again coming back, despite repeated announcements of its demise to the contrary. What is even more important, it grows as an idea that affects large numbers of workers outside of its folds. The C.I.O. superficially imitates its form, but not its essence.

How are these striking facts to be explained? Do the principles of the I.W.W. alone make it possible to save civilization from fascism, war and collapse? Do they alone provide the means by which the change from the old to the new social order, now impending, may be made easy?

Let us seek an answer in the growth of present-day capitalism. We may then realize that the I.W.W. is an out-growth of the capitalistic system. That, as such, it can only be destroyed when that system is changed into a system of industrial democracy, such as the I.W.W. organizes to make possible and contemporary events are pushing into the foreground.

What Capitalism Is—Co-operation of the Many for the Profit of the Few.

When we speak of capitalism we mean the present-day system of industry especially. Professor McVey, in his book, "Modern Industrialism," defines modern industry as the massing of men, machines and capital. What is intended in the McVey definition is to put forth the idea of labor (men, women and children), fixed capital, (land, buildings, machines, etc.) and working capital (cash and credit) as the important elements of modern industry.

Because the capital invested in modern industry is owned by private individuals, called capitalists, and is used by them to exploit labor primarily for their own private profit, modern industry is also known as capitalism. Further, because it gives labor only a part of that which it produces for the capitalists, in the form of wages, and binds the workers through capitalist ownership to the control of the capitalist class, it is also called wage slavery. And thanks to its introduction and extensive use of machinery, driven by power and displacing both labor and skill, modern industry is also called machine production.

In modern industry, raw material is taken from the earth, passed through smelters, mills and factories, where it is changed into articles of sale, and then distributed to domestic and foreign markets by way of selling agencies, railroads and steamships. The whole transaction is made possible and facilitated by means of money and credit—by banks and banking. So that modern industry is a working to-

gether of agriculture, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transportation, communication, commerce and finance. Without the constant co-operation of millions of laborers employed in these various subdivisions there can be no industry in the modern sense.

Growth of Modern Capitalism

Previous to modern industry, there was no great massing of labor and capital for the profit of capitalists; nor was there extensive machinery. The individual owner and worker, who took all the products, most largely prevailed, and hand tools and skill were the general rule. Gradually firms, co-partnerships, corporations, trusts and holding companies evolved, each absorbing all that labor produced, and consolidating the industrial types that preceded it. All this was due to the invention and introduction of machines that displaced labor and skill, and required more capital than individuals possessed or cared to risk. Hence arose also the need of massing the small capitals of many into large capital. Where at first merchants had supplied the needed capital, now stocks and stock exchanges are required, assisted by banks, trust companies and such fiduciary institutions as the life insurance companies, all dominated by banking groups controlled by a few giant capitalists and financiers.

The Trusts and Industrial Empires.

Some big combinations of capital unite all the subdivisions of modern industry within themselves. They own and control their own lands, mines, ore deposits, oil fields, forests, pipe lines, steamship companies, railroads, selling agencies, banks, etc., each employing for wages and salaries tens of thousands of workers including every degree of ability and skill, from that of executive superintendence and inventive development to the most simple labor.

Where at one time, numerous independent cor-

porations performed various functions in competition with one another, they are now concentrated in and performed by these big consolidations.

The United States Steel Corporation is a notable example of this type of combination. As of January 1, 1936, its assets were \$1,822,401,741. Net income from April 1, 1901 to December 31, 1935 amounted to \$3,915,842,616. It has paid out in dividends a total of \$1,030,819,214, or an average of \$26,594,-934 a year. It and its subsidiary operating companies own 126 works, containing as part of their equipment, the following items: 93 blast furnaces; 25 bessemer converters; 363 open hearth and electric furnaces; 44 blooming, large billet or slabbing mills; 63 merchant mills; 194 hot blackplate mills for tinning; 103 sheet, jobbing and plate mills; 24 commercial warehouses.

Besides steel plants, the U. S. Steel Corporation and its subsidiary operating companies own 354,243 acres of coal property, including a steam coal vein which consists of 319,835 acres and a coking coal vein of 467,631 acres; 17 coking plants; 97 iron ore mines; 326,549 acres of natural gas and 274 active oil wells; water supply plants; limestone, dolomite and fluorspar property in 17 different states; 24 steam railroads, including 3,914 miles of track, 1,141 steam locomotives, 45,634 freight cars, 1700 works cars and 54 passenger train cars; 28 overseas steamers, 78 Great Lakes steamers, as well as 30 other crafts for use on the Great Lakes. For river use it has 15 steamers, 472 barges, 4 tug boats and 16 service craft; 18 forwarding and receiving docks at lake ports.

In 1929, the U. S. Steel Corporation employed an average of 224,980 workers, with a payroll of \$420,072,851, or an average of \$1,867 per worker. In 1935 it employed an average of 194,820 workers, with a payroll of \$251,576,808, or an average of \$1,291 per worker.—Poors "Industrials" 1936.

Another typical giant corporation, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, owns operating com-

panies in addition to the plants run under its name and the name of its open affiliates. It also controls such enterprises as Nujol, liquid polish, etc. It shares ownership of Ethyl Gas with General Motors, another corporation with titanic proportions.

The assets of this, the largest Standard Oil unit, were \$1,894,914,483 in 1936 and its 1936 dividends were equal to \$50,634,000—Laidler "Concentration in American Industry"; Poors "Industrials"; "Standard Corporation Record."

There is the Ford Motor Company.

The New York Times Magazine, Aug. 8, 1937, in the article "The Sun Never Sets on Ford's Empire," gives interesting facts and figures on Ford's Company.

The article shows that Ford's factories dot the world. The empire thrives most in the U.S. Here it has 18 assembly plants, 18 widely distributed services and parts branches; 15 so-called "village industries," its own lake boats, its Blueberry ore mine in the Marquette Range in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, its own lumber also in Northern Michigan, where it owns an entire town, which is the center of Ford's lumber operations; its coal mines in Southern Kentucky, capable of supplying 3,000,000 tons of coal annually and its steel mill at River Rouge.

Covering 1,096 acres, this steel mill is the center of an industrial population larger than that of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Savannah, Ga.; Rockford, Ill.; or Berkeley, Calif. It contains its own fire department, hospital and gas, electric and water system. Indicative of the terrible working conditions in River Rouge, is the fact that the hospital has a staff of 125 physicians and surgeons. River Rouge also manufactures cement, glass and plastic products for auto use. A tire factory is under construction there.

Ford employs 122,000 workers in the United States. At River Rouge some operations require 3 eight-hour shifts, in brief, are continuous. Most operations are mechanical or repetitive, thus, requiring little or no skill.

At Northville, Michigan, valves are made and trucked to River Rouge. The 400 workmen live in Northville or on nearby farms. There are fifteen of these "village industries" in Southern Michigan; 35 more are planned. Ford calls this "decentralized" industry, with himself, the owner and dictator of it all, as supreme "decentralizer," no doubt.

Near the "village industries" is Ford's farm in Southern Michigan. Here Ford factory mechanization is put to farm use. Soy-beans, wherewith to make soy-bean oil, used in painting Ford cars, is the principal crop.

Ford's empire is an autocracy. There is a grand advisory council which meets with Ford daily. It is composed of top officials, active in the plants. The empire's financial value is unknown. But it is estimated at approximately one billion dollars. Ford owns it all.

The giant corporations are, as in the case of the Ford Co., employers of large armies of labor. The Bell Telephone System, chief unit in American Telephone and Telegraph Company's network, employed an average of 244,599 workers in 1935.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, owns operating companies in the United States employing 120,000 workers.—Poors "Industrials"; Moody's "Public Utilities."

Where the trusts do not own and operate all the agencies of either supply or distribution, as in the packers' combination which does not own the farms of the country, or the coal trust, which does not own the middlemen's yards or the retailers' basement shops, these agencies are so dependent on the big combinations as to be entirely within their power and unable to exist without them. Yet this situation was unknown in this country sixty years ago; the beginnings of the trust movement having been first observed only in the 80s of the last century.

Enter Chain-Combinations.

Capitalist combinations are expanding in all directions. They are going into retailing or distribution as represented by the chain stores.

The largest chain store in America is the Great Atlantic and Pacific, with sales in 1930 of \$1,065,807,000. It is reported to have 16,000 stores and 86,000 employees. An example of the rapid growth of chain stores is afforded by the Walgreen Drug Co., which increased from 19 stores in 1920 to 307 in 1929.

A special report of the 1935 retail census, on retail chains, making a comparative summary of the operations of retail chains, in 1935, 1933 and 1929, issued July 1937 is condensed in Tide, July 15, 1937, from the Bureau of the Census. There were, it is reported, 6,079 chains in 1935; they operated one-twelfth of all retail stores, had sales totalling some \$8,500,000,000, employed 1,171,671 people, paid them \$1,211,066,000.

From 1933 to 1935 the number of chains increased 10 per cent, although the number of stores decreased 8.2 per cent. Sales of independent stores dropped from 77.5 per cent of total sales in 1929 to 73.1 per cent in 1935. Chain sales came up from 20 per cent to 22.8 per cent in the same period. States in which the chains did the greatest percentage of retail business, said the census, were Illinois (29.3%), Massachusetts (28.9%), Rhode Island (26.2%), California (25.7%). (In the District of Washington chains did 26.2% of retail business). States where chains made the poorest showing: Mississippi (11.1%), Wyoming (14.7%), Montana (14.8%), Minnesota (15.1%).

Lewis Corey in the January-March 1937 Marxist Quarterly, "American Class Relations," estimates that 6,000,000 or 12.4%, of the working class, are employed at "clerical-sales occupations."

The distribution services are requiring increasing numbers of workers, as the chains grow. The

small family store is no longer dominant. It is fading out of the picture accordingly. "The giant monopoly has snared most of us on its payroll and the old order of the independent proprietor is fast fading away," said Federal Trade Commissioner Charles H. Marsh, addressing the Boston 1937 Convention of the National Association of Retail Grocers.

To sum up this phase of our discussion, here are figures on the concentration of industry: On January 1, 1930 the 200 largest non-financial corporations controlled 49.2% of the corporate non-financial wealth, 38% of all business wealth, and 22% of the national wealth.

These 200 corporations were controlled by some 2,000 men, a good portion of whom were inactive.

If the same rate with which these corporations grew in the 20 years from 1909 to 1929 continues, by 1950 the 200 largest corporations will be carrying on 70% of all corporate activity.—Means, Gardiner C. and Berle, Adolph A. Jr., "The Modern Corporation and Private Property" pp. 32 and 40.

Trusts Non-Patriotic—Embrace Whole World.

The growing international character of "our" colossal combinations of capital next commands attention. Typical of this development is the Standard Oil of New Jersey which owns operating companies producing oil in 10 foreign countries, 5 Latin-American countries and Roumania, Trinidad, Canada, Poland and Italy. In addition, it has acquired the foreign properties of the Pan-American Petroleum Co., in Venezuela, Dutch West Indies, Mexico, Germany, France and Great Britain. In 1933, it merged its far eastern interests with Socony-Vacuum and acquired interests in Japan, China, British India, Australia, New Zealand, Oceania and Southeastern Africa. It has part interest in Mesopotamian Oil and has 40 per cent interest with Royal Dutch-Shell, its chief international competitor, in Dutch New Guinea.

Standard Oil of California has considerable holdings in Latin America, the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, Arabia and a 20 per cent interest in Dutch New Guinea operations.—“Standard Corporations Records,” 1937.

Also typical of this international development of “our” giant combinations of capital is the International Telephone and Telegraph Co., as of January 1, 1936. Besides its vast holdings in the United States, the I.T.&T., owns controlling interests in the following:

1. Telephone companies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Roumania and Spain (at least until recent events.)

2. Radio telephone and telegraph companies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Peru and Spain (see above note.)

3. Companies manufacturing electrical equipment and telephone radio and telegraph equipment with factories in 16 countries and sales branches in every country of importance.—Moody’s “Public Utilities.”

Still another typical case is the Ford Motor Company. As of January 1, 1936, the Ford Co. owned manufacturing plants in the United States, Canada, Germany and England. It had assembly plants in Argentina, Canal Zone, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, China, Japan, Egypt, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Roumania, Denmark, Ireland, Finland, Turkey, Portugal, Holland, Sweden and Greece, 23 countries in all. It had sales agencies in every country of importance.

In addition a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Co., has concessions for 2,500,000 acres of rubber-producing land in Para, Brazil.—Poors “Industrials” 1936.

These illustrations show that present day capitalism is no longer patriotic. It embraces all countries of the world. It makes conditions uniform all over the world. It is worse, in its monotonous tendencies, than communism is alleged to be. It makes

possible, and points the way to, international fascism.

Whole World Made One Big Industry.

The world-nature of modern industry was shown at the beginning of the World War. In its September, 1914, letter, the National City Bank of New York, the largest in this country and a Standard Oil institution to boot, describes the havoc then caused in these truly impressive words:

The whole world has tended to become one community similar to that which exists in a single country. A few weeks ago men were buying and selling, lending and borrowing, contracting and planning, with little attention to national boundaries, when suddenly the whole co-operative system was disrupted. Raw materials were cut off from factories accustomed to use them, factories from markets, food supplies from consumers and millions of men were summoned from mutually helpful industries to face each other as mortal foes. An outburst of primitive passion in a corner of Europe wrecked the painfully developed structure of modern civilization.

This still applies, despite attempts at self-sufficiency, or autarchy.

The steps in the growth of modern industry are interesting and many. In the first stage, known as the age of concentration, the trust consolidated many corporations into one, just as in the previous stage these corporations had united many companies. In the second stage, known as the age of integration, many trusts were bound together in single units. In the third stage, known as the period of state control for war purposes, all combinations were more highly solidified, developed and financed under federal patronage and supervision. In the fourth stage we have control capitalism, as Prof. Robert A. Brady calls it, in which state control and inter-association control prevail. This appears in the N.R.A., cartels (price-fixing and production regulation by international associations of giant combina-

tions of capital, according to industry, whether tin, copper, steel, chemical or munitions of war), and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, affiliated with the International Chamber of Commerce.

The Money Trust—Trust of Trusts

But over and above all these bodies, uniting and conserving their interests, both national and international, are the groups of bankers, headed by the Morgans and Rockefellers. Louis Brandeis' book, "Other People's Money and How the Banks Use It," shows how finance is concentrated and the total credit of the country is exploited by the allied groups of private bankers headed by Morgan-Rockefeller. President Wilson, when Governor, declared in 1911, "A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit."

Brandeis quotes the Pujo Committee report of the Money Trust. This committee found that the Morgan-Rockefeller allied groups of private bankers held

"In all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations, having aggregate resources or capitalizations of \$22,245,000,000" or "more than three times the assessed value of property, real and personal, in all New England, nearly three times the assessed value of all the real estate in the city of New York . . . It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen southern states" and "more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, North and South, lying west of the Mississippi."

Brandeis believed that this "understates the extent of concentration affected by the inner group of the Money Trust." (pages 33-35.)

War and Federal Reserve Extend Money Trust.

These words were written in 1914, before the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank and the

beginning of the World War. But as the Federal Reserve Bank is owned by its stock-holders, composed of member banks, the grasp of the Morgan-Rockefeller groups on the finance of the country remains unbroken. In addition, the war has made the U. S. a creditor instead of a debtor nation and Wall Street a rival of Lombard St. in world finance. It has accordingly made "the Money Trust" more powerful than ever before—a world-ramified institution; as the many visits to this country of the heads of big foreign banks amply testify.

Chasing the money changers out of the temple has consequently become a more futile bit of political demagoguery now than ever before. Here follow some figures illustrative of the fact.

In 1930, 250 banks held resources of \$33,400,000,000 out of a total of \$72,000,000,000 bank resources for the entire nation. In other words, 1% of the banks directly controlled more than 46% of the total national resources.

24 New York banks, or less than 1% had combined resources of \$10,800,000,000 or 15% of the total banks resources.—Laidler's "Concentration of American Industry."

In 1929 J. P. Morgan and his 17 partners held directorships in 72 corporations with combined assets of \$20,000,000,000, or almost one-third of the total commercial banking resources.

In 1930, according to figures compiled by Lewis Corey in his "Decline of American Capitalism," 69 banks had resources of \$25,900,000,000 and an additional 71 banks had resources of \$5,100,000,000. In the total of 140 banks, 58% of all banks had 48.9% of total banking resources.

In 1937, one of the major issues in U. S. banking is the chain bank. It wipes out the small town banker and concentrates banking in big city banks. It increases the financial control of the Money Trust. It is being bitterly fought on that account.

In 1926, 8 American banks owned foreign branches in the world's strategic centers, mainly in

Latin America, of which the National City Bank owned 73, including 22 owned by its subsidiary, the International Banking Corporation. (Corey, pp. 428.)

These facts show that from a nation without trusts, the United States has become, in fifty years, a nation with trusts, that are dominated by a trust of trusts, the Money Trust, which operates in unison with the money trusts of other nations. All these nations are, in turn, dominated by this stupendous international trust—the financial oligarchy of the world.

Such has been modern industrial development.

Effects of Modern Industrial Revolution.

The modern industrial revolution from small to large industry and from national isolation to international ramification and financial domination, was accompanied by other revolutions at home and abroad. Ownership changes; farm tenancy and laborers increase. Industrial independence gives way to servility; the individual laborer, as already indicated in the figures on large corporations, to industrial armies. Even opportunities with corporations vanish. Conditions are uncertain; seasonal employment and lack of employment grow. Skill declines. The unskilled worker becomes increasingly numerous. Wealth concentrates; corporation levies on the wealth of the country pile up. Tens of millions are in poverty. President Roosevelt declares that "one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed." Prices soar above and beyond wages. Crises become more serious and threatening. Wars occur; civilization is disrupted. Most terrible of all, fascism blights humanity and social cataclysm seems near.

Population Drift to Cities.

The 1930 Census Abstract shows percentage of population in cities of 100,000 or more in 1900

was 18.8; in 1930, 29.6. In places of 8,000 or more in 1800, 4.0; in 1930, 49.1. Our urban population in 1890 was 35.4; in 1930, 56.2. Our rural population, 1890, 64.6; 1930, 43.8.

Other Census Abstract figures showing the effects of the industrial revolution on farming are quoted in Louis Hacker's article, "The Farmer Is Doomed," N. Y. 1933, as follows:

Farm Ownership, Tenancy and Labor.

In 1930 42% of American farms were mortgaged; in 1910, 33% were mortgaged. Mortgage indebtedness amounted to \$9,500,000,000 in 1931, compared to \$3,300,000,000 in 1910.

In 1930, 42% of American farmers were tenant farmers, as compared with 37% in 1910 and 28.4% in 1890.

From 1910 to 1920 total population increased 15%, but the number of farmers only increased 1.4%; from 1920 to 1930, the total population increased 16.1%, but the number of farms decreased 2.5%.

Since 1920 an average of 398,000 more persons have been leaving farms than have been coming to them. This trend was reversed for the first three years of the depression, 1930-32, but has since been resumed.

From 1890 to 1930 the percentage of farms between 20 and 499 acres has decreased. The small farms of under 20 acres have increased in proportion. The very large farm, over 500 acres has increased from 2.5% to 3.8%.

The percentage of farm value represented by machinery has increased from 3 in 1890 to 5.8 in 1930.

Enter the Farm Corporation.

Large scale farms are growing more numerous.

During July, 1937, Raskob, the General Motors magnate, announced the purchase of a 286,000

acre farm in New Mexico, to be operated by Campbell, big farm operator in Montana and Soviet expert on farm collectivization.

According to a survey of large-scale farming by the Agricultural Service Department of the United States Chamber of Commerce, in 1929 there were 9,000 corporations engaged in farming—mostly cotton, grain, fruit, stock and general farming—having a gross income of \$709,000,000, almost 6% of the total gross income of American agriculture.—Laidler, Harry W., "Concentration in American Industry," N. Y. 1931, pp. 387-388.

Since the above 1929 U. S. Chamber of Commerce figures the depression has come—and not gone—yet. It made great changes. The results have been bad for the farmer. These results have increased the corporation farms. According to Bureau of Agriculture statistics the total value of corporation-owned farms lands in 1930 was \$249,000,000. In 1933, the worst depression year, it had climbed to \$770,000,000. At this rate of increase it must be now (July 1937) over \$2,000,000,000.

According to same authority, in 1933 corporations owned 7.2% of farm land; 1935, 10.1%. Now it must approximate 15%. There is no let up in the foreclosures that make this tendency possible, even at this date.

Another great change is the direct appearance of big banks, insurance and loan companies on the farm scene. They are no longer in the background as mortgagees and money lenders, but step forward as farmowners. As such, they were eligible to take part in A. A. A. payments. According to the New York Times of June 20, 1936, there were 107,579 farms so eligible. Of these, 67,302 were owned by 111 life insurance companies, 21,447 by banks and the remaining 18,830 by 3,491 other owners.

A. A. A. payments also went to 55 banks and insurance companies operating 150 or more farms under A. A. A. contracts in 1934. Equitable Life As-

insurance of the United States was credited with 2,158 corn-hog farms; Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, with 3,112 corn-hog farms, 1,141 cotton farms and 332 tobacco farms. These are often chain farms.

In one of his weekly "Socialist Call" letters, Norman Thomas quotes a comrade to the effect that 35% of the fertile valley lands of California is corporation owned or farmed. Two reasons are given by Thomas, (1) "the terrible epidemic of foreclosures in the depression" (which continues even now amid "recovery"); (2) "the fact that corporations can make better use of machinery and manage the marketing problem better. Thus a corporation which loses on vegetables from Arizona because of a bad market may win later on crops from California or vice-versa."

There's a thumb-nail sketch of the new farming—the industrialized, chain corporation farm that is replacing the small, family farm.

The importance of corporation, chain and big farming is indicated in figures on farm income by Representative Marlin Hall of Wisconsin in the Progressive of April 25, 1936, as follows:

"One half of the total farm income, or four billions of dollars it is said, went to one-sixth of the farmers, approximately 1,116,000. This number includes the large farm owners, cotton and sugar plantation people, the large dairy and truck farms near the big cities . . . It also includes farm corporations . . ."

With nearly 50 per cent of farming tenant farming; with the truck gardens of New Jersey, the onion fields of Ohio, the lettuce patches of California and the citrus groves of Florida, the scene of labor wars, there is no doubt that the conflict of class interests has reached the farm and the new farming has indeed arrived.

Already Secretary of Agriculture Wallace estimates one third of the farmers are farming sub-

marginal lands and are therefore useless in commercial agriculture.

But the worst is yet to come. The Fords and DuPonts—big capital—have entered farming in behalf of auto and chemical industries (mass production industries require mass farming). Next consider "tank" farming, with its tremendous increase in farm output. Also the mechanical cotton picker, invented by former I.W.Ws, the Rust brothers. Both threaten the further displacement of the small farm owner and the farm laborer.

No "back-to-the-land" for them. They should join the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union instead—to take over the farming industry for the good and welfare of all.

Industrial Opportunity Vanishes.

Part-time employment and unemployment increases.

It stands to reason that with part-time employment and unemployment increasing, at the prevalent rate, the opportunities for employment decrease. Anne Page, in her 1936 study on Employment and Unemployment for the NRA Division of Review, states there were in 1935 probably two part-time workers for every three unemployed. From 1922 to 1929 Harry Laidler estimates in his "How America Lives" the average minimum of unemployment ranged from 1,500,000 to 3,500,000. Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, is of the belief that even with return to 1929 production, unemployment will still amount to 6 or 7 millions. According to these comparative figures, industrial opportunities are indeed vanishing as the years roll by.

The above figures are reinforced by the increasing productivity of labor per man-hour, due to better methods and machines. Paul H. Douglas, "Real Wages in the United States," indexes this productivity in 1899 at 100 and in 1935 at 177. This increased man-hour productivity of labor contributes

to the lack of industrial opportunity for all workers. In addition, it results in more seasonal and part-time work; also in complete unemployment.

The latter varied during the depression. For the first six months of 1933, as per Anne Page, the President's Committee estimates 14,457,000, the Cleveland Trust Company, 15,429,000 and the American Federation of Labor, 14,935,000. The Cleveland Trust Company figure represented at least 44 per cent of all of the total number of workers. About 9 in every 20 workers were totally unemployed.

"The worst is yet to come." Depression accentuates competition, necessitating the reduction of costs. Labor displacing machinery is a means to this end. Again, we are warned not to shout that we are safe out of the 1929 depression woods, as another depression is looming up; due in 1, 2 or 3 years from now, according to the different viewpoints of the prognosticators, who are numerous.

Under these conditions of wide-spread job insecurity, why talk of industrial opportunities at all? Their disappearance is, apparently, more in order of discussion.

Rise of the Unskilled Worker.

Most employment tends to become unskilled. This is due to machinery and the minute splitting up of tasks which it permits, especially in the mass production industries. Efficiency experts help along the process. Professor Hoxie, in one of his books, tells of a plant expert who offered to teach him a certain part of a process in thirty minutes.

This unskill admits of the employment of farmers, women and children, in the auto plants, machine shops and corporation offices. Because of it, men flit from industry to industry; from city to city. It makes the worker inter-industrial and a "run-about," i. e. migratory worker.

Malnutrition, Physical Decline and Other Ills Abound.

Consider some of the other effects of capitalism on modern social life. A report of the Division of Handicapped Children of the New York Board of Education, made on July 30, 1935 and published in New York World Telegram July 30, 1935 states there were 135,000 pupils in New York City's elementary schools who were so weak from malnutrition that they could not profit by attendance in regular classes. This number was 18.1% of all the children enrolled in New York's public elementary schools.

There is also considerable adult malnutrition extant, due to unemployment, old-age discrimination and other causes. But there are no definite figures available, like those given above.

Child Labor—"Child Labor Facts," in commenting on the extent of child labor declares, "The latest figures giving a complete nationwide count of child laborers are those of the 1930 Census. Revealing the extent of child labor before the NRA, they showed more than two million children between the ages of 10 and 17, inclusive, or one out of every nine gainfully occupied.

"At the same time," "Child Labor Facts" continues, "the Census figure was an understatement of the amount of child labor. It did not include children under 10 years, a considerable number of whom are engaged in street trades and industrial home work. It omitted the many thousands of children, both under and over 10 years, engaged in beet cultivation and other forms of industrialized agriculture whose work does not begin until after April 1, the date on which the Census was taken. In Colorado, for instance, where Census figures showed only 2,051 children under 16 years engaged in agricultural work, one of the large beet sugar companies estimated in 1930 that 6,000 children between the

ages of 6 and 16 were employed in sugar beets in the section where it operated."

Mental Diseases.—In 1934 there were 400,000 patients in hospitals for mental diseases. These patients are increasing at the rate of 15,000 a year. They compose one half of the total number of patients. One person in 22 will spend a portion of his life in an institution for mental disease. The rate of mental diseases is rising.—Social Work Yearbook, Russell Sage Foundation, 1935.

Suicide Rate in U. S.—There are over 22,000 suicides in the United States every year. 13 out of every 1,000 persons born will committ suicide. In their "To Be or Not To Be" Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel, state that self-inflicted deaths per 100,000 population have been increasing: 1900, 10; 1930, 17; 1931, 18.3.

Productivity and Prices Soar Above Wages.

Paul H. Douglas, "Real Wages In The United States," shows that while man-hour productivity increases from 100 in 1899 to 177 in 1925, wages had only increased from 100 in 1889 to 132 in 1925. Something approximate happens with the cost of living.

Cost of Living.—There are two principal indexes of the cost of living for wage-earning families, one by Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, the other more refined, by the pro-capitalist Industrial Conference Board. The trends shown by each check rather closely against one another. The index of the National Conference Board stood in August, 1936, at 85, as compared with 61.3 in July, 1914. Over this span of 22 years the cost of living has risen 39 per cent. In other words, a dollar in August, 1936, could buy 28 per cent less in goods needed by a working-class family than it could in July, 1914.

Prices since 1936 tend to continue soaring above

wages. As one humorist puts it, "Prices threaten to accompany the scientists on their stratospheric flights," while wages, we may add, just reach the top of the Empire State building. This will be especially the case when acute inflation sets in.

The American Federation of Labor declares that price increases cancel wage increases.

Wealth Concentrates in Ever Fewer Hands.

Consider the income of the United States.

In 1929 it was 78,632 millions of dollars. In 1933 it had sunk, such is capitalist exploitation culminating in the depression, to 44,940 millions. Thanks to New Deal "priming the pump," i. e., federal subsidizing of corporations mainly, it rose in 1936 to a Commerce Department estimate, made in October, 1937, to a total of \$63,800,000,000. This leaves U. S. income with 15,000 millions still to go before reaching the 1929 total. Such is "recovery" under President Franklin D. Roosevelt and capitalism generally.

Where do all these billions of income go?

Labor's Share in Manufacture.—The Council for Industrial Progress, appointed by President Roosevelt, in its "Analysis of Production, Wages, and Employment in Manufacturing Industries, 1914—1935," estimates, from preliminary returns of the 1935 Census of Manufacturers, that wages formed 36.4 per cent of the total value added by manufactures. Here are the percentages since 1914: 1914, 41.9; 1919, 42.2; 1929, 36.4; 1933, 36.2; 1935, 36.4. As will be seen from these conservative figures, wages in manufacture declined more than five per cent over the 20 year period.

At the same time, it must be remembered, as pointed out by the same authority, that the proportion of wage-earners to profits-recipients has increased over the same period.

Thus in manufactures, labor's share in the na-

tional income tends to decrease both relatively and positively.

Consider also in this connection, the following illuminating data:

Inequality of Distribution.—In the year of depression, 1934, when at least 70 per cent of American families were not receiving a large enough income to cover a budget of minimum health and decency, there were 32 persons who had net incomes of \$1,000,000 or more. These 32 received 87 per cent of their income from dividends and another 3 per cent from sale of real estate and securities.

In 1933, near the lowest point of depression, there were 35 persons who made over \$1,000,000 each just from dividends, and 18 persons who made over \$1,000,000 each just from the sale of securities and real estate. These 18 speculators made an average of \$2,021,778 each.

In order to make \$2,021,778 on the average weekly wage the manufacturing wage-earner received in 1933 (something less than \$18), a person would have to be employed steadily from 223 B. C. to the present day. Or, to put it in another way, each one of these 18 had an income from market speculations equal to the wages of 2,160 wage-earners in manufacturing.—“Statistics of Income,” U. S. Bureau of Internal Revenue, 1934-1935.

Concentration of Income.—Harry W. Laidler, in a WNYC radio address, declares that “one eighth of our population receive one half of the nation’s income.” Levin, Moulton and Warburton, in “America’s Capacity to Consume,” state that in 1929 13 per cent of American families received 12.69 per cent of the total income of American families. Within this circle, a small group of 4,000 families or .015 per cent of all American families, received 6.6 per cent of the total income, a sum of \$5,089,000,000. “The economists of the Brookings Institution,” writes Dr. Chas. Stelze, “stated that in a recent year the income of the 36,000 families at the

top of the income pyramid, possessing incomes in excess of \$75,000 per year, totalled almost as much as the 11,653,000 families with incomes of less than \$1,500."

Andre Maurois, French historian and student of American social and economic life, writes in *The New York Times Magazine*, May 1937, on "What Next In Our Economic Drama?" In considering this question, he finds that income is so distributed in the U. S. that "42 per cent, of the citizens, had the same total income as one-tenth of one per cent made up of the richest." No matter what this one-tenth of one per cent did with their money, "they all took a comparatively small part in the actual consumption of essential products . . . Thus the one-tenth of one per cent did not nearly fulfill that part in the country's life which 42 per cent could have fulfilled," if given a more proportionate share of the country's income. A very revealing comment as to the cause of our economic tragedies.

Next consider wages, dividends and interest during the depression.

The NRA Research and Planning Division, headed by Leon Henderson, in report entitled "Dividends, Interests, and Profits, 1923-35," shows dividends and interest payments bore up during the depression better than did wages. Mr. Henderson estimates, that labor income in 1934 was only 71.3 per cent of what it was in 1925, a fairly-chosen pre-depression year. But dividends and interest payments combined were in 1934 fully 83.9 per cent of what they had been in 1925.

Dividends; Annual Totals.—Taking three years from 1928 to 1933 as a typical period, including three years of relatively high dividend payments, we find from the same Bureau of Internal Revenue source, page 27, that the average amount paid out annually in the form of corporation dividends totalled \$6,133,000,000. Aggregate Dividend Payments (in millions), 1928, \$7,074; 1929, \$8,356;

1930, \$8,202; 1931, \$6,151; 1932, \$3,886; 1933, \$3,127.

Taxable interest income in 1933 amounted to over \$993 million.

National income, 1929-1932, a report by the Acting Secretary of Commerce, from 1929 to 1932, estimates that total property income declined 30.6 per cent; income of wage-earners declined 60.2 per cent.

As usual under capitalism, the wage-earner always gets the worst of conditions.

Where Wealth Concentrates and Men Decay—

In 1918, Basil Manly, an authority on the subject of wealth concentration, wrote:

"In 1910 two per cent of the people of the United States owned 60 per cent of the wealth. Today it is certain this two per cent owns and controls at least 70 per cent of the nation's wealth and resources."

It is likely that when this depression is over, this two per cent will own and control 90 per cent of the country's wealth and resources. The tendencies towards wealth concentration are accelerated, not diminished, by the "liquidation" i. e., confiscation, peculiar to depression. The billionaires have arrived, including Rockefeller, Ford and Du Pont. As already shown, where wealth concentrates, men decay.

Average Weekly Wages.

Average wages on the whole, aren't anything great to write home about. Especially is this so when a conservative Brookings Institute estimate makes a \$2,500 average yearly wage possible. The average earnings per year of workers employed in manufacturing was in 1929, \$1,315; 1931, \$1,110; 1933, \$869.

Real wages in 1933 were 86 per cent of what they were in 1929. This did not include reduction of working class income due to unemployment.

Average weekly wages in specified industries,

October 1936, were: All manufacturing, \$23.40; automobile, \$30.40; blast furnaces and rolling mills, \$28.05; saw mills, \$20.30; slaughtering and meatpacking, \$24.25; cotton goods manufacturing, \$14.10; petroleum refining, \$29.70. Yearly Earning, "Monthly Review," August, 1935. Weekly Earnings—ibid., December, 1936.

The latest Security Act report gives 32,000,000 workers as registered under the act. This is a measure intended to stave off pauperization, while eventually promoting it. It reflects most accurately the change in U. S. economic conditions. On top of the social scale, the billionaires; on the bottom, tens of millions of insecure wage workers, headed towards a pauper's lot.

Industrial Disputes.—In 1935 there were 2,014 strikes involving 1,117,213 workers. These workers were idle a total of 15,456,337 man-hours, as per the "Monthly Labor Review," U. S. Department of Labor Statistics, November 1936, p. 1206.

Of course, this takes no account of the 1936-37 strikes in steel, auto, rubber, marine and other basic industries, due primarily to the Wagner Labor Relations Act. These strikes have, apparently, called out more strikers and caused more lost man-hours, than all of the many previous years' strikes and lost man-hours combined. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, meant to abolish labor wars, has stimulated more of them than any previous cause or act. Despite such laws, the class war rages as never before.

Enter Wars for Markets, Raw Material Supplies and Investment Spheres.

Added to these extremes of wealth concentration and poverty are wars, class and national wars.

In his St. Louis September 6th speech, President Woodrow Wilson, assured his hearers that "The seed of war is industrial and commercial rivalry . . . This war (referring to the World War) is an indus-

trial and commercial war." Nowadays, wars are also waged to secure sources of raw materials.

World War Costs

Stuart Chase, in the "Tragedy of Waste," 1925, page 59, gives these stupendous figures as the costs of the World War:

"9,998,771 known dead; 5,983,600 prisoners and missing, at least half of whom were probably killed, giving 12,990,000 as the probable total of the dead.

"20,000,000 were wounded of whom 6,295,512 were severely wounded, 10,550,000 suffered a permanent reduction in ability and 170,000 were totally disabled for life.

"14,713,000 persons died from such indirect effects of the war as influenza epidemic, the Austrian, Serbian, Roumanian and Russian famines, German blockades, and civilian casualties in naval disasters.

"186,000,000,000 was the cost of war to all countries; and \$28,832,000,000 cost of war to the United States.

"These estimates do not include property destroyed, war pensions and other indirect or delayed costs."

These are not all of the World War costs, especially the indirect ones. Of the latter, fascism is the most costly product of the World War. Fascism, as Ethiopia and Spain too well demonstrate, is determined to expand, to secure raw material supplies, and to inaugurate the control of civilization by big monopoly capitalism, this even at the cost of annihilation of entire ethnic groups, if necessary. In Spain, fascism is killing off hundreds of thousands in order to steal the country's ore lands, in order to supply raw material for the industrialists and financiers backing Hitler and Mussolini. Such is the approved international policy of modern capitalism: not cooperation, but ruthless coercion in the pursuit of raw supplies and to secure export markets for capital and goods, all for the benefit of our economic

overlords, or economic royalists, as some prefer to call them.

The U. S. is not exempt from this imperialist procedure. Its Cuban, Porto Rican and Philippine protectorates and colonial records contain much that is condemnatory. Its South American diplomacy is not free of the charge of supporting oppressive American financial interests and making secure various dictatorships. Its Pacific coast program presages war with Japan for Chinese markets. Its billions of expenditures for army and navy increases belie its pacifist-isolationist pretenses.

Its neutrality, so-called, in the Spanish situation is a fraud and a humbug, decidedly favorable to Franco and his allies, Hitler and Mussolini. Its support of British tory policy is a further indictment that, as a so-called independent democratic nation, the United States is not what it would like to appear to be. Traditional America still exists, but in tradition only. Even the U. S. cannot escape the economic evils and changes inherent in capitalism, whether in Europe or elsewhere. And those evils, as manifested in fascism and war, grow more cataclysmic, due to science and invention, until now they threaten not only nations, but the very race itself.

The Rise of Anti-Capitalism

The conditions produced by modern industry give rise to various endeavors aiming at their reform and abolition, either in part or altogether. The farmers, crushed by the railroads, combinations and financiers, organize granger, anti-monopoly, anti-trust, greenback, free silver, populists', government ownership and non-partisan movements and leagues. The middle class, crushed in competition with the trusts, and noting their excesses tendencies, espouse the single-tax, anti-trust, anti-war, free silver, government control and ownership causes. While the workers, ever demanding more control over industry and desiring to emancipate themselves from capitalism and its wars by abolition of

the system, form labor unions, labor parties, international workmen's associations and industrial unions, aiming to embrace all the industrial workers of the world to take over the world's industries for the world's workers in the impending collapse of capitalist society.

Growth of all kinds must come from within. Modern growth must come from within modern industry—the greatest institution in modern society—from the workers employed therein. International financial oligarchy must be replaced by international labor solidarity, through the international industrial organization, which gives the former its foundation and strength.

This growth as all signs show, is coming the world over. The workers of the world are looking to industry—to themselves—for the redeemers of the world. It is this growth that the I.W.W. anticipated when it organized in 1905. It is this growth that makes the I.W.W. indestructible as an organization, a spirit and idea today.

II.

THE FORE-RUNNERS OF THE I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World did not spring, like the mythological gods of old, out of nothing. The present capitalist system is its father and the labor movement of the past generations its mother. The I.W.W. has a long line of forebears and is proud of its ancestry, both native and foreign, on the maternal side.

Just about one hundred and twenty years ago—or in 1820—the United States began to experience an industrial revolution. Then the transformation from household industry to the factory system set in. Transportation was revolutionized by the introduction of the steamboat and the development of canals and turnpikes, and manufactures began to surpass the old industries of shipping and foreign commerce. In these days, along with towns and cities, a laboring class began to develop. In New England, the farmers left the land and moved to the textile centers; the daughters worked in the mills. The old conditions began to break down; new ones to take their place. New issues, new class alignments and new movements were thus created.

From 1820 to 1850, the industrial revolution developed. The power loom, the hot air blast in the iron smelting industry, the mower, the reaper, the sewing machine, the friction match, the steam printing press, the use of the screw propeller on steamboats and the steam hammer were introduced. In 1826, the development of the railroad system began. Locomotive construction began about 1830. The first telegraph line was constructed in 1844. The change was a rapid one—a momentous one.

Along with the introduction of these inventions, came larger cities, more factories, stock companies and a greater separation between the capitalist class and the working class. It was during this period that the modern labor movement first appeared in

this country. It was then that the workers from the farm and distant lands were brought together in ever increasing numbers in factories and lived together in districts in the cities occupied by themselves exclusively. Under these conditions the workers became conscious of their existence as a separate class in society and began to organize and to exert themselves as such, against their employers and the new system generally. It was then that the first of the I.W.W.'s ancestors were born in this country.

I. W. W. Policy One of Construction.

The I.W.W. believes in three vital things. First, the conflict of interests between capital and labor, that is, the class struggle. Second, the necessity for a labor organization built in conformity with industrial concentration. Third, the abolition of the wages or capitalist system by means of such an organization, under the pressure attending the probable breakdown of capitalism. The I.W.W. calls this "building the new society within the shell of the old."

Class Struggle an American Doctrine.

Not Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, great American statesmen both of them, first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil. Sixty years before the great socialists gave "The Communist Manifesto" to the world, Hamilton and Madison were arguing as to the proper basis of government before the Philadelphia convention to establish a constitution for the United States. Said Hamilton, in support of life office in and control of government by the strong and powerful:

"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are rich and the well-born; the other are the mass of the people."

Madison was even more analytical and specific in his appeal for a factional government, represent-

ative of all the different interests, as a medium wherewith to balance the extremes of autocracy and democracy. Said he:

"Those who hold, and those without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide civilized nations of necessity into different classes actuated by different sentiments and views."

Developing "The Lesser Interests"

The industrial development that followed close on the heels of the Philadelphia Convention, with startling rapidity, divided society into the class of "the few," called the capitalist class, and the class of "the many," called the working class. It has tended, furthermore, to consolidate the landed, manufacturing, mercantile and moneyed classes into a powerful employing capitalist and financial class. At the same time, it has developed "the lesser interests"—meaning thereby the interests of the workers, in the shops and factories—until they are represented by great labor organizations, striving for social control in opposition to the capitalist class.

In the early labor organizations, the class struggle was not so apparent and marked as at the present time. For instance, the Printers' Society of New York, founded in 1808, admitted both employer and employee to membership. The New York Typographical Society of 1831, however, had a constitutional clause under which membership was forfeited by journeymen becoming employers. Finally, the breach became a wide-open one, when, in an "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," the first national convention of typographical societies in the country, states bluntly: "There exists a perpetual antagonism between labor and capital."

The change from hand power to steam power printing press, and from small individual to large

stock company ownership of establishments, was, no doubt, the cause of this transformation of "views and sentiments," to quote the language of Madison.

The Rise of Trade Unionism.

It was also during these early days that labor developed its organization from short-lived strike movements to more permanent forms of unionism. The first labor organization in this country, so far as can be ascertained from records, was the New York Typographical Society, organized in 1795. It lived two and one-half years.

Prof. John Commons (in his *Labor Organizations and Labor Politics, 1827-1837*), declares: "Modern trades unionism as an industrial and political force began with the coming together of previously existing societies from the several trades to form a central body on the representative principle."

Logically, the next phase was that of national trade unions and trades associations. This further development was made necessary by the extensive growth of cities, industries and capitalist interests and aggressions. Thus were the early attempts to organize according to the requirements of industrial development inspired by that development itself.

The Abolition of the Wages System.

It was stated above, that Hamilton and Madison first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil sixty years in advance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In this connection, it may be of interest to know that the demand for "the abolition of the wages system" is also originally American.

The facts in support of these assertions are the following: In New York City in 1830, two Englishmen, brothers, George and Frederick Evans, published a paper called "Young America." At its head twelve demands were printed. Demand 10 reads:

"10. Abolition of the chattel slavery, and wage slavery."

Bear in mind, this was in 1830! And in New York City, too!

The abolition of the wage system was also discussed by other writers. One of them was Orestes Brownson, a famous writer and friend of the distinguished men of his time. He, possibly, was the first "back-to-the-land" advocate. In his book, published in 1857, and called "The Convert" he argues:

"The Mother Evil of Modern Society."

"Starting from the democratic theory of man and society, I contend that the great mother evil of modern society was the separation of capital and labor; or the fact that one class of the community owns the funds, and another distinct class is compelled to perform the labor of production. The consequence of this system is, that the owners of capital enrich themselves at the expense of the owners of labor. The system of money wages, the modern system, is more profitable to the owner of capital than the slave system is to slavemasters, and hardly less oppressive to the laborer. The wages, as a general rule, are never sufficient to enable the laborer to place himself on an equal footing with the capitalist. Capital will always command the lion's share of the proceeds. This is seen in the fact that while they who command capital grow rich, the laborer by his simple means at best only obtains a bare subsistence. The whole class of simple laborers are poor, and in general unable to procure by their wages more than the bare necessities of life. The capitalist employs labor that he may grow rich and richer; the laborer sells his labor that he may not die of hunger, he, his wife and little ones, and as the urgency of guarding against hunger is always stronger than that of growing rich or richer, the capitalist holds the laborer at his mercy, and has over him, whether called a slave or a free man, the power of life and death.

Poor men may indeed become rich but not by the

simple wages of unskilled labor. They never do become rich except by availing themselves, in some way, of the labor of others."

The "Back To The Land" Solution.

Brownson continues:

"To remedy these evils, I propose to abolish the distinction between capitalists and laborers by having every man an owner of the funds as well as to labor on a capital of his own, and to receive according to his works. Undoubtedly, my plan would have broken up the whole modern commercial system, prostrated all the great industries and thrown the mass of the people back on the land to get their living by agriculture and mechanical pursuits."

The Communist "Laying Hold Of" Property Solution.

A different type of writer was Thomas Skidmore. Skidmore was a communist and as such a factor in the New York labor movement of the 20's and 30's. He wrote a book entitled, "The Rights of Man to Property." In this book he argued that men should be compelled to live on their own labor and not on the labor of others. The inequalities of private property are born of the fact that some men live on the labor of others, a fact which these inequalities tend to perpetuate in turn. Applying his doctrine to the property conditions created by the progress of capitalism, Skidmore declared:

"The steam engine is not injurious to the poor, when they can have the benefit of it; and this, on supposition, being always the case, it could be hailed as a blessing. If, then, it is seen that the steam engine, for example, is likely greatly to impoverish, or destroy the poor, what have they to do but to lay hold of it, and make it their own? Let them appropriate also, in the same way, the cotton factories, the woolen factories, the iron foundries, the houses, churches, ships, goods, steamboats, fields of agriculture, etc., etc., in the manner as proposed in this work, and as is their right, and they

will never have occasion any more to consider that as an evil which never deserved that character; which, on the contrary, is all that is good among men, and of which we cannot, under these new circumstances, have too much."

The Trade Union Co-operation System.

Thus would these two extremes meet, in a practical way, the demand for the abolition of the wages system, the one by going backward, the other forward. The labor unions hinted at abolition through their own organizations, generally in the form of co-operation. The "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," already quoted, says, for instance:

"Combination merely to fix and sustain a scale of prices is of minor importance, compared to that combination which looks to the ultimate redemption of labor . . . When labor determines no longer to sell itself to speculators, but to become its own employer; to own and enjoy itself and the fruits thereof, the necessity for scales of prices will have passed away, and labor will forever be rescued from the control of capital . . ."

In all of the foregoing sections, we get a general idea of the beginnings of the class struggle, the early development of unions, and the demand for the abolition of the wages system, both in theory and in fact.

Beginnings of Industrial Union Tendencies.

The decades that followed those of 1820-1850 were decades that embraced the civil war, in which workmen ardently fought in behalf of the Union, many of them conscious of the fact that the end of chattel slavery made the abolition of wages slavery easier. Following the civil war, a great corporation and trust development arose. This was the period of great panics, like that of 1873, and the great labor outbreaks, like that of the railroad strikes of 1877. Class-consciousness among the workers grew.

Says George E. McNeil, an authority on the labor movement, "The year 1866 witnessed a great revival of the labor movement. Isolated unions and associations came more and more to see the necessity of amalgamation. An active propaganda was aroused and new organizations were continually multiplying. From thirty to forty national and international trades unions and amalgamated societies were in existence, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men. The people of today (1887) have little conception of the extent of the labor movement of twenty years ago."

A. F. of L. Appears to Combat New Tendencies.

This new impetus to labor organization gave rise to a desire for ever closer unity, accelerated by a recognition of the fact that craft unions were not strong enough when standing alone. Industrial congresses were thus held, beginning in 1874. Many craft organizations were represented. Out of such tendencies arose the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, in 1881. It was inspired by the International Typographical Union, which was among the first of the trade unions to recognize the need of mutual assistance and closer relations. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was also rendered necessary by the continued growth and success of the Knights of Labor. This was an organization that attempted to organize all the trades in one body. It threatened the existence of the separate trade and labor unions, and thus hastened the formation of the trade and labor union federation, now known as "The American Federation of Labor."

The International Labor Union.

The new tendency expressed by the Knights of Labor had been growing for years. The International Labor Union of America, formed in 1877, was an endeavor to combine all callings under one central

head. It never had a large membership, but branches were organized in seventeen states. Its declaration of principles contains many I.W.W. germs.

The Knights of St. Crispin.

Another organization worthy of note, as contribution to the upbuilding of Knights of Labor tendencies, was the Knights of St. Crispin. This was a body of boot and shoe workers of all trades that recognized that in the age of collective capital there must be a larger co-operation among the wage workers than the craft union is able to give. Their declaration states that, "The objects of this organization are to protect its members from injurious competition, and secure through unity among all workers on boots or shoes in every section of the country." The Knights of St. Crispin were what is known today as "a single industry" industrial union, being confined to one industry and organized on the principles of industrial instead of craft unionism.

The Knights of St. Crispin were a political power. They had a monthly journal, started co-operative stores, fought many successful strikes, became international in scope, and, it is estimated, had four hundred lodges and forty thousand members at one time and were considered one of the foremost organizations in the world. Their downfall is attributed to "too much politics" and to a failure to appreciate evolution outside of their own organization, especially the admission of apprentices and others into the boot and shoe industry. The Knights of St. Crispin existed from 1864 to 1874, and were largely absorbed by the Knights of Labor. This was also the fate of the International Labor Union before it.

The Knights of Labor.

The Knights of Labor were organized in Philadelphia, in 1869. Some garment workers, headed by Uriah S. Stephens, were the founders. The Knights of Labor recognized the submission of

labor to capital, and attributed it to disunity of labor and the lack of harmonious action which this disunity promoted. It sought to unite every branch of skilled and unskilled labor, by means of local assemblies, district assemblies and general assemblies, all presided over by a master workman. Its underlying principle was centralization; what it lacked was organization according to industry. It was more of a mass organization than an organization along well defined industrial lines.

Reasons K. of L. Failed—A. F. of L. Scabbery.

The Knights of Labor also advocated co-operation "as a means of superceding the wages system," and favored public ownership of telephones, telegraphs and railroads to the same ends. It was the climax of after-civil war period of efforts toward a more highly developed form of organization than any in existence previous to its advent. It is said to have numbered over a million members. Its death may be attributed to abnormal growth, which was greater than could be even chartered, much less assimilated; to politics, to its lack of definite forms of organization, to centralization, and its corrupt misuses and abuses; but, moreover, to the American Federation of Labor, which, in alliance with the capitalists, who feared the socialistic working class tendencies of the Knights of Labor, scabbed the Knights of Labor out of existence. The brewing, cigar-making, railroading, coal-mining and other industries are full of the history of A. F. of L. scabbery against the Knights of Labor. This scabbery, logically, developed in the A. F. of L. until, in alliance with the National Civic Federation, the A. F. of L. was called by the Wall Street Journal, "the greatest bulwark in this country against socialism."

Building the New Society Within the Shell of the Old.

Labor is trying to break through the bounds of capitalism into a free society, just as capitalism, at

its earliest inception, tried to break through the bounds of the guild system in its efforts at self-realization. And labor is going to succeed just as capitalism succeeded. The forces behind social development will compel such success. This is evident on all sides. It is mostly evident in the events of the early labor movement and their steady upward development.

Early labor movements demanded the abolition of the wages system. They hinted at the end of this system through their own agencies, mainly through co-operation. In the 80's of the last century we find the labor organizations favoring government ownership and political action to that end. And, more important still, we find them engaging in a campaign that will prepare them to take over the operation and control of the means of production and distribution. This tendency was what distinguished the radical from the conservative unions; this, together with the desire for greater working class unity and organization.

The Kindergarten Idea.

In 1886, the Metal Workers of America, a federated body, in its declaration of principles argues:

"The entire abolition of the present system of society can alone emancipate the workers, being replaced by a new system based upon co-operative organization of production and in a free society. Our organization should be a school to educate its members, for the new conditions of society when the workers will regulate their own affairs."

We find the same idea of the union as the kindergarten of the new society expressed in the writings of the German State Socialists, notably Dr. Johann Jacoby. In his "Object of the Labor Movement," a speech delivered in 1870, the doctor spoke highly of the labor unions. Said he:

"The true significance of these associations, their value, which cannot be overestimated, lies in this, that wholly apart from the special object at which they aim,

they are a school for self-culture for their members; that they confer upon them skill in independent management of their own affairs and in harmonious action with others for common ends; that, by education, promotion of a comprehension of business and fraternal, public spirit, they prepare the worker for a gradual transition from the prevailing Wage System to the co-operative method of production of the future."

The Labor Unions as the Basis of New Society.

Another idea, quite distinct from the above, also developed. This idea regards the labor unions as the organs by which the new society will be ushered in.

The first exponent of this idea was James Elishma Smith, a Glasgow clergyman, lieutenant of Robert Owen, organizer of the General National Consolidated Trades Union in England, 1834. On March 30th of that year, we learn from R. W. Postgate's "Out of the Past," Smith delivered a lecture "On The Prospects of Society." During it he said:

"The immediate consequence of any attempt to crush the efforts of the popular mind, at this present juncture, will be a resolute determination on the part of the people to legislate for themselves. This will be the result. We shall have a real House of Commons. The only House of Commons is a House of Trades, and that is just beginning to be formed. **We shall have a new set of boroughs when the unions are organized.** (Bold face mine—J. E.) Every trade shall have a borough, and every trade shall have a council of representatives to conduct its affairs. Our present commoners know nothing of the interest of the people, and care not for them. They are all landholders. How can an employer represent a workman? There are 133,000 shoemakers in the country, yet not one representative have they in the House of Commons. According to the proportion they bear to the population they ought to have twenty-five representatives. The same is with the

carpenters and other trades in proportion. Such a House of Commons, however, is growing. The elements are gathering. The character of the Reformed Parliament is now blasted . . . It will be substituted by the House of Trades . . .”—Quoted in Max Beer's "History of British Socialism," page 399.

This idea of Smith's was more fully developed in subsequent years. William E. Trautman, Editor of the "Brewers' Journal" writing on "The United Brewery Workers and Industrial Organization" gave Smith's idea the best modern formulation, in the September, 1903, Labor Day issue of the American Labor Union Journal, when he declared:

"Socialists abroad, as well as here, perceive that the instruments for the management of the Socialist republic, now in process of formation, must be created, and they build the labor organization according to this need. Who can judge how to regulate the required production of utilities in the various lines of industry in conformity with the necessities of the entire society better than those who are directly employed in a given industry?

Industrial organizations are the forerunners of the society founded on Socialist foundations, and within them are the elements preparing for a more scientific management of the implements of production and distribution."

Thus does labor try to break through capitalism, by means of clearer theoretical understanding and improved industrial organization. Thus does it try to "build the new society in the shell of the old."

"The Persistent Prophetic I. W. W."

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in Chicago, Ill., in 1905, has its forerunners in the development of modern industry and labor organization, combined with the workers' desire for emancipation from wage slavery. Following the Knights of Labor, there came Debs' American Railway Union, The Western Federation of Miners, the Amer-

ican Labor Union, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, to contribute to its evolution on the industrial side, while the socialist parties gave much material toward its intellectual phase.

The I.W.W. differs from the Knights of Labor in its more definite industrial forms and principles and from the American Labor Union, which was merely an extension and buttress of the Western Federation of Miners, in its greater scope and more independent existence. The I.W.W. differs from the American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees in that they were "single industry" industrial unions, while the I.W.W. is a single union of all the industries, combining all the industries and their industrial unions in One Big Union.

The fact that the Industrial Workers of the World has had many forerunners should not discourage any one from joining it, or furthering its cause. What is more important is the constant reappearance of the industrial type of unionism. Most recently it has come in the form of the C.I.O. Like the I.W.W., the C.I.O. also traces its origin back to a miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America. Like the American Labor Union, the C.I.O. was primarily a buttress for the U.M.W.A. in the steel, oil and other industries that are encroaching on and destroying the coal industry and the coal miners' union. C.I.O. growth has been greatly aided by New Deal legislation and steel trust collective bargaining.

(More about the C.I.O. elsewhere in this booklet.)

This constant recurrence of the industrial type of unionism, proves it must be necessary. Labor, evidently, cannot get along without it, or else why does labor organize such a union, despite previous failures? Industrial development compels it. Moreover, developments at home and abroad demonstrate that society needs such a constructive type of industrial unionism as that advocated by the I.W.W., as a means to escape reaction and disaster. This was

exemplified in the early stages of the Russian revolution and the Spanish rebellion respectively. These events, happening as they did many years after the launching of the I.W.W., proved the I.W.W. prophetic, a prophecy that will grow with the revolutionary changes now arising out of the capitalist decay and decline.

At home, too, the I.W.W. has proven prophetic. Other unions have glimpsed the soundness of its basic idea. The I.W.W. was organized in 1905. In 1919, Glenn Plumb proposed his plan providing for the part management of the railroads by the conservative, organized railroad brotherhoods. Addressing the 1937 Indianapolis Social Workers' convention, President Charles Harrison, Brotherhood Railroad Clerks, told the delegates that, "unless at an early date we undertake rational control of industry, with labor playing a prominent part in that control, the disruption of employment opportunities in recent years may assume a momentum that will bring disaster to industry and mass poverty to our population."

This is the Plumb plan all over again. But on a more comprehensive basis, with more pronounced labor control, and the society-saving feature of unionism emphasized by conservative labor leaders as never before.

The I.W.W. theory is surely growing into a practical reality.

How can we conclude this chapter better than by quoting a speech delivered in Philadelphia, during the 80's of the last century, by that good friend of labor the eminent journalist, John Swinton. Swinton, addressing a body, whom he refers to as one of "these great conferences of world-builders in the chief cities of the country," said:

The Labor Trilogy.

"I close by presenting three plain ideas:

Firstly, I warn you that in these times the workers

are preparing to take a hand in the government of the world—to take hold of the administration of its resources, its business and its politics. The kings, lords, generalissimos, schemers and financiers, who have seized our earth are incompetent to manage its affairs. They have had their age after age, generation after generation, and the shipwreck of mankind is the result. But now the day of judgment for them is at hand. Man takes the field to harvest his rights. The old dispensation passeth; a new era glimmers along the sky.

Secondly, I warn you of the growth of unity of action among the world's workers, here and in all countries. From state to state, from land to land, they are signalling to each other; through all forms of government they are learning to co-operate; amid all varieties of speech they find the universal language. This is a new thing and a great thing, from which will grow other great and new things.

Thirdly and lastly, I warn you of the nature of the demands of the world's workers. They are essentially the same throughout this country, and in all other countries. There is unity of program as well as of action. They must have full scope for their proper power in the community; they must have their allotment of the resources and the heritage of the earth. These terms are natural, reasonable and righteous, and the fact that they are everywhere made and everywhere increasing in strength is assurance that, whatever they may have to encounter, they ('these terms') will yet be secured."

III.

THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

The history of the I.W.W. began in 1905. The concluding volume still remains to be written.

The I.W.W. is a prophecy—a preparation—partly fulfilled by the Russian revolution and Spanish rebellion and tending further, in the Plumb plan and the ideas of Thorstein Veblen, to be fulfilled in this country. As Arturo Giovannitti well says: "The I.W.W. is the only socialism of all the socialisms that has succeeded. It alone has come out of the war (and subsequent revolutions—J. E.) vindicated and stronger than ever before."

The reason for the impregnable position of the I.W.W. is to be found in the fact that the I.W.W. is born of real capitalism and is its inevitable consequence. It is the only form of labor organization that conforms to the organization of capitalism and that will carry society on to higher planes when capitalism either collapses or is sloughed off in the process of further growth and development.

The Six Founders of the I. W. W.

In the fall of 1904 six working men dissatisfied with the A. F. of L. met and decided that a better form of unionism was necessary and should be organized. They were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain; Clarence Smith, General Secretary-Treasurer, American Labor Union; Thomas J. Haggerty, editor "Voice of Labor," organ of the A.L.U.; George Estes, president United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; W. L. Hall, General Secretary-Treasurer U.B.R.E.; and William Trautman, editor "Brauer Zeitung," United Brewery Workers' organ.

These six men called a conference that came together in Chicago, Illinois, on January 2, 1905, and drew up the Industrial Union Manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, on June 27,

1905. It was at this convention that the Industrial Workers of the World, better known by its initial letters, "The I. W. W." was launched.

The conference was composed of forty men, active in the radical and socialist movements of the time. The Western Federation of Miners pushed the circulation of their manifesto and did much to make the convention successful. One hundred and eighty-six delegates attended the convention from thirty-six state, district, national and local organizations with a membership of 90,000. William D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was its permanent chairman.

The organizations installed as part of the I.W.W. were the Western Federation of Miners, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Punch Press Operators, United Metal Workers, Longshoremen's Union, American Labor Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees. Fifty-one Thousand was the stated membership of these combined organizations, 21,000 of which was almost wholly on paper. Subsequently, one of its real mainstays, the B.R.E. died, while the Western Federation of Miners deserted it.

Frail Beginning and Present Membership of the I. W. W.

On a frail, unsubstantial basis, such as inflated membership and dying, unstable organizations, was the I.W.W. launched. It has since enrolled approximately 800,000 members. These have come into and gone out of it, only to spread and apply the doctrines of the I.W.W. all over the world. Many of the foremost Russian reconstructionists, like Shatoff, Nelson, Tobinson, Dybets etc., are I.W.W.'s. I.W.W. members like Lou Walsh, Lewis Rosenberg, Harry Owens, James Yates and Con. Dougan, are fighting and dying with the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in Spain. The I.W.W. job delegates and proselytes are not unknown even in Japan and China. The I.W.W. menaces capitalism wherever capitalism menaces

civilization. This is one of the many reasons for its virility.

I. W. W. in the Forefront of Labor's Defense.

The I.W.W. has engaged in many campaigns for labor since its founding. It took the initiative in the successful movement to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from judicial murder. The McNamara, Mooney, Ettor-Giovanitti, Sacco and Vanzetti, Kentucky Miners, Mike Lindway and other workers' defenses were and are supported by the I.W.W. The Bolsheviki were first recognized in this country by the I.W.W. This is especially true of The Industrial Worker, which printed interviews with the mate of the Shilka, a Russian ship which arrived in Seattle, Wash., following the 1917 revolution.

32 Years' History Begins

To relate the 32 years' history of the I.W.W. would require a much larger volume than the present booklet permits. Vincent St. John, in "The I. W. W.—Its History, Structure and Methods," covers considerable of the ground up to the World War. Professor Brissenden in "The History of the I.W.W." covers the launching and the first seventeen years of the period. Here, with the splendid aid of F. W. Thompson, we can touch only upon the highlights of struggles that have been carried on in almost every industry and in every part of the country, adding to the strategy and methods of the labor movement as a whole, and giving American labor a much clearer vision of the objects at which it should aim, and of the means by which to attain them.

In its first year's struggle it gave American labor its first sit-down strike, according to Professor Brissenden, in the Schenectady, N. Y., plant of the General Electric Company. Significant other struggles of its first few years were the strikes for shorter hours and 15 per cent increase (won)

against the American Steel Foundry Co. in Granite City, Ill.; a strike that so tied up the Portland, Ore., sawmills, that the daily press heralded it as a "new unionism"; a strike against the American Tube and Stamping Co., in Bridgeport, Conn., also won; abolition of the fining system in the Marston Mills, at Skowhegan, Me.; a dollar a week increase for some 6000 dyers and finishers in the Paterson, N. J. silk industry.

The committees elected from the ranks of the strikers to carry on not only during the strike but to function as shop committees to handle all grievances after the strike was won, marked the advent of the I.W.W. as a new force in the labor movement. The idea of labor organizing to decide for itself what it was going to do probably received its finest expression in the mining camp of Goldfield, Nevada. There, says St. John, "No committees were ever sent to any employers. The unions adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union's committee."

The 1909 strike against the Pressed Steel Car Co., in McKees Rocks, just out of Pittsburgh, Pa., lasted two months. It won changed shop rules that gave employment to a thousand more men (8000 were involved in the strike), at wages 15 per cent higher. Its general effect was to raise wages similarly for 350,000 other workers in the steel industry. But its great significance is this: the 8000 strikers were practically all "unskilled foreigners" that the A. F. of L. did not consider it practical to accept into their union, and yet these workers for the first time in history stopped the cossacks of the steel trust from brutalizing and intimidating strikers. When these cossacks killed a striker, the strikers replied: "For every striker killed, the life of a trooper will be taken." They lived up to their word, and the troopers quit killing workers.

Various strikes in the steel industry followed.

The I.W.W. stirred the west with free speech fights bitterly fought to wrest the right to talk unionism to the migratory workers of the lumber, agricultural and construction industries, and with great strikes on railroad construction projects that necessitated thousands of miles of picket lines. In the manufacturing industries of the east, bitter struggles were successfully fought in the Pittsburgh packing houses, in the boot and shoe factories of Brooklyn, and in the clothing industry of Chicago where the tactic of "passive resistance" was introduced to the American labor movement. Faced with an attempt at discrimination against their "ringleaders" after their wage demands had been won, they secured recognition of shop committees and re-instatement of the discharged men by expressing their sorrow over the absence of the alleged trouble makers by very, very slow work.

Again in 1912 they set the nation agog with the tremendous strike of the textile workers in the woolen and worsted plants of Lawrence, Mass. There they gave American labor a new and mighty tactic—endless chain picketing. The militia was brought in, workers were killed, frame-ups with dynamite were attempted, leaders were jailed and charged with conspiracy to murder on the ground that the strike had led to parades in which the police and militia had killed a woman—but the strike was won, and the settlement of roughly 21 per cent increase in wages wrested by the joint strike committee consisting entirely of workers in these mills was approved by a mass meeting of the strikers on Lawrence commons. The strike had also shown American labor that no matter what it was up against, if it would only stick together it could win; the system of strike relief, the plan of sending children to other workers outside the strike zone, the widespread publicity for funds to fight the frame-up of the strike organizers—all these things became models of how it can be done. The victory was followed by other great textile strikes

throughout the industry, achieving vast improvements in almost all instances.

Lumber workers in Gray's Harbor, Washington, rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, auto workers in Detroit, American Radiator workers in Buffalo, dock workers in Philadelphia, joined with the harvest "stiffs" of the great plains and with the vast army of jobless workers cast out of industry by the pre-war depression, in testing the strength that I.W.W. unionism gave them, and winning some bit more of the "good things of life" for themselves by doing so.

As American industry became geared to European war needs, the I.W.W. resolved to take the only stand that their ideals of international labor solidarity would permit them to take, and to wrest every gain for labor that industrial direct action could win. Converting the dividends of the war profiteers into higher wages for workers was viewed almost as treason, and the I.W.W. had to fight its battles against armed opposition, backed by the press of the nation, ever ready to resort to jails and lynching, tar and feather beatings, mass deportation and every form of terrorism and intimidation conceivable.*) It put the safety devices on the ore docks of Duluth and Superior that are still there. It put the eight-hour day into the iron mines by another great strike of thousands of workers. It established the eight-hour day in the western lumber industry, and by putting in sanitary camps with shower baths and laundry facilities, changed the "timber beast" of pre-war years into a self-respecting and respected union man. It tied up the copper trust of Montana and Arizona with a general wave of strikes, and for all that Frank Little was lynched

*) The massacre of six of a boatload of free speech fighters who came to Everett, Washington, November 6th, 1916, and the frame-up of loggers who defended their union hall in Centralia, Washington, November 11th, 1919, against an attacking parade of Legionaires, are outstanding instances about which special books have been written.

in Butte and 1200 miners deported in cattle cars from Bisbee, wages were raised, wet machines put in that have saved the lungs of many a miner since, and the practice of two men in all working places firmly established as another enduring achievement of the I. W. W.

Such activity for labor in a world gone crazy in a war for profits met with reprisals. An effort was made to jail all the more active members on charges of "espionage," not that they were accused of spying, but because they had dared to advocate strikes in the warmongers' industries. The daily papers accused the I.W.W. of being financed by "German gold." In the trial of over a hundred I.W.W. members in Chicago, the government auditors admitted that the books were in exemplary condition and showed that the funds on which the I.W.W. ran came from the pockets of the working class of America. But still hundreds were sent to jail from this and other trials in Wichita and Sacramento, some sentenced for as long as twenty years. This was done by the federal government. Locally "law and order" didn't bother with so much formality but wrecked union halls, arrested workers by the thousands as on May Day in Detroit and Cleveland, and by the use of "Criminal Syndicalism" laws attempted to make it an offense to belong to the I.W.W. punishable with one to fourteen years' imprisonment. Hundreds, particularly in California, were sent to penitentiaries, but still the I.W.W. kept on with its struggles in the lumber woods, the metal mines, the great construction jobs, the oil fields, the docks and ships, and, for all that this attempt at suppression endured until the end of 1923, repeatedly showed in great strikes that police clubs and jail bars cannot stop the working class from sticking together—or from winning by doing so.

As this attempt at systematic suppression died out in 1923, largely as the result of its own futility, the I.W.W. faced a much greater obstacle—the

"prosperity psychology" that endured from that period until the crash of 1929. But for all that its industrial activities dwindled in this era in which the average worker held high hopes of sharing in the loot of the profit system, it kept on with its educational work, and when the crash that it had forecasted came, large numbers of workers were ready to tell the I.W.W. "You told us so." Nor did the I.W.W. surrender the industrial battle front in the face of a working class gone largely capitalist "from the ears up"—strikes on construction jobs and docks, the great strike of Colorado coal miners (1927-8) that for the first time brought out all coal fields of the state in victorious solidarity, and won a dollar more per day, various protest strikes in an effort to stop the legalized murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and an attempt to bring American labor into line to back up the British general strike of 1926 by refusing to load coal for Britain—all showed that the I.W.W. was still on the job, unconquerable as ever.

In the early days of the great depression, the I.W.W. established that by the solidarity of those on the job and those thrown out of industry, strikes can be won, even in the face of a glutted labor market. It showed this in the gypsum miners' strike in Oakfield and Akron, N. Y., in the Ontario pulp wood cutters' strike, on Boulder Dam, on the Lake Cle Elum irrigation project, in the strike of the hop and fruit pickers in Yakima. The idea that the unemployed could do the most for themselves by aiding their employed fellow workers picket and win their strikes against wage cuts and speed-up, and for shorter hours, was taken over by other unions and used effectively in many of the great fights of the present decade—another instance of the I.W.W. contributing to the ways and means of the labor movement.

In the wave of unionism that we have experienced since 1933, the I.W.W. has gone ahead to new achievements. In the Detroit auto industry it con-

tributed very largely to the successful conduct of the 1933 strike at Briggs Body that marked the re-awakening of the auto workers. Members flocked into the I.W.W., and with leaflets, strikes, and daily speaking over the radio, it planted the policy and principles of the I.W.W. indelibly in the minds of the more aggressive workers of Detroit. When the A. F. of L. promised a general auto strike and instead told the workers to solve their problems in Washington, the I.W.W. doctrine of direct job action took a new application, in the resurrection of the sit-down strike that it had substantially started its history with in Schenectady. In Dept. 3760 of Hudson Body, it raised the wages of metal finishers by a series of sit-down strikes. The idea took hold in other phases of the auto industry, spread to allied industries in later years, and this year (1937) has given the bosses of America and the professional labor leaders more cause for worry than any other method ever adopted by workers. In this period the I.W.W. has conducted and won many strikes—chiefly in the lumber and metal working industries—but its biggest achievement is the degree of stability that it has reached, especially in the metal industry of Cleveland, holding the shops solidly organized year in and year out, adding to its initial gains as it goes along, showing American labor that the I.W.W. has not only the effective ways to win great gains but the practical methods to hold them and use them as the base for further victory.

I. W. W. Union Influence.

The I.W.W. is a great influence in labor unionism. The influence asserts itself in the Pacific coast maritime industries, in midwest construction camps, and in the auto industry in Michigan. The C.I.O. strikes in the latter industry reflect I.W.W. activities in the auto industry prior to the advent of the C.I.O. The metal and machinery industry of Ohio also knows I.W.W. influence, amounting to control in places.

I.W.W. and Company Unionism

The I.W.W. has compelled the recognition and distortion of its principles by the leading corporations. They have created what is known as the "industrial democracy" shop, originally for the purpose of stemming the tide of I.W.W.'ism. These shops are based on a system of industrial government in which labor allegedly has representation. This system, now known as "company unionism," was unknown before the advent of the I.W.W. Company unions are largely failures, however, because they are neither honestly conceived nor honestly intended. The "industrial democracy" that they practice only strengthens the capitalist autocracy which it is supposed to overthrow. Wherever tried, "the industrial democracy" of corporations has been largely the cause of strikes and an intensification of the class struggle. This speaks well for the intelligence of the workers, who know the real thing when they see it. It also speaks badly for the alleged shrewdness of the capitalists, who hope to save themselves, by such stupidity, from the real industrial democracy advocated by the I.W.W.

The I. W. W. and Liberalism.

The I.W.W. has been able to achieve power for working class good, and to exert this influence on corporation development, sometimes by favorable conditions but more often by the reactionary methods of capitalism. Capitalism is brutal in its labor attitude. It is unprogressive generally. It blocks the path of progress, more especially under fascism, bidding the race stand still. All the liberal, socialist, radical and progressive elements, accordingly, unite in assailing it, either in part or as a whole. These elements often rally to the I.W.W. To them, the I.W.W. is the proletarian forerunner of the new society, the militant protestant against capitalist reaction. Thanks to their frequent assistance, the I.W.W. is often triumphant.

I. W. W. Press and Education.

I. W. W. progress is also due to the I. W. W. press. This press includes English weeklies, one English monthly magazine and foreign language papers. Leaflets, handbills, bulletins, pamphlets have also been printed by the millions. As an educational factor alone, the I. W. W. is invaluable. This part of its activities is largely underrated by its members and the working class generally; though recognized by its opponents, who jail its editors, confiscate its literature, raid and nail up its publishing places. Education, Organization, Emancipation, are the guiding stars in the I. W. W. firmament that aid in directing working class activities, and creating I. W. W. power.

I. W. W. History More Than Record.

The history of the I. W. W. is something more than a record of the achievements of a labor organization. It is the history of capitalist degeneracy—of a social revolution giving rise to a new society, whose structure the I. W. W. endeavors to prepare in accordance with evolution, and in advance of capitalism's final collapse, which appears not very far off.

I. W. W. and Direct Action

It is for these reasons that the I. W. W. is viciously misrepresented and attacked. For instance, direct action, a basic doctrine of the I. W. W. is misinterpreted as violence, dynamiting and lawlessness in general. Nothing is further from the truth, for if direct action is lawlessness, then so also is the democratic theory of American government lawlessness, for they are both essentially the same. Direct action means industrial action directly by, for and of the workers themselves, without the treacherous aid of labor misleaders or scheming politicians. A strike that is initiated, controlled and settled by the workers directly affected, is direct action. Indus-

trial action for political purposes, such as a general strike to enforce labor laws, promote laws favorable to labor, veto unjust laws, secure the release of labor and political prisoners, and the industries for the workers is direct action. The control of industry directly by the workers themselves is direct action. Direct action is combined action, directly on the job, to secure better job conditions. Direct action is industrial democracy.

Direct action is action without recourse to or betrayal by either leaders or politicians. The trades that secured the shorter work week, not by legislative enactment, but by strikes, or the threat of strikes, used direct action. The I.W.W. lumberjacks who walked off the job after working eight hours, until they thus secured the eight-hour day, used direct action.

The control of industry by the workers themselves, and the use of such control to promote the welfare and secure the emancipation of labor, is direct action. Direct action means peaceful action—strikes, passive resistance, slowing down, etc.—directly at the base of capitalist control and exploitation, namely, the industrial, or economic base; by the workers themselves for the benefit of themselves and society as a whole. Direct action is, in its ultimate use, social action, i. e., action for the welfare of society, as against fascism, war and the uncivilization of capitalism.

This applies to all I.W.W. doctrines. They are interpreted, not according to I.W.W. use, but the capitalist misuse, of them. The reason is evident.

The I. W. W. and Violence.

The I. W. W. is charged with violence. The violence that the I.W.W. commits is the violence of passive resistance. It is the violence of removing hands from machinery of production and stopping the employer's profits. It is the violence of the sit-down strike. There can be no greater violence

against capitalism than the stopping of profits and dividends by a peaceful stoppage of labor.

As William D. Haywood very eloquently said, when discussing "the violence" of the Lawrence strike, in Cooper Union, New York, May 21, 1912:

"They (the strikers) committed no violence except that of removing their hands: big hands, delicate hands, baby hands, some of them gnarled and torn and crippled. But they removed those hands from the machinery. And when they took those hands from the machinery the machinery was dead.

And that was the "violence" of the Lawrence strike. And there is nothing more violent in the eyes of the capitalist class than to deprive them of the labor power out of which they get all their capital. There is nothing that will make the capitalist class so mad, that will make them froth at the mouth, so quickly as to see a working man with his hands in his pockets, or working woman with her arms folded, or the little children playing with their dolls or their tops or their marbles. If they belong to the working army they want all those hands busy. Not to see them busy means that the golden stream has ceased to run into their coffers; that is what makes the capitalist class crazy. It is this that has driven them mad."

Capitalist Profits and Violence

P. I. Dunning, English economist, says of capitalist profits:

With adequate profits, capital is very bold. A certain ten per cent will insure its employment everywhere; 20 per cent will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is no crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to a chance of its owner being hanged.

The World War, with its immense sacrifice of humanity, and its stupendous increase in profits for capitalists,—now modern fascism, with its territorial robbery and race murders—prove Dunning did not exaggerate. Yet it is capital, "capital that

comes into the world," in the language of Marx, "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," it is this capital that charges the I.W.W. with violence! O, what a satire on truth and the credulity of mankind!

The I. W. W. and Politics.

The I. W. W. began as an attempt to fuse the leading socialist, economic and political tendencies of the country. This attempt failed. This failure was due to the same reasons that underlie the failure of the anti-trust movement, namely: the impossible submission of basic economic forces to superficial political regulation and control.

The two socialist parties made the I. W. W. a battleground for their own supremacy. The I.W.W. as a matter of self-preservation, had to get rid, first of one, then of the other. Increased growth and economic results showed the wisdom of replacing theoretical dogma and supremacy with real working class organization.

The fallacies of the socialist-communist political movement, as exposed in practice, have also contributed to so-called I. W. W. anti-politics. Prior to the World War, socialist participation in capitalist cabinets, a la Millerand and Briand, disgusted the I.W.W. because of its disastrous results to the working class. Social democratic betrayal of the Swedish general strike and American Socialist support of the pro-capitalist A. F. of L. as against the I. W. W., also had the same results. (Reference is here had to Victor Berger's anti-sabotage amendment to the Socialist party constitution. This was aimed specifically at the I.W.W. It cost the Socialist Party a big loss of membership.)

Since the World War, matters have grown worse. Both the socialist and the communist internationals have become working class appendages to the imperialist-Great-Britain-dominated League of Nations. They have no distinctive international working class organization or policy. Accordingly, they have

resisted every working class attempt at freedom from imperialist domination. This is especially the case in the fascist invasion of Spain. There the communist international has lined up with British and French imperialists against a basic working class revolution.

Since the World War have also come the Weimar Republic, the Russian personal dictatorship and the New Deal, all giving more reason for I.W.W. policy regarding politics.

The German Social Democrats secured control of the powers of state. They were no longer troubled by theoretical discussions of "the road to power." They had already arrived there. They dominated the Weimar Republic—thrust into their lap by the breakdown of reaction. But, unfortunately, they had no ownership or control of the land, mills, mines, or factories, the basic foundations of the state and the concrete highway to real power. Nor had they organized German labor unions to the end of securing economic control, or backing by an international working class similarly organized. They used the unions only to get votes for their futile parliamentary policies.

Thus, all that the German Social Democrats could do was to become, in the eloquent language of Mark Starr, "the caretakers, instead of the undertakers of capitalism." To this end the infamous Noske killed off Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and the Spartacans. After that the coming of Hitler was easy. Sublime theories had given way to sordid practices, because of unsound premises. Political power without economic power is a futility, where it isn't destructive collapse and fascism.

Then there's Russia, the glorious Russia of October 1917 revolution. How we workers of the world thrilled to the magnificent promise. There, too, the communist politicians had seized the powers of the state. And there, too, the results have been tragic. This is especially so with the revolution's original

ideals of working class democracy, as opposed to Czaristic despotism.

Russia's great tragedy is due to the fact that the Bolshevik State had to build a collectivist economic foundation under itself. It had to modernize a medieval system of production and distribution; thereby creating an up-to-date industrialism and an industrial proletariat. The various five-year plans were devised with this objective in view. The process necessitated pouring the Russian population into a concrete mould, as it were. Naturally, it didn't fit into this mould, because of its backward development. Here was the beginning of endless trouble. Especially was this the case after the abandonment of the Revolution's original trade union agencies in favor of the so-called proletarian dictatorship. Sabotage, famine, civil war, ruthless oppression, a personal dictatorship with counter-revolutionary tendencies, are the painful present-day end results.

In the U. S., the socialists of the "Old Guard" persuasion and the communists of the Browder tribe, made a holy show of themselves supporting Roosevelt's preservation of capitalism, the New Deal, in the name of Karl Marx and Joseph Stalin. This, too, to save the workers of the country from relief cuts and fascism, in the event of Landon's election. Roosevelt now (July, 1937) balances the budget by slashing relief and WPA funds and supports fascism by his application of the so-called neutrality law against loyalist Spain.

And the Waldman-Browder politicians pose as "the intellectual vanguard of the working class."

These historic anti-working class socialist-communist politics have not only caused the I.W.W. but the workers in general, to look askance at them. The horrible outcome of the Russian revolution in particular has made the workers the easy victims of anti-red scares. The workers of the U.S.A., however, need not undergo such results as the Russian ones when organized industrially. The U. S., because of its more highly technical and social de-

velopment, can avoid the Russian tragedy. With such development the Russian industrial procedure is not required. An industrially organized working class, conscious of a socially constructive mission, can take over and direct this development to a higher plane for the greatest good and glory of all, with the least possible friction.

Even now, capitalism is creating a new kind of politics, in its co-ordinated and controlled capitalism (as against its anarchical and laissez-faire capitalism) that is basically economic in intent. Technology will make even a greater necessity of control-capitalism until the industrial organized working class is present to make it otherwise. A planned economy can only be social economy when carried out by an industrially organized working class alive to its own historic mission and the vast social undertakings to be made possible by its conscious cooperation. Otherwise regimentation in the interest of monopoly capital—by big industry and finance—will be ours, as it is Italy's and Germany's.

Already are these facts percolating into socialist thought. No longer are politicians believed to be competent to direct the economic foundations of state. Paul Blanshard, speaking for the new socialist trend in his "Technology and Socialism" (page 11) declares, "We want a functional democracy . . . in which each group will participate in control . . . (1) manual workers, (2) the technicians, (3) the consumers."

Other socialists fear parliamentary politics are not enough. Socialists may be expelled, as from the New York State Assembly. Majorities are not respected, as in Spain. How put over the will of the people, then? The value of labor organization to these ends, is recognized. By means of them socialists organize general strikes against "pitches" and adverse political tendencies generally. Thus they seek to capture the labor union movement for their political ends. What they need to do is to recognize that labor unions are not subordinate

parts of political movements, but cells of a new society, to be developed as the class-conscious demands of the latter require.

What they also need is to observe both the teachings and the mistakes of their foremost leaders. Marx, commenting on seizure of political power in the Paris Commune, wisely observed that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery for its own purposes." Nor can it give all power to workers' and soldiers' council, as Lenin advocated, without a corresponding economic power development. The Paris Communards failed; the Russian communists blessed themselves with a personal dictatorship, because of their shortcomings and mistakes.

Obviously, U. S. workers must strive to avoid the tragic outcome of Russian efforts. They cannot do it, nor do they need to do it, by following the Russian pattern. U. S. development is a superior one, admitting of superior policies. The American workers need only to make their traditional political democracy a reality, by causing it to evolve into an industrial democracy by way of industrial unionism. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, is only possible in industry of the people, by the people, for the people; of whom the working class and their dependents, constitute the great majority.

American workers, in their efforts to succeed, must recognize the overshadowing importance of industrialism in the American scene. American industrialism has defeated every middle class attempt at regulation and control, from Altgeld and Bryan in 1896 to La Follette and Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1937. It has only to fear the labor movement to which it has made concessions, and which it has made its willing bulwark by favoring its capitalist-minded leaders. With the aid of both, it has caused the political movements of labor to be the handmaids of reform of no lasting value, considering the precarious condition of capitalism generally.

Industrial unionism of the I.W.W. type, then, is the greatest, most profound means to the attainment of industrial democracy; the great American need of present times. In industry the workers control the strategic basis of society. The power house man who shuts off the electric current, or the locomotive engineer who closes his throttle, can, in critical times, perform an act of greater social significance than when either casts a ballot for parliamentary office. Behind the trenches of modern warfare, and back of bomb-dropping aviators, is the industrial set-up, reinforcing them and making their victories possible. Industry is the basis of the modern state. Without it, the latter doesn't exist. And it is the workers in industry that give both their vitality and usefulness, whether destructive or otherwise.

The fascists realize this when they regiment industry and destroy labor unionism. So do U. S. militarists when they push industrial mobilization. They know the key to the modern situation.

In this connection, it should be said that industrial unionism is not anarcho-syndicalism. The latter is allegedly unionism of anarchist origin and objectives. It believes in promoting working class interests and the social revolution. It is opposed to politics, the state and formal organization.

Industrial Unionism is of American industrial origin and an adaptation of the principles of James Elishman Smith, lieutenant of Robert Owen, as quoted in chapter two of this booklet. These principles aim at replacing the capitalist state based on territory and property by a workers' administration based on occupation, or industrial union lines, according to the American adaptation.

The spontaneous, loosely federated group conception of unionism entertained by many anarcho-syndicalists is not possible in modern U. S. industry. This calls for a greater interlocking management and control by a highly interorganized working class than the anarcho-syndicalist conception allows.

However, the Spanish fascist war has shown

that even anarcho-syndicalism is a great, constructive force, capable of great development because of its fundamental economic principles. How much more then may be expected of industrial unionism?

Political Influences of the I. W. W.

The I.W.W. is not anti-political. Nor is it non-political. It is ultra-political. Its industrial activities have affected the political institutions of the country in a manner favorable to labor. George West, the well-known journalist and publicist, is authority for the statement that the I.W.W. Lawrence strike of 1912 precipitated the formulation of the labor measures of the Progressive party. (Teddy Roosevelt adjunct Republican party.) Following the Wheatland strike, the housing commission of California used its authority to clean up labor conditions on all the ranches in the state. In the early war period, thanks to the I.W.W. lumber workers' strike, the governor of Washington and Carlton Parker of the Federal Board, recommended the eight-hour day for the lumber industry. In the 1912 Lawrence strike the I.W.W. destroyed the Democratic presidential aspirations of Governor Foss, by pillorying his misuse of the militia. The political results of the I.W.W. are undoubtedly many, and to its credit.

IV.

I. W. W. PRINCIPLES AND FORMS.

Labor was never as much alive to its own importance as it is today. Labor is in a state of discontent and unrest. It is struggling to realize a better society as it never struggled before. Like another Prometheus, it is trying to free itself from the rock of reaction to which it is bound.

The World War brought home to labor its significance in life. President Wilson, in addressing the Buffalo A. F. of L. convention, made plain that, without labor, wars cannot be won and governments survive. In brief, the World War demonstrated that Labor is all important. It is the foundation rock of modern society. When that rock moves, as move the rocks of the earth in a quake, then there is an upheaval. Systems fall; the old society is destroyed; the face of modern life is transformed.

Fascism recognizes the fundamental nature of labor in modern society. It regards the growing importance of the working class as a challenge to capitalism. Accordingly, it seeks to control and dominate labor. To this end it fain would reduce labor to slavery. To this end it destroys unions and regiments labor in all places of employment. It militarizes and degrades labor particularly, as it militarizes and degrades all society generally.

But all to no avail. Labor will not be crushed. It hits back. In Germany, it slows down and sabotages production, sits down and strikes, despite the despot with the Charlie Chaplin mustache. In Italy, as the recent assassination of the Rosselli brothers in Paris shows, all is not well. News of peasant and workers' revolts seep out of Mussolini's domain, despite rigorous censorship. In Spain, the great labor unions, the C.N.T., F.A.I. and U.G.T., said of the fascists, "They shall not pass at Madrid." In Spain, these unions also took over and socialized industries and farms deserted by their capitalist-landlord

owners and efficiently operated them for the good of all. This, too, despite the fascist war at the front.

Elsewhere, throughout the industrial nations, the workers rally to fight fascism. Conscious of its menace to their safety and welfare they combat it at home, while sending money and men to Spain. Labor secure there, is labor secure everywhere. Fascism, be it said again, is a ruthless attempt to control labor in the interests of big industry and finance. Many contend fascism cannot happen here. But its possibilities are too numerous to dispute. Fascism is capitalism by, for and of the big industrialists and financiers. Fascism changes nothing in capitalism, except the status of labor, whose upward climb and ascendancy it opposes and whom it, accordingly, would ruthlessly topple over and suppress.

In thus oppressing labor, fascism makes an indirect acknowledgment of the increasing importance of labor on the economic, political and social fields of modern times. This fact should encourage labor to greater progress still. This fact should also encourage labor to more militant struggle against fascism. Especially since events in Spain have demonstrated that fascism is not inevitable anywhere, when fought; and that the answer to fascism, as the Spanish unions have in great measure constructively shown, is an industrialism for all instead of a plutocratic, oppressive few. As the onslaughts, the defensive tactics of fascism indirectly testify, Labor, giant Labor, awakened Labor, is becoming the governing power. It has only to organize so as to make that power effective. This is the object of the I.W.W.—to give Labor a form of organization that will make it invincible. Real industrial unionism is that form.

A. F. of L., C.I.O., I.W.W. Compared

Comparisons may be odious, but they are also instructive. By comparing the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. forms and principles or organization with those of

the I.W.W., we will be better able to understand the latter.

The A. F. of L. is primarily organized by trades or crafts. But under the requirements of the Wagner Labor Relations Act and C.I.O. pressure, the A. F. of L. is growing increasingly industrial unionistic. Note the structural iron workers' attempts to organize the plants fabricating structural steel, on an industrial basis.

The C.I.O. on the other hand, is primarily industrial unionistic. However, under the Wagner Act and A. F. of L. pressure, the C.I.O. is growing increasingly craft unionistic. It organizes bookkeepers, stenographers and accountants' departments in the big stores and turns the clerks over to the retail clerks' union. Or it permits the technicians to cut across the auto industry into the jurisdiction of the auto workers' union. These examples can be multiplied.

Both A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. separate labor on a more intense and larger chaotic scale now than ever before. The I.W.W., on the contrary, organizes labor more industrially now than ever before.

Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. declare that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." When they fall out it is simply a family misunderstanding, as John Mitchell put it; not an irreconcilable difficulty due to conflicting class interests. This, too, despite the persistency of the misunderstanding and the superior insight of Hamilton and Madison into class divisions in society, as quoted in chapter 2.

Of course, the I.W.W., as already indicated, lines up with Hamilton and Madison, as against the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. It stoutly affirms that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common"; except perhaps, their mutual antagonism.

Parenthetically, it must be pointed out, the identity of interests theory, makes possible such questionable agreements as that entered into between Myron Taylor, steel trust head, and John Lewis, without

the knowledge and consent of the C.I.O. steel workers' union. This agreement, apparently, caused the "big steel" vs. the "little steel" conflict. It created a division in the steel industry and made it appear as if John L. Lewis were acting with the steel trust against its more modern, better equipped rival corporations.

In all of its thirty-two years history, no such stigma was ever cast on the I.W.W. Expulsion would follow such an agreement.

To continue the contrast: The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are both undemocratic, with power to call and settle strikes lodged in the executives. The C.I.O. is even more highly centralized than the A. F. of L. in this respect. Where the A. F. of L. international union heads only dominate their own individual unions, the C.I.O. heads dominate all of the C.I.O. unions. They have the most highly centralized control in all American labor unionism.

Paul Brissenden, in *The American Scholar*, Spring, '37, writes, "The C.I.O. evidently, will operate as a highly centralized agency with large powers over its constituent units and with much to say about policy and strategy in particular organizing campaigns."

It so operates now, August 1937. One result is friction in the auto situation in Michigan. There national organizers removed by international headquarters are elected to responsible local positions, because of resentment and protest.

In contrast, the I.W.W. is democratic. Its general officers neither call nor settle strikes; nor do they determine strategy and policy.

The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are both essentially the same, in still other particulars. They both believe that the capitalist system is a final one. They have no social outlook beyond capitalism. They are bulwarks against socialism, or any other upward workers' movement. Accordingly, they resist the new society. They join the capitalist class in the persecu-

tion of those who advocate one; and expel them from their membership.

The I.W.W., on the other hand, believes that capitalism is but a phase of social evolution that is breaking down. The I.W.W., accordingly, organizes industrially to prepare to carry on society when capitalism shall have collapsed, as it gives every indication of doing. It welcomes all workers at work in industry; or unemployed because of industrial maladjustment.

The A. F. of L. organizes crafts and the C.I.O. industries to bargain for less hours and more wages; the I.W.W. by industry to take over industry.

The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are bulwarks of capitalism. The I.W.W. is the framework of the new society in the shell of the old.

Elucidation will help comparison in getting the best understanding of I.W.W. aims possible, as follows:

The A. F. of L. primarily regards industry as a series of autonomous trades that may be federated together for mutual protection. The C.I.O. regards industry as subject to division according to districts, as in the coal industry; not as a whole. The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. may be likened to the man who sorts out and separates the various strands of steel cable and then ties them together with a string in the belief that he is keeping their original strength intact. The I.W.W. indulges in no such delusions. It regards the trades and industrial divisions as the interwoven and interdependent strands of the steel cable of industry and organizes them as such. And then it weaves all the steel cables of the separate industries, into a steel cable of all industries, thus making them able to support the weight of any attack of capitalism on the working class, in just about the same manner that the huge multiple steel cables of a suspension bridge sustains the tremendous tonnage of the structure.

How A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Misorganize.

Let us illustrate.

In the printing and publishing industries, for instance, the A. F. of L. has split the workers into twenty-two separate trade unions. These organizations do not and can not work together. Believing in local trade autonomy, and the mutual interests of capital and labor, they organize separately in each city. They are thus compelled to preserve and advance their own trade interests in each locality as against those of their fellow workers in the same locality or elsewhere. The C.I.O. permits this division to remain.

In fact, the coming of the C.I.O. has made no essential difference in the situation, except to intensify its many bad aspects. Instead of an intercraft struggle, we now witness also an interindustrial one. Because of C.I.O. activities, the struggle for control of teamsters in the brewing and other industries, for instance, is more bitter and acute. As is also the struggle between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Other instances may be cited.

The August 15, 1937, Guild Reporter contains an article to the point. It is headed, "A. F. of L. 'Organizes' With Bosses' Help. See The Employers First, Wharton Orders Subordinate Locals." The story that follows is a sorry one of warfare between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. for control of the knitgoods, metal and machinery, cement and fur industries.

Employer co-operation, A. F. of L. claiming company unions as affiliates, organizing "scabs to fight their way through picket lines of women and girls—with police aid—to break a strike of Cleveland knitgoods workers," are among the article's of A. F. of L. indictment.

The A. F. of L. is claimed to have entered into an understanding with the Cement Institute of Chicago and, under pressure exerted by the latter on

employees, issued charters to them as locals of the United Cement Workers.

But the gem of the Guild Reporter article is the Wharton letter. The president of the International Machinist Association sent letters to his locals, "using anti-Semitism and red-baiting to attack the C.I.O. and urging collaboration with employers." Wharton writes, according to the article, "These employers have expressed a preference to deal with A. F. of L. organizations rather than Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, Howard and their gang of sluggers, communists, radicals, soap-box artists, professional bums, expelled members of labor unions, outright scabs and the Jewish organizations with their affiliates."

This is not the usual "Dear Sir and Brother" style of language. It is the language of ruthless warfare. In the latter, the C.I.O. is neither a guiltless nor an inoffensive participant. It is a case of give and take, as the violent struggle for supremacy in the maritime industry will serve to illustrate.

Once more must it be said, that the advent of the C.I.O. has only served to bring out in sharper relief, on a larger field, all of the defects inherent in the American labor movement. Born in the A. F. of L. belief in craft supremacy as against K. of L. mass organization, the A. F. of L. has saturated the American labor movement with the spirit of destructive competitive opposition, rather than that of class solidarity. The C.I.O., offspring of a parentage so born, carries on in a like spirit, to the detriment of all concerned.

To believe that a formal peace between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. will end this warfare is to close one's eyes to the history of the modern American labor movement.

Europe has its divergent labor movements; France and Spain, for instance. They are devoid of the internecine warfare that is the unhappy lot of American organized labor. Possessing a socialist and not a capitalist ideology, they are tolerant and co-operative, rather than dogmatic and destructive.

The I.W.W. is like them. It has persistently refused to engage in jurisdictional conflicts. In the 1910 Bethlehem Steel Strike it withdrew, rather than combat the jurisdictional claims of the machinists and other unions. The strike was lost. In the 1912 Lawrence strike, the I.W.W. set up a strike committee on which all of the other unions interested were represented. The strike was won.

This policy has continued throughout I.W.W. history. "No Scabbery; Solidarity," is its slogan. Members of other unions can also be I.W.W. members and vice versa. In brief, I.W.W. unionism is real unionism, admitting all workers, barring none. As a final word, under this head, it is worth noting that the most popular labor song today is Ralph Chaplin's I.W.W. song "Solidarity Forever."

How I.W.W. Organizes One Big Union.

The real industrial union no more plays one section of the country, or one trade or one district in an industry, against another, to the detriment of labor, than the employers' association plays them against one another to the detriment of capital. In the lumber workers' I.W.W. strike of 1917, the lumber industry in the five northwestern states was tied up tighter than a drum over three months. There was no local or trade autonomy there. There was industrial action with industrial results, beneficial to labor in the end.

I. W. W. Shop and World Organization.

The cell of industrial union organization is the shop, or plant, or establishment, in which the workers are employed. This shop, or plant, or establishment, is in turn organized in a local branch of the industrial union, or union of the industry in which the plant operates. The branch may be connected with the branches of other industrial unions in a district council. Or it may be connected with the district council of other branches of the industrial

union itself. The industrial unions are in turn, bound together in one big union, in the Industrial Workers of the World, which spreads abroad when and wherever possible as industry spreads abroad. World-corporations and world-industry are facts; so also must labor organization be.

Shop is Workers' State.

The early ideas of the I.W.W. have not changed. But conditions have, and with them, the I. W. W., too. With the growth of the I.W.W. as a real organization, founded on unskilled, migratory labor, and with the ascendancy of industry as a political and unionistic factor, the I.W.W. began to see that the worker is all-powerfull on the job, and that that is the place for him to function. The job—the shop—is, in I.W.W. belief, the worker's state, the medium by and through which he will introduce reforms and the new society. Hence, the greater I.W.W. devotion to job organization in preference to all other activities.

World War, Capitalism and the I. W. W.

Especially have the stupendous lessons of the World War impressed the I. W. W. perhaps more than all other social elements. The World War has sobered the I.W.W. into a realization of the tremendous work before labor, if it would save society from a reversion to savagery, in behalf of progress forward to a new society. Now fascism simply makes that realization more emphatic. The World War caused the I.W.W. rejection of doctrines which it may have preached but never practiced.

Capitalism the Real Saboteur.

The World War disclosed the combination of capital as the real saboteurs of modern society. It has shown these combinations failing in and delaying war work in order to secure their own plun-

der and profits first, as in spruce producing scandals of the northwest. It has shown these combinations cornering the nation's food supplies, and otherwise sabotaging its resources to their own enrichment and entrenchment. Nowadays, capitalism sabotages abundance in favor of scarcity, in order to maintain profits while millions are unemployed and starving. All of which shows the necessity for saving society from more capitalist sabotage by way of the I.W.W. plan of socialized ownership, viz., ownership by its industrially organized many instead of the few capitalist combinations. Hence, the I.W.W. rejection of sabotage, even as a doctrine to be preached, though never practiced.

Capitalism the Real Violence.

So with violence and lawlessness—if the I.W.W. ever preached these doctrines before, which it did not, it need never do so again. It has plenty of reconstructive work cut out for it, in saving the peoples of the earth—the working classes of all the nations—from the violence and lawlessness of capitalism and fascism. The World War also brought home that lesson to the I.W.W. It has exposed capitalism, through no less a mouth than that of President Wilson in his St. Louis League of Nations speech, as the cause of war and the absence of law and humanity attending it. To capitalism and fascism it is wrong for the I.W.W. to preach violence, while they slaughter millions, injure many millions more and destroy billions in wealth and property. To capitalism, and fascism it is wrong for the I.W.W. to preach lawlessness, while they destroy every constitutional right, and make the struggle for a world democracy in reality a triumph of world plutocracy. So let it be. The I.W.W. will no longer be charged with even preaching these doctrines; but will spend its time instead organizing the workers so as to render the capitalist practice of them impossible. Construction, not destruction, is the program that the World War and fascism and their

lessons force on the I.W.W. more than ever before. Not the critical, but "the affirmative side of the I.W.W.," as a friendly historian calls it, is now brought into evidence, as another lesson of the World War, fascism and the capitalist sabotage, violence and lawlessness that accompanied them.

I. W. W. Policy.

Other changes may also be noted in the I.W.W.—changes away from both the centralistic and decentralistic factional quarrels of old, to a more democratic, co-operative medium between both extremes. Co-operation is the cure for both decentralization and centralization. Co-operation, not for the sake of theory, but for the sake of actual results. Co-operation from the bottom up, instead of coercion from the top down; co-operation on a big industrial scale, instead of on a petty group scale. Co-operation between job delegates, shop, branches, industrial unions, the one big union administration and the workers' organizations the world over. This is the I.W.W. reaction, in practice, from its own internal development, and the world developments about it—especially the development of industrial democracy in opposition to capitalist autocracy.

World War Supreme I. W. W. Test.

The World War was the supreme test of the I.W.W. Behind the cloak of patriotism, the I.W.W. was assailed all over the country, largely on the initiative of big lumber, mining and agricultural interests against whom strikes had been waged. The attack was nation-wide, savage and unrelenting. Lynching, murder, tar and feathers, deportation and terrorization of I.W.W. members generally, were its outstanding features. I.W.W. members were also conscripted and sent abroad, further draining its membership and vitality. Vincent St. John, in his excellent pamphlet, "The I.W.W., Its History, Structure and Methods," sums up this period very well

when he says: "But in spite of all, the I.W.W. still lives and is slowly but surely building up the organization that will strike the shackles of wage slavery from the limbs of the world's workers and make the earth a fit place for free men and women to inhabit." (p. 34).

I. W. W. Promotes Class Solidarity.

The idea underlying the I.W.W. form of organization is Solidarity! Industrial Solidarity!! Working Class Solidarity!!! Joseph J. Ettor, addressing the Lawrence Textile strikers at the Franco-Belgian Hall, on January 25, 1912, most eloquently voiced the I.W.W. idea when he said:

The days that have just passed have demonstrated the power of the workers. The power of the workers consists of something more than the power of the capitalists. The power of the capitalists is based on property. Property makes them all powerful, socially and politically. Because of it they control the institutions of attack and defense; they have the laws, the army, everything! They can employ agents to go around to plant dynamite and to provoke disorder among the workers, in order to defeat them.

In spite of all that, the workers have something still more powerful. The workers' power, the one thing more powerful than all the property, all the machine guns, all the gallows, and everything on the other side, is the common bond of solidarity, of purpose, of ideals. Our love for solidarity, our purpose and our affection for one another as workers, binds us more solidly and tighter than do all the bombs and dynamite the capitalists have at their disposal. If the workers of the world want to win, all that they have to do is to recognize their own solidarity. They have nothing to do but fold their arms and the world will stop. The workers are more powerful with their hands in their pockets than all the property of the capitalists. As long as the workers keep their hands in their pockets the capitalists cannot put theirs there. With passive resistance, with the workers

absolutely refusing to move, lying absolutely silent, they are more powerful than all the weapons and instruments that the other side have for protection and attack.

These words have proven prophetic on more than one occasion since the Lawrence strike of 1912. Note the recent sit-down strikes in the auto industry.

The Job Delegate.

The work of organizing under present I.W.W. methods, is generally begun by the job delegate. He is a member who works on the job, that is, is regularly employed in a shop or plant, etc. He is empowered by his industrial union to organize that job. He accepts and initiates as new members all the wage workers employed on the job. He instructs them in their rights and duties; supplies them with due books, stamps, constitutions, referendums, and other organization matters. When the job is sufficiently organized, he calls a shop meeting and turns its affairs over to the shop organization. He always carries I.W.W. credentials. Otherwise he is unauthorized to organize.

The Universal Delegate.

As a development of the job delegate idea, the job delegate has been made a universal delegate. He is not limited to any one job or industry. He aids all job delegates. He is empowered to initiate members of all industrial unions, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the locality where he is employed, or active.

The job delegate system is the I.W.W. attempt at a real rank and file movement. It is an attempt to build the organization from the bottom up, and to get away from dependence on paid organizers and officials who acquire prominence and use their prestige to the detriment of labor. This anti-bureaucratic tendency favors real wage workers as the officials of labor unions; limits the term of office, and otherwise endeavors to keep the organization from officialdom and dry rot.

The job delegate system has proven to be the mainstay of the organization. By means of it the I.W.W. was held together during the terrible oppression attending the World War hysteria, when even meetings were impossible. The I.W.W. slogan now is "be an I.W.W. booster! Be a job delegate!"

I. W. W. Job Control and Shop Committees.

The basis of the I.W.W. organization, as already pointed out, is the shop or plant, or establishment, which in I.W.W. language means the same thing. The shop organization is democratic. Its principle is rule from the bottom up, for all and by all those working in the shop. Shop meetings are held at which all matters affecting the shop, the industrial union and the I.W.W. are formulated and decided, through the initiative, referendum and recall. Every member is privileged and encouraged to bring forward grievances, solutions and ideas favorable to the uplift of the working class and society. It is recognized that the I.W.W. shop organization is the cell of the new society, based on workers' ownership, control and management.

In addition to doing all of the foregoing, the shop organization elects a shop committee which acts under its guidance and instruction. The shop committee presents all wage and other demands to the employer, but has no power to conclude any settlement without the approval of the shop organization through the industrial unions and the I.W.W.

The I.W.W. shop committees were first introduced in the Brooklyn N. Y. shoe strike of 1911. The shop committee of Frank & Harris was selected from all the branches, then it presented a scale of prices and regulations acceptable to all concerned. The I.W.W. shop committees thus antedate the English shop steward movement by about seven years. They differ from the English institution in that they represent industrially organized trades, instead of the separate trade unions, in the shop. Under the

shop organizing system of the I.W.W. the "organized scabbery" of either the A. F. of L. or C.I.O. unions is impossible. All the trades in the industry, acting as a unit, on the basis of the conflicting interests of capital and labor, strike together and settle together. Any shop or branch including more than one shop, that violates the industrial, class union principles of the I.W.W. is expelled, as is also any member of the I.W.W. so doing. An I.W.W. organization at Great Falls, Montana, was expelled en masse for signing a contract with employers.

Preparing to Run Industry.

The I.W.W. shop organization develops technical knowledge in the working class and prepares it to take over technical management in behalf of society when capitalism shall have collapsed, as it at present seems likely to do. This is made possible by the general tendencies of industry, which are reducing technicians to the ranks of wage earners and compelling them to organize as such. These tendencies are also causing a greater appreciation and study of technological change in an ever-increasing number of wage earners.

I. W. W. and the General Strike!

The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are organized, not only to prevent industrial unionism within an industry, but also the industrial unity of industries. The A. F. of L. is a federation of trades and labor unions, not an organization based primarily on industry and embracing all the industries in one big union, like the Industrial Workers of the World. Its primary object is to bargain with the capitalists as crafts, not to organize the workers as a class to run industry for themselves and society. The C.I.O. resembles the A. F. of L. despite the apparent differences. It divides industries according to districts, as in the United Mine Workers and opposes general strikes.

The following incident will assist in making the I.W.W. viewpoint clear.

During the Lawrence Textile strike of 1912, Joseph J. Ettor, general organizer of the I.W.W., addressed a meeting of the Wool Sorters' Union. After his address he was asked, "What is a scab?" To which Ettor replied, "A scab is a worker who by any act aids or abets the employers in times of conflict." Thereupon another worker wanted to know: "Do not the principles that apply to the definition of a scab also apply to an industry?" "Yes," replied Ettor; "the Industrial Workers of the World means the organization of all workers in one big union according to industries. When an industry goes on strike, if it needs the help of the industry immediately related to it, it will call on that industry to make common cause with it. If it requires the help of still other industries, the I.W.W. will act on the same principle." Such is the I.W.W. It recognizes that industry is general; so must strikes be.

Evasions of Real Unionism.

The moral of the above story can be applied by any worker. The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. unions are trying to apply it in many ways that evade real industrial union forms and principles. For instance, take the steel strikes of 1919 and 1937. Therein the strikers were led to believe that the railroad workers and the coal miners would act in sympathy with them. This was impossible owing to contracts with employers. These contracts compelled the railroaders and the miners to act as separate organizations, and on the principle of the mutual interests of capital and labor. No real industrial union is so organized, as to act independently of other industries. General industry makes for general strikes. Nor does a real industrial union sign contracts with employers that bind its members to help break the strikes of their fellow workers. But the new day is dawning. On all sides are the rank and file assert-

ing themselves against official betrayal and wrong organization. In addition, the I.W.W. is growing once more.

Proof of I. W. W. Soundness.

The proof of the soundness of the I.W.W. forms and principles of organization is to be found in the bitter attacks which are made upon them by the corporations and capitalist institutions generally. The capitalist class instinctively realizes the dangers to its interests involved in the thorough organization of labor, intent on improvement and emancipation.

I. W. W. World Wide.

The I. W. W. like world corporations and world industry is world-wide. It was represented at the Amsterdam International Conference, and also at the Budapest meeting of the International Labor Secretariat in 1910. The European movement, in turn, was active in the successful agitation for the release of Ettor and Giovannitti in 1912. Subsequently some of the I.W.W.'s most representative men visited Europe and spoke in England and Ireland, aiding the industrial union movement there. The I.W.W. has administrations in Canada, Sweden, Australia and Chile and general headquarters in Chicago. It also conducts correspondence and has connections with the labor movement of France, Spain, Russia, Scandinavia, Mexico, Argentina and other countries, all of whom work in friendly co-operation with, are interested in its progress and look to it for guidance as the industrial labor organization of the most advanced industrial country of the world.

Current Questions and the I. W. W.

The I.W.W. is called on by many students to state its attitude on various questions, relationships and problems. This is as it should be. If the I.W.W. itself is not an answer to social problems, if it cannot define its own attitude, it had better call in its charters and lock the doors of its various headquarters and leave the field to an organization that meets these requirements.

Generally speaking, the I.W.W. believes that most social problems are caused by the capitalist exploitation of labor. To this exploitation can be traced the need for foreign markets, fields of investments abroad, and world wars. To this exploitation is also traceable gross materialism, savage aggression, lack of ideal aspirations, the curbing of ambitions of a social nature, the stifling of the intellect for any other than personal or class ends, race wars, class wars, in brief, all the ugly, ghastly horrors of modern life.

The I.W.W. accordingly, believes that the solution of modern problems and the establishment of better social relations and ideals, requires the abolition of capitalist exploitation. Otherwise, the evils will not only continue, but will grow worse, in addition. However, too often, this statement is not acceptable; specific knowledge is desired, as follows:

Does the I. W. W. Want to Divide Up?

Though this is a very venerable old question, lots of smart young men ask it. The answer is—No; the I.W.W. wants to stop dividing up. Today the worker, in order to secure employment and live, must divide up his product with the capitalist employer. As the capitalist employs many laborers, his share of the division is large. It makes him both wealthy and powerful. By securing all that it produces, the I.W.W. will stop capitalist dividing up,

and make labor wealthy and powerful instead of poverty-stricken and weak, as it is now.

Will Not Giving Labor All It Produces Destroy Capital?

This question is a survival of an old, exploded theory. According to this theory, capital is due to the savings of the individual capitalist. Hence, if the individual capitalist cannot take from labor and save, where is capital to come from? Capital is no longer a result of individual savings, but of corporate, social saving. For instance, corporations, composed of changing stockholders, nowadays provide for depreciation, new construction and expansion, new capital, etc., out of the products they take from labor. That is, they reserve a certain portion of profits for these purposes. The I.W.W., when in control of industry, will do essentially the same thing. It will reserve a portion of labor's products for industrial progress and social welfare, with the consent of the laborers and for labor's benefit.

Isn't Capitalist Ability Necessary to Direct Industry?

Yes; it is necessary to direct industry into the national wars and the class wars, into fascism and the world-hell generally, in which society now finds itself. Otherwise, we can get along without it. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as capitalist ability and direction. There is such a thing as the ability and direction of large numbers of salaried men and government scientists—co-operative and social ability—hired by and exploited by the capitalist class for its own damnable profit-making, civilization-destroying system. The I.W.W. will do away with this misuse of real ability. It will utilize real ability for social instead of private capitalist ends.

Does the I. W. W. Organize the Middle Class?

The questions raised regarding the relation of the middle class to the labor movement have been

pushed into greater prominence than ever before by the victories of fascism in foreign lands. It is pointed out by Alfred M. Bingham, U. S. middle class protagonist, that these victories, especially in Germany, were due in large part to middle class neglect by the labor movement. He warns against such neglect, if fascism is to be defeated here.

Bingham criticizes the I.W.W. particularly. He believes that it is only concerned with the organization of the manual worker—the pick-and-shovel stiff, the unskilled worker and the migratory worker. The technicians, executives, et al—the brain workers, the new middle class, according to Bingham,—receive no organizational consideration from the I.W.W. at all.

Of course, this is a misconception of industrial unionism of the I.W.W. type, which is inclusive of all employees. It is due, in large part, to an attempt to give the “new” middle class a separate economic status, unlike that of other workers; when the fact is that these so-called new middle classers are only a part of the capitalist machine, to be hired and fired and thrown on the bread-line as are all other workers; that is, according to the laws of supply and demand and the exigencies of profit-making policies.

The fundamental reason for the hiring and firing and breadlining, if not streamlining, of the “new” middle class, as well as all other workers, is to be found in the peculiar financial ownership of industry. Lucian Sanial, the well known economist, once said of this ownership (Socialist Almanac, p. 126):

We may further observe that this is in essence a financial movement. The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers, who make no distinction between industries, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value, expressed in money; and leave to technical men in their employ all technical operations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use values.

Translated into simpler language, this means that the financiers hire others at salaries and wages to create profits for them. These hired men have executive and organizing ability, inventive, chemical, clerical and mechanical skill, persuasive selling powers, legal and business training, not to mention muscular and physical strength, of every degree of development and variety of capacity and endurance. On their expert reports and suggestions as executive committeemen, department heads, efficiency managers, analysts, chemists, accountants, advisers, supervisors, foremen, mechanics, laborers, helpers, etc., depends the evolution and operation of modern capitalist industrial enterprise. This enterprise is run by hired subordinates of all kinds, who have no property rights, nor deciding voice in it, and who are all subject to the financial absolutism on top, that governs it.

The I.W.W. organizes these men just as they work for the financiers, without regard to their technical classification. It has many middle class intellectual proletarians, such as journalists, artists, civil engineers, managers, etc., etc., in its ranks. There is no problem of the middle class worker in the I.W.W. The I.W.W. recognizes his value, as it does the value of the humblest workers. The I.W.W. organizes them all. One for all, all for one, is its slogan.

In Cleveland, Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440, for instance, is organizing plants in that city in a way that practically refutes Bingham's erroneous beliefs regarding the I.W.W. Every employee in these plants, from the technician in the laboratory, to the bookkeeper, stenographer and accountant in the office, and the expert tool and die maker, the lathe hand and the unskilled helper in the shop, are enrolled as members and do their part in promoting its aims and objects. Under the Wagner Labor Relations Act, 440 is the employee bargaining unit in these plants.

The researcher in I.W.W. history will find that

the I.W.W. has, at various times in its career, attempted organization of the most diverse lower middle class elements, like bakers, barbers, shoe repairers, and similar callings.

It has also, at various times, as in the Lawrence strike of 1912, and the Paterson strike of later date, aroused and received the invaluable support of such artists as Art Young and John Sloan, and such writers as Andre Tridon and John Reed, famous author of "The Ten Days That Shook The World."

The Farmer and the I. W. W.

The farmer and the I.W.W. is another middle class relationship that the I.W.W. is called on to define and to determine. But really industrial evolution is determining it instead. Farmers are being forced into the working class.

Industrial evolution has taken from the farm many of its early functions. Canning, packing, preserving, refrigerating, storing, milling, manufacturing and transporting farm products was once done by farmers. Now mechanized industrial plants perform all these functions. They, accordingly, monopolize farm production and determine its many-sided activities, in combination with the financial interests.

The unprofitableness of farming has also caused the entrance of the corporation into farming, in order to insure supplies. In New York State, for instance, the Borden Milk Company has long since gone into dairying in order to get sufficient products for its own business. This was rendered necessary by the decrease in milch cows in the state, due to low prices to the farmer.

The same thing is noticeable in canning and preserving. Corporations like the Lipton Co., Heinz, Libby, Del Monte, Dole and others are insuring their own supplies by conducting their own truck farms. In addition, as already shown elsewhere in this booklet, the big farm corporation, as a farm corpora-

tion pure and simple, has arrived and is increasing in numbers. The banks and insurance companies promote these tendencies.

These giant corporations are reducing farming to an industrial basis. They are creating an agricultural proletariat, and the farm conducted on industrial principles of profit-making. They are preparing the communal agriculture of the future.

All these tendencies contribute to a revolution in farming. They have given rise to farm laborers and tenancy to an astonishing degree. Of the 10,482,323 farm population engaged in farming as of 1930, 5,000,000 are today farm wage laborers, share croppers and tenant farmers. They have little or no property, are the lowest wage recipients and work and live among the worst of conditions in the U.S.A.

The revolutionary tendencies of farming are likely to increase, instead of decrease. Frank Tracy Carlton, an authority, believes that the development toward larger farms, the efficient utilization of machinery thereon, the present high prices of farm products, the increase in land values, and the decrease in opportunities for extensive investments in railway and manufacturing enterprises, will tend to cause a rush of capital into agriculture in the near future. He adds:

The application of capital on a large scale, the appeal to scientific agriculture, and the introduction of scientific management and cost accounting may be expected to work marvelous changes. Many omens of changes to come may be discerned.

Since Prof. Carlton wrote those words, Armour & Co., Dupont and Ford have entered agriculture in California and elsewhere. The chemicurgical farm to make products for mass production, is now also on the way, fostered and backed by big capital. The scientific imagination has again proven prophetic!

Now, the I.W.W. reacts in response to these tendencies in two ways. One is theoretical; the other practical. Theoretically, there are some who

believe that the small farmer must be saved and that the I.W.W. should combine with him against capitalism in so doing. Others believe that since agriculture is becoming industrialized, and is largely determined by the evolutionary factors, it should be regarded by the I.W.W. as an industrial proposition, to be organized industrially and operated industrially.

Recent events in Spain demonstrate the practical value of I.W.W. ideas as applied to agriculture. In an article to the Federated Press from Madrid, Ralph Bates, well-known novelist, tells of their application in Villaneau de Corboda, Spain. 40 estates, averaging 1,500 acres each, owned by former absentee landlord, Antonio Erriso, were taken over during the fascist rebellion, and operated collectively by the agricultural workers' union, under the leadership of Julian Caballero. Live stock is also co-operatively held.

The union includes all of the workers, and studies their day by day problems, according to Bates. There is no compulsion to join. Small proprietors cultivate their holdings individually, but the union predominates.

Bates continues: "Despite the proximity of the town to the front, all the olive crops were gathered, and at this moment the collective extraction of olive oil is taking place, as well as the dressing and pruning of trees. The work has been so carefully done that the condition of the estates is actually improved.

"Due to natural difficulties, Villanueva lacked wheat and had an excess of meat and olive oil. These difficulties were overcome by collective exchange with other towns. Special difficulties arose with the influx of refugees from fascist terror. The town's former population is apt to double itself in a single day. Thus stocks of wheat are exhausted, but nevertheless the difficulty is overcome by working with committees from neighboring villages.

"A few workers not in the agricultural union in-

clude sheepshearers, and so on. This seasonal labor is performed by shoemakers, carpenters and other craftsmen organized into their respective unions. A majority of these workers have not asked for land.

"It must be emphasized that there have been no extremist experiments or coercion. For example, within the agricultural union there is a group advocating decollectivization and parceling of the land, and they are allowed full and free discussion. Small farmers, moreover, are not interfered with. One comes away greatly impressed with the popularity of Mayor Caballero."

Here we have a concrete illustration of I.W.W. industrialism applied to agriculture. Is it possible to conceive of a time coming when the agricultural revolution, or perhaps the breakdown of capitalism, will compel the farmers of the U. S. to organize agriculture from the bottom up, as the farmers did in Spain in the midst of a destructive rebellion?

The I.W.W. theory is the most constructive theory yet tried out amid fascist capitalist chaos. The small middle class farmer needs to come alive to the fact for his own good.

With the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. in Existence, is the I. W. W. Needed as a Labor Organization?

In the first place, this question is wrong in implying that the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. is a labor organization. The fact that the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. is an organization composed of laborers does not make either of them a labor organization. A labor organization must be judged, not by its personnel, but its objectives. The German army under Hitler is an army of Germans, not for the Germans, but for the big industrialists and financiers of Germany who took over Hitler and made him all powerful. So, too, the A. F. of L., or the C.I.O. is an army of laborers, not for labor, but for capital. In the last analysis, the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. is committed to the perpetuation of capitalism. It is so organized as to make that perpetuation possible.

On the other hand, the I.W.W. is opposed to capitalism and strives to inaugurate an industrial democracy, not merely collective bargaining to supplant the rule of the capitalist financial oligarchy. Composed of laborers, for laborers, by laborers, as it is, standing firmly on the class struggle and making no binding contracts or alliances with employers, as it does, the I.W.W. is the only labor organization in this country today.

In the second place, the I.W.W. is needed because of the incomplete organization of the workers by the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. The A. F. of L., owing to high initiation fees, job monopolies, race prejudices, color lines, etc., cannot and will not organize all workers. The result is a great masses of unorganized.

Our Organizing Problem.

In the article entitled, "Our Organizing Problem," appearing in the July, 1937, American Federationist, the whole number of workers organizable in unions, is given as 38,000,000. 32,859,000 are listed according to the 1930 Census. They "include 7,409,000 salaried workers (office workers and sales persons), 6,043,000 skilled wage earners, (craftsmen) and 19,407,000 wage earners (production workers, semi-skilled and unskilled workers). Besides these there are 1,383,000 professional workers: (1,063,000 teachers, 80,000 draftsmen, 165,000 musicians, 78,000 actors). All these were listed in the Census of 1930; but since 1930, 3,700,000 have been added to the working population. This makes a total of nearly 38,000,000. No management employees are included."

Edward Levinson, labor editor New York Post, gives the A. F. of L., on the basis of its own July 20, 1937, report, a membership of 3,106,439. He also gives the C.I.O. a membership of 3,094,000, or a combined total of 6,200,000 for both divisions of organized labor. If we add a generous 800,000 for independent unions, some of whom have either gone

A. F. of L., or C.I.O., and most of whom are railroad unions, we have, in round numbers, a total organized membership of 7,000,000 workers. This is surely a large number, of great power and greater potentiality. But, stacked up alongside of 38,000,- it is less than one-fifth of that number; leaving 31,000,000 still outside of union organization. Surely, "our organizing problem" is still a truly stupendous one.

Another labor organization is needed to organize labor more soundly and more completely on the lines required by modern demands against fascism, war and depression. The I.W.W. is the only body which meets these demands.

Old Objections Outmoded.

It won't do any longer to bring the old familiar arguments against the I.W.W. At this writing (August, 1937), the "official" labor movement manifests, in all of their many details, the various objections made against "unofficial" unionism in the past. There is "dual unionism," "jurisdictional disputes," "fratricidal warfare," "the destruction of unity," etc., galore. The "official" labor movement (which is it, A. F. of L., C.I.O., or both?) resembles a rough and tumble fight to the finish. A choice selection of epithets is being exchanged. If labor weren't the victim, it would be to laugh.

We can hear the heavenly choir singing, "Lead On Kindly Light," when "Bill" Green talks of John L. Lewis. "Violator of agreements, seizer of public property, fomenter of violence, riots, and uprisings that can have no place in the social, economic and industrial life of America," are a few things "Bill" says of dear John, in an article on "Steel Strikes Lost By Minority Rule and Violent Policies," printed in the American Federation Weekly News Service, July 10, 1937.

The same weekly news service contains the reprint of an interview with Green that originally ap-

peared in as fine a lot of capitalist newspapers as ever honored an A. F. of L. president with space. It is a loving characterization of Lewis. Here are a few choice quotes: "He has defied democratic process . . . he by persuasion and compulsion has made others violate their trusts . . . Having gathered a following, he attempted to rule unions, not serve them . . . He replaced union democracy with union dictatorship. No matter what the means before him he never turned and never stayed."

After that one wonders, having been his associate for years, why "Bill" took so long to proclaim all of John's manly qualities. But one ceases wondering, when Lewis refers to Green, in retort, as a "drooling traitor." Only Lewis fails to specify traitor to whom and what: Lewis, capitalism, or the working class? Nor did Green specify as to what Lewis is dictator for: big monopoly or capitalism?

Is Lewis Unionism Fascist in Tendencies?

Let us pause again to ask, what means this labor conflict, this struggle for power over organized labor? Is it a struggle, as suggested elsewhere in this booklet, merely between rival divisions of labor, conducted in the hostile competitive spirit of the A. F. of L.? Or is it one of many symptoms of the breakdown of capitalism, which strives, as a consequence, for greater regulation or control, via governmental and associational organization? And, in this striving, includes a greater regulation of labor via a greater organization of labor? In other words, is the Lewis form of unionism, unwittingly so, perhaps, a preliminary to fascism, as is also the new form of control capital a preliminary to fascism?

No matter what the answer to this question may be, there are many acknowledged facts that admit of no doubt. Among them is the fact that Lewis' industrial unionism is in great part, a New Deal product. As such, it is the work of men—like Lewis, Hillman, et al—closely allied with the Roosevelt ad-

ministration and the New Deal. The latter, as is well known, was an attempt to organize and control labor to the same ends.

Further, there is no doubt that many A. F. of L. craft union leaders fought the promotion of vertical unionism in accordance with the New Deal plan. Some, in addition, sensed an approach to fascism in the plan. They, accordingly, feared not only the invasion of industrial unionism, but the prospect of their own elimination in the final outcome of the labor projects of the New Deal.

Still more, there is no doubt that the use of the Lewis form of unionism as a build up to a new political party, dominated by Lewis and with Lewis as its presidential candidate, is suggestive of dictatorial possibilities against which labor should be ever vigilant and alert. There are no limits of the dangers to labor which such a combined economic and political dictatorship may embody. Nor is there any reassurance in the close relationship existing between the Myron Taylors and John L. Lewis that such a dictatorship will be in the interest of labor, either primarily or otherwise.

Evidently, there is more than appears on the surface of this present-day organized labor conflict than appeared in any organized labor conflict of the past. And it makes real industrial unionism a greater necessity now than at any previous time in American labor history.

How Will the I. W. W. Administration Function?

Through democratically selected representatives from industrial instead of territorial groupings; all subject to initiative and recall. Corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, are administered that way. They administer affairs requiring thousands of employees in many cities, regardless of geographical or political lines. In some instances, like Altoona, Pa., they dominate the very cities in which these workers live. In other instances, like

Gary, Ind., the citadel of the Steel Trust, they even plan the city and create new systems of education, in addition. Every institution in society—press, pulpit, school—is being modified either in co-operation with or under the influence of corporations. The University of Cincinnati, as an example, gives vocational training of all kinds in conjunction with actual employment on the railroads and in other industries. The Union College of Schenectady, N. Y., has been transformed practically from a theological seminary into a technical annex of the General Electric plant there. The center of I.W.W. administration will be industrial, instead of political, in keeping with the tendencies of the age.

Does the I. W. W. Favor the League of Nations?

Decidedly not! In the eyes of the I.W.W. there is no real league of nations, as yet. There is a league of capitalistic-imperialistic exterminations, secretly formulated in Paris and dominated by the Tories of Great Britain. Its first objective is to exterminate or pervert the world organization of labor that is opposed to imperialism and war. Its further and greatest objective is to exterminate every attempt at a new social order, as in its indirect aid to fascism in Spain. As Senator Johnson well said, "The League of Nations is an attempt to put progress in a straight-jacket."

The I.W.W. favors a league of the world's workers against the world's ravishers. It favors the organization of labor on the lines of world industry, to strike on such lines against war and the outrages against humanity arising from capitalism. In Italy, sailors have refused to man ships intended to help in the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. In Seattle longshoremen refused to load ships with ammunition consigned to Kolchak, the Cossack military representative of a Cossack capitalism, seeking to destroy free Russia. In Philadelphia, I.W.W. seamen held up a ship carrying explosives which they

suspected was being shipped to General Francisco Franco, Spanish fascist general. These, and other events, indicate how the real league of nations is forming and acting.

With corporations in existence having world-wide branches, with inventions like the steamship, wireless, aeroplane, eliminating distance, time and national barriers, the industrial organization of labor on a world basis is not only possible but necessary. Especially is it necessary, in view of the attempted control of world interests by world financiers. Labor alone, acting on a world-scale industrially can save the world from stupendous disasters into which the anti-social monstrosity of capitalism and fascism may at any time hurl it.

VI.

THE IDEALS OF THE I. W. W.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are ethical in character. They are ideals of justice and brotherhood the world over. They spring from the injustices of capitalism, which require the surrender of labor's product to capitalist profits, interest and rent; and, further, compel the subversion of all of labor's genius and aspirations to the support of that system which viciously despoils and destroys them, as occasion demands. Against the injustices of capitalism with its exactions of labor's product and labor's life, working class organizations have always warred, until now they realize, as never before, that it is only by the abolition of capitalism itself that labor can escape from it.

The I.W.W. attempts to give this realization practical form. The I.W.W. ideal is that of a working class so organized industrially as to be in a position to take over industry and thereby abolish the fascism of the capitalist class the world over when the necessity for such a course arises, as it appears to be doing more pronouncedly every day.

The ideal of the I.W.W. is industry by, for and of the workers—in a word, industrial democracy. Through a democratic, industrial system, the I.W.W. aims, not to destroy industry, but to eliminate its capitalist exploitation, thereby making it a more actual social institution in every respect than it is at present. Such a system throws the responsibility for its maintenance directly on the bulk of society engaged therein, viz., the workers themselves. Thus, the industrial democracy of the I.W.W. means working class liberation from capitalist thralldom. It means untold benefits to society.

A New Social Rebirth.

Every class liberation has caused a vast social awakening and rebirth. When the embryonic capitalist class shook off the trammels of the guild

system and the divine rights of kings, social development took a mighty leap forward, the greatest in history, up to that eventful finale. When the working class shakes off the incubus of capitalism and the self-imposed so-called rights of the capitalist class, it, too, will give an unprecedented impetus to social progress. For then will be released the flood of latent possibilities now damned up by the limitations and proscriptions of capitalism—sweeping many so-called problems before it.

Industrial Democracy Already Forming.

Already is the organized working class regarded as the forerunner of the new industrial democracy, a democracy in which the extremes of privileged wealth and power for the few and poverty-stricken slavery and denial of opportunity for the many will be transformed into the greatest development of all on the basis of economic and social equality.

Already is the working class showing great executive and organizing ability, great grasp and understanding of weighty problems, in its co-operative, political and labor movements. These involve billions of capital and human happiness untold.

Already is the working class demonstrating the possession of great statesmanship in its conferences and conflicts with governments and the owners of industries, on strike issues and questions of national and international importance. The increase in ability in this respect is only matched by the increase in determination to prevail.

Already is the working class developing great personalities who in other times might have been the engineers, generals, orators, poets, etc., of those times, men whose names glow with pride in the imagination and hearts of the working men who appreciate both the greatness and the weakness of mankind.

Already is the working class creating a press, a forum, a drama, a literature, an art of its own

—a network of institutions and activities, a many-sided culture, a dawning epoch, whose penetrating influences bring ever more talent to its expansion, to the great discomfiture of capitalist culture and the eventual destruction of the capitalist epoch itself.

Labor Able to Re-create Society!

It will not do for capitalism to cry out that labor is not competent to undertake the great task of social transformation, for it is on the competence of hired labor of all degrees and kinds that capitalism now depends; only, capitalist policy destroys the competence of labor, just as it destroys the products of the soil, in order to keep up profits.

Nor will it do for capitalism to say that labor is without either ability or genius, for capitalism, in order to secure labor's support, by bribes of place and position, parades the names of railroad presidents and inventors who originally sprang from the ranks of the working class. The working class is now, as always, a mine of ability and genius—a pay streak that always pans out well for the capitalists, and which will pan out well for future society under the aegis of the working class.

Nor will it avail capitalism any to claim that the working class is lacking in either morality, responsibility or thrift. Without these virtues in the working class, capitalism itself could not endure a moment. It is working class honesty and fidelity to duty that keeps capitalist billions intact and enables the railroads and all the other enterprises to run on schedule time and in due order. As for thrift, whose are the savings in banks, in spite of meager incomes? Who pays the industrial life insurance premiums, at high rates? Who joins the building and loan associations, the co-operative societies and the credit unions? The capitalist press answers is, the wage earners!

All that we can say is, "God help capitalist property, if ever the working class gets the capitalist

idea of morality, ethics, responsibility and thrift, for then society will be an even worse chaos and slaughter-house than capitalist 'virtue' has already made it."

I. W. W. Ideal a Well-Rounded One!

The ideal of the I.W.W. is one of more rounded development for all. To this end, it aims to secure more leisure and diversified employment; and to use the leisure now thrust upon the workers by unemployment. Just as many able men find recreation and expansion in the pursuit of many vocations, so it is the ideal of the I.W.W. to create conditions admitting of a many-sided growth in the average worker. By these means, the average worker will become a better judge of questions affecting industry and life in general. Combined with his own varied abilities, will be other and like abilities, to the advantage of all concerned.

This rounded development has already taken root in the working class. In working class life, many workers may be found who are not only proficient in their own particular industrial specialty, but who are also in addition, organizers, speakers, parliamentarians, editors, writers, poets, musicians, etc. etc. The varied requirements of industry with its seasonal and uncertain employment, gives rise to another variety of many-sided workers. So also does the ambition to escape wage slavery give rise to the student and inventor and philosopher—among the working class.

In brief, it may be said that the more highly developed worker of the future has already arrived. The ideal of the I.W.W. is to continue and enhance the tendencies thus begun, especially so as to transform the workers now employed in brain-benumbing and health-destroying occupations into better material for the new society.

Education is not the only I.W.W. function. Preparation is another one.

Capitalism Itself Helps Revolution.

Capitalism itself helps along the revolutionary process, though unwillingly and unconsciously. Its profits must ever be replenished, its property abnormally increased. To these ends, it educates even the lowest strata of the workers. And higher up on the mountain tops, it makes scientists and technicians of those who toil, in order that it alone may accumulate and become all powerful.

The process of educating the worker under capitalism is revolutionary. It not only transforms the brain of the workers but also their outlooks and aspirations. They soon perceive that upon them depends capitalist civilization and that without them it could not exist. Consequently, the modern working class tends steadily to wish to possess the entire contents of capitalism, power and all. Not for themselves alone, to the subjugation and degradation of others but for the emancipation and elevation of all workers; for the brotherhood of all mankind.

Where, in ancient Rome and Greece, the philosophers and geniuses, like Aesop, became slaves, under capitalism the slaves—their name is legion—become philosophers and geniuses. They labor for a new social rebirth, that in the very nature of social evolution, cannot be denied to them, except at the peril of a reversion to savagery for the entire human race. Humanity rises and falls with the working class.

Emancipation Rich in Possibilities.

The liberation of the working class from the thraldom of capitalism is rich in beneficial possibilities. Consider the harm done to productive labor by capitalism. Capitalism coerces labor. And though it can no longer deny labor the right to organize or to bargain collectively, the ancient struggle between capital and labor still persists, demoralizing industry and causing incredible losses to society. Remove capitalism, give to labor its own products and

the incentive thus created will result in greater industrial output and social security. It will save society from the chaos now threatening, because of the increasing intensity of the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class.

Society must perforce, recognize that coerced, dissatisfied labor is never efficient labor. Nor is the labor that intuitively, perhaps unconsciously, feels the degradation of capitalist paternalism. Nor, further yet is monotonous, machine-driven labor. Labor that is without incentive, self-respect or prospects of development is wasteful labor. It is discontented labor, perhaps not turbulently nor violently, but instinctively. Capitalism is sabotaging itself in the creation of modern, discontented labor. And though it lashes labor with whips of scorpions—nay, because it so lashes labor—will its own sabotaging tendencies increase. Capitalism is itself automatically destructive of labor's productivity and labor's loyalty.

Release labor from thankless capitalism! Release labor from paternalistic capitalism! Release labor from degrading, enslaving capitalism and you release forces for social good that only the workingman who knows, in his own person, the repression of capitalism, can dream of!

Give labor its own mastery! Throw labor on its own responsibility! Give labor a sense of manhood and womanhood of infinite possibilities—do all this, and you give to society an impetus to productivity that is unprecedented. History—the history of the abolition of chattel slavery and of feudalism—approves of such action in advance for such history is the history of great social impetus, thanks to class liberation.

The I. W. W. No Dictatorship.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are not the ideals of dictatorship, whether a fascist or so-called proletarian dictatorship. Dictatorship calls for submission to a leader, a superman who is the personification of

backward rather than forward growth. Dictators today attempt to "freeze" the status quo. They aim, under Hitler and Mussolini, to keep capitalism from evolving to higher economic planes, in which the great mass of the people, the workers and their dependents, will own and control in a democratic way. Under the Stalins dictators pervert socialist working class objectives to the creation of new privileged interests and the tyrannical frustration of working class liberation and construction, both at home and abroad. They are counter-revolutionary traitors to socialist ideals, turned allies of imperialist capitalism in all parts of the world.

I. W. W. Not State Socialism.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are not the ideals of state socialism. State socialism is based on political representation. It is bureaucratic. Its function is not to administer but to govern. Its aim is to raise the levies needed for army and navy expenditures. It tends to replace the oppression of the private capitalist with that of the authority of the state. It makes the state the employer and capitalist. It makes the politician the ruler. It insures the income of the capitalist bondholders who finance it. It is pro-capitalist and anti-proletarian.

I. W. W. Industrial Administration.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are the ideals of industrial administration. The industrial republic of the I.W.W. is based on occupational or industrial representation. Its function is to bring together all the factors of industry, in order to meet industrial needs and fulfill social requirements. Its concern is not to repress, but to develop; not to govern but to adjust—to administer according to the wisdom of the workers most basically and directly concerned. It makes the workers their own employers, their own capitalists, their own beneficiaries.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are not the ideals of

mob government. To scientists and technicians will go the problems of chemical research and management, to be worked out in co-operation with all the labor elements involved. Artists, sculptors, architects, will concern themselves with art, sculpture and architecture; teachers with education; railroad men with transportation; the factory workers with the factory. All will be organized according to their industry and entitled to representation in the industrial whole—the industrial republic, on the basis of their employment.

I. W. W. Encourages Industrial Study.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are such as to encourage and require a study of industry in all its phases. It has given a new interest to technology, as a result, that can not fail to be of far-reaching value to the new society coming. As a beginning, several of the I.W.W. industrial unions have organized a Bureau of Industrial Research to prepare handbooks on each of the great industries of the world simply written and sold at cost price.

The work has already taken practical shape in the woolen industry. The I.W.W. members employed therein have classified all the woolen factories in the country, together with their location, nearness to sources of supplies and markets, annual output, etc. They have classified this data with a view to its practical use, believing that it will be necessary to successful management by the workers when occasion requires.

The slogan, "Get wise to your industry," is one repeatedly sounded in the I.W.W. press and discussion.

I. W. W. a Tendency, Not a Theory.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are not the ideals of theory, but of tendencies. In this country, to cite an example, the teachers' union demands "democracy in education and education in democracy." Educa-

tion, in other words, should be more by, of and for educators, in the interests of students and all society, than by, and of politicians, business men and intellectual slaves, for the perpetuation of capitalism. After the World War, the Plumb plan appeared, with provision for the part management of the railroads by classified railroad workers.

Italian and United States Railroaders Sustain I. W. W. Idealism.

The urge toward the idealism of the I.W.W. is to be found in the increasing self-understanding of the workers. To this may be added an increasing recognition of the inefficiency, corruption and inhumanity of capitalism. In Italy, in 1910, the Union of Italian Railroaders, inspired by socialist ideals and the bad conditions of the railroad system, proclaimed themselves ready to operate the railroads. Their contentions sound almost like those of the United States railroad men of the present day. Through Odon Por, they alleged that the state had proved its utter incapacity for managing the railroads, because, primarily, of graft. Our railroaders say, because, primarily of looting by private financial groups. The Italians further stated that the technical incompetency and deficiency of the bureaucratic administration called to run the enterprise had demoralized the whole passenger and freight traffic and caused a growing deficit in the treasury of the state. Our railroaders alleged in 1919 the very same condition which, they say, was created for the purpose of causing a sentiment favorable to the return of the railroads to private control. The Italian railroaders of 1910 go on to declare that while the state has created thousands of new sinecures and highly paid offices, it has utterly neglected the technical part of the system. The American 1919 repetition was almost identically the same regarding the railroads financiers. The Italian railroaders clinch the matter by contending that, on

the other hand, the industrially organized railroad men have learned, through continuous discussion of the details of the system, the principles of organizing, managing and combining its factors. Their constructive and analytic criticism disclosed all the flaws of the railroad administration, proved that the state is an uneconomical institution, and demonstrated all the detail necessary to a successful reorganization of the railroads. They indicated that they must get back, above all, their whole liberty, and that in order to secure from the railroads greater benefits for the public, they must become personally interested in the enterprise. This is practically the American railroaders' approach to, and solution of, the railroad problem, also. It is the way labor approaches all modern problems, through its own direct participation and solution on the job—its own direct action, growing out of its own contact with conditions and the recognition of the need for its own organized initiative.

Capitalism Forces I. W. W. Forward.

In this country, labor is not organized to take over and run industry, in order to overcome capitalist inefficiency. American labor, outside of the I.W.W., is organized only to bargain with the capitalist, according to crafts and industrial divisions. It is not organized industrially to take over industry. However, it will be forced, nay it is being forced, to abandon that misconception of labor organization. Its own defeats are causing it to recognize the closely knit character of the modern industrial system and to organize, accordingly, within it, for its control and management in the interests of society by the industrially organized workers. In this work, labor everywhere will be aided by the growing paralysis of modern life, through capitalist incompetence and lack of principles. The latter, in the face of increasing technical knowledge, tends to increase social dangers by stimulating high prices,

inflation, strikes, overproduction, unemployment, crises and, last, but most important and sinister of all, fascism and war.

The prospects of the future, judged by the horrors of the past, are that society will either have to overturn capitalism or be overturned by it. With the same capitalist tendencies at work in world-struggles as formerly, with Japan taking the place of Germany as the imperialist-capitalist goat, because of its persistent invasion of China without a declared war, there is need for a constructive, evolutionary plan by which society may be saved and civilization restored once more. American labor, as represented by the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. has no plan. So far as the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. is concerned, society can go to hell, while the C.I.O. becomes only a "build-up" for another capitalist alias farmer-labor party. It is the I.W.W. alone who foresees and prepares against just such a disaster.

The I.W.W. plan is evolutionary, peaceful; capitalism alone will make it revolutionary and violent. All signs point that way. The age-old struggle between the new and the old is repeated once again on an unprecedented scale. The brand of Cain will be on capitalism's head in the future as in the past.

I. W. W. Idealism Colossal.

The idealism of the I.W.W. is immense in its magnitude. It strides the world like the Colossus of Rhodes. Its heralds are the seafarers on the waters of the earth, the cables beneath and the aeroplane in the heavens above. No transatlantic engineer throws a throttle but what he puts steam not only into his engine but also into the boiler of the I.W.W. No Leviathan plows the ocean except to carry argosies of the I.W.W. to a world constantly growing smaller and more neighborly in its popular inclinations. The world was Tom Paine's country; to do good his religion. The I.W.W. has the same fatherland as Tom Paine, the same ethical aspirations.

To subjugate the world was the dream of Alexander, Ceasar, Kaiser Wilhelm, and now Hitler and Mussolini. To free the world from subjugation, slavery and poverty is the fondest dream of the I. W. W. To carry on, not in world-slaughter, but in world emancipation, is the I. W. W. aim and object. To create, not only a world republic of letters, but one of labor, such is the I. W. W. mission, with true culture, aided by world development, following in its path.

I. W. W. Comes to Build Up, Not to Tear Down.

The ideals of the I. W. W. let it be said again and again are constructive not destructive. The I. W. W. strives to build up not to tear down. It erects the new society on material provided by the old. It carries progress to higher material and ethical planes. It retains giant, co-operative industry, with its profuse wealth production, for all human beings, because it is only made possible by the co-operation of the world's workers and not by the few who exploit and grow powerful and tyrannical because of their exploitation.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are co-operative not competitive. They are social, not individualistic. The I. W. W. views man as at war with nature and compelled to unite to wrest from nature the secret of its forces and the means for man's own subsistence. Only as a man ceases to war with man will nature yield up her secrets and man triumph over necessity. To the degree that man does this does man pass from the stage of beastly materialism to a far-flung brotherhood, unsurpassed and unsung in all history.

The ideals of the I. W. W. seek to develop well being in all its phases. The I. W. W. seeks to abolish poverty. To poverty, the I. W. W. opposes the increasing fecundity of nature under scientific control and the increasing productivity of the mechanical genius

of man. The I.W.W. seeks to abolish class hatred. To class hatred it opposes a society made one by common, fraternal interests. The I.W.W. seeks to abolish war. To war the I.W.W. opposes the cementing influence of world industry, aided by the growing world consciousness of the world's workers.

The ideals of the I.W.W. are real, not utopian. They have their origin, their embryo, in capitalist development. They aim to advance this development further for the good of all instead of the profit of a few. The capitalists are now the only dramaticists, the only utopians. They believe the impossible and imagine the impossible. Though they know their system evolved out of previous systems, they hug the fond delusion that evolution will stop with it. And they are called "hard-headed men." That's what they are indeed. Their "ivory domes" are so hard that the absurdity of their ideas will never penetrate their alleged brains, or so-called vision.

The Immortality of Idealism.

Idealism is irrepressible. It never dies. The idealism of the I.W.W. cannot be repressed, because it is the idealism of a new epoch already challenging and overthrowing that of the old. The I.W.W. has suffered martyrdom and still thrives. Its attempt to revitalize the initiative and the energy of tens of millions the world over. It is an attempt to which it gives foremost expression, but not birth. It is the working class themselves the world over, reacting from the futilities and horrors of capitalism, that have given birth to the movement for industrial democracy. On them and on the forces behind them depends this great movement. You may kill the I.W.W. but you can't kill them.

History should cause the oppressors of the I.W.W. to pause. The scaffold never yet killed an ideal, or throttled a movement inherent in the nature of events or in the hearts and heads of mankind.

John Brown's Spirit Still Marches On.

Lovejoy's press was thrown into the river and he himself was afterward murdered. William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through Boston streets with a rope around his neck. John Brown was hanged. Yet his spirit marches on, not only to the abolition of chattel slavery, but to the abolition of wage slavery, as well. John Brown still lives, reincarnated in the abolitionists of modern times.

For over 700 years has Ireland been oppressed and devastated. Yet Irish idealism lives unconquered. The Emmets of yesterday are replaced by the Connollys of today. During the year 1918 British imperialism claimed forty million victims in India. Instead of destroying Indian idealism, this staggering murder but increases it, giving it a heroism and grandeur unparalleled. Tens of millions more have died in the World War, on the battlefields and as a result of various economic blockades. Fascism has since emerged to inaugurate an international rape and robbery, with millions more victims, present and prospective. Nevertheless, despite this appalling blight, humanity everywhere raises its crushed spirits and aspires to end these monstrosities once more. Even in Germany and Italy, the underground socialist-communist movement persists and grows. Everywhere in the leading industrial nations, not even excluding Japan, are the idealist "termites" at work helping fascist-imperialist-capitalism to weaken and destroy its own foundations. To the industrialism of capital the world over, with its rapine and slaughter for profit and property, idealism proposes the industrialism of labor, with its brotherhood of all and its peace for all.

Idealism Always Inspiring.

Idealism is historic. Though it never teaches oppression, it always inspires the oppressed. And it is the idealism of the ages that inspires the I.W.W. backed by modern imperialist-capitalist tendencies.

So long as these have but a huge slaughter house to offer humanity, for the profit of a few, so long will humanity endeavor to end them, in the interest of all.

Notwithstanding all the slanders cast upon it, by oppressors who misuse and coerce it, human nature is not so vile as to tolerate the foulness of capitalist "civilization" indefinitely. Capitalism has been weighed and found wanting. The handwriting is on the wall. The new era already casts its shadows before.

So the I.W.W. looks forward, not backward, buoyed alike by the sacrifices of the past, the prospects of the present and the possibilities of the future. It believes that, no matter what happens, evolution will continue to evolve and revolution to revolute. All things live, run their appointed course and die. Life under capitalism is a struggle for a better existence for all living creatures in the future society—the industrial commonwealth of labor, so says the I.W.W. Brief has been the span of capitalism's existence, barely 150 years since its first pronounced appearance. And today sees it nearly undone, struggling desperately to survive, and taking on the look of galvanized life rather than new vitality. And the new society looms up large ahead. History may write its grandest records on its pages.

The present cannot long endure. Its antecedents are against it. All precedents as the lawyers say, are against it. Co-operative in character, and depending on all for existence, capitalist exploitation must be eliminated from co-operative industry, in the interests of all.

Under all the foregoing circumstances, to lynch, tar and feather, outlaw and otherwise maltreat the I.W.W. will avail capitalism nothing. Persecution warms the hearts of men toward the I.W.W. Persecution causes men to lend ear to the I.W.W. Persecution makes proselytes for the I.W.W. more numerous than it makes martyrs. It is this overproduction of proselytes that makes the business of

ideal extermination humanly impossible. And it is this overproduction that will finally submerge capitalist exploitation everywhere.

The I. W. W. a Call to the Best in Man.

The I.W.W. is a call to the wise, the kind, the generous of all mankind, especially to the working class. It is not a bravado's defiance to social development, but the cumulative reasoning of many great minds, perhaps crudely applied, but at least possessed of all their elemental strength. It is germinal, rather than full-grown. It is a beginning, rather than a completed article. It is raw, rather than refined; real, rather than sophisticated; apparently intricate yet simple; reckless, yet with reason. It is a wonderful manifestation, a multi-compound of psychology, economics, sociology, government, art, poetry, ethics and philosophy.

Dreamers! Yes! So were the builders of the capitalist structure, now cracked at the foundation and on the verge of collapse. For, what is it to dream, if not to achieve?

And, considering all signs, the I.W.W. is destined to achieve.

THE END.

APPENDIX I

The Trend of American History Logic of Past Quarter Century Is Fascism The Solution and Answer To It.

"The man in the street" will tell you, "Ah, yuh can't do anything against the trusts and big corporations. They've got all the money and the pull." This fact is recognized by some of the best writers in the country.

Henry D. Lloyd, in his book, written three or more decades ago, "The Lords of Industry," wrote, "The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of government."

Frank L. McVey, in his "Modern Industrialism," says the same thing in a more positive manner, viz., "The result (of American industrial development) is what might have been expected: an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a state that is puny when compared with it."

Another author, Wm. Kay Wallace, in his "The Trend of History," declares, "we are standing on the treshhold of an apolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate . . . The preeminence of the state politically conceived has been called into question . . . Other forms of corporate organization are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our very eyes a new, great organization in its essence unpolitical . . . 'Industrialism', which may serve to designate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history."

Amos Pinchot, in a 1923, "The Nation" article entitled, "Railroads and the Mechanics of Social Power," reviewed recent history in this realistic fashion:

"In the last thirty years we have watched the balance of power shift from the hands of the public into those of an industro-financial hierarchy com-

posed of a few hundred persons, representing our trusts, railroads, banks and insurance companies. And while these persons are neither better nor worse, nor more intelligent or stupid than the rest of us, they are, for the most part, narrow men, mainly specialists in money making, and actuated by a rather unreflecting instinct of acquisition. For this reason we cannot accept their control of the country as either inevitable or beneficial. To change this control, to re-allocate power, is the problem of the people of the United States."

The powerlessness of the New Deal, in its inability to do nothing more than re-entrench the "economic royalists" whom it set out to reform, as well as rescue, should leave no doubt as to who controls the country, whether it is the indus-tro-financial or the political state. But where is it leading us to? Listen to Prof. Robt. A. Brady, in his recent book, "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism." Discussing "Looming Shadow of Fascism Over The World," in the final chapter, he gives consideration to the situation in the U.S.A. In so doing he asks and answers the following question: "In the face of growing labor militancy and its stated or implied thrust at the heart of the capitalist system, what sort of a politic-economic system can the business men be expected to promote? The answer is inescapable by all the logic of the past quarter Fascism."

"Fascism," he declares, "requires the full mobilization—militarization—of all national resources. It attempts to expand over all layers of the population the autocratic controls of the **business establishment** and the barracks. It both figuratively and literally **puts the nation in arms.**" (Bold face type ours.)

Reminds one of the corporation private armies and hired thugs exposed by the La Follette Senate Committee.

Prof. Brady concludes: "The hope of the people of the United States is to be found, not in giving

free reign to monopoly-oriented and fascist-inclined capitalism; but in turning back its fields, factories, and workshops to those who fought its war of freedom against a tyrannical power and who built, with their muscle and brain, all the real wealth and all there is in America which deserves the name of real culture. But it will not come to them as a 'gift'; they must learn that the only solution to recovery of their heritage lies within themselves."

Righto! And there's no place like industry in which to assert this self-reliance. And no time like the present.

Industrial Unionism of the I.W.W. type—building the framework of the new society in the shell of the old—is the best means to this end; the best answer to fascism.

APPENDIX II.

Industrial Union Manifesto.

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve, alongside the discarded machine. A deadline has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless

condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his masters may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was that of the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer, that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentrations on lines of long gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotence of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men! Hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the per-

petuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts of the betterment of the working class have proved abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdictional struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax, should be uniform throughout.

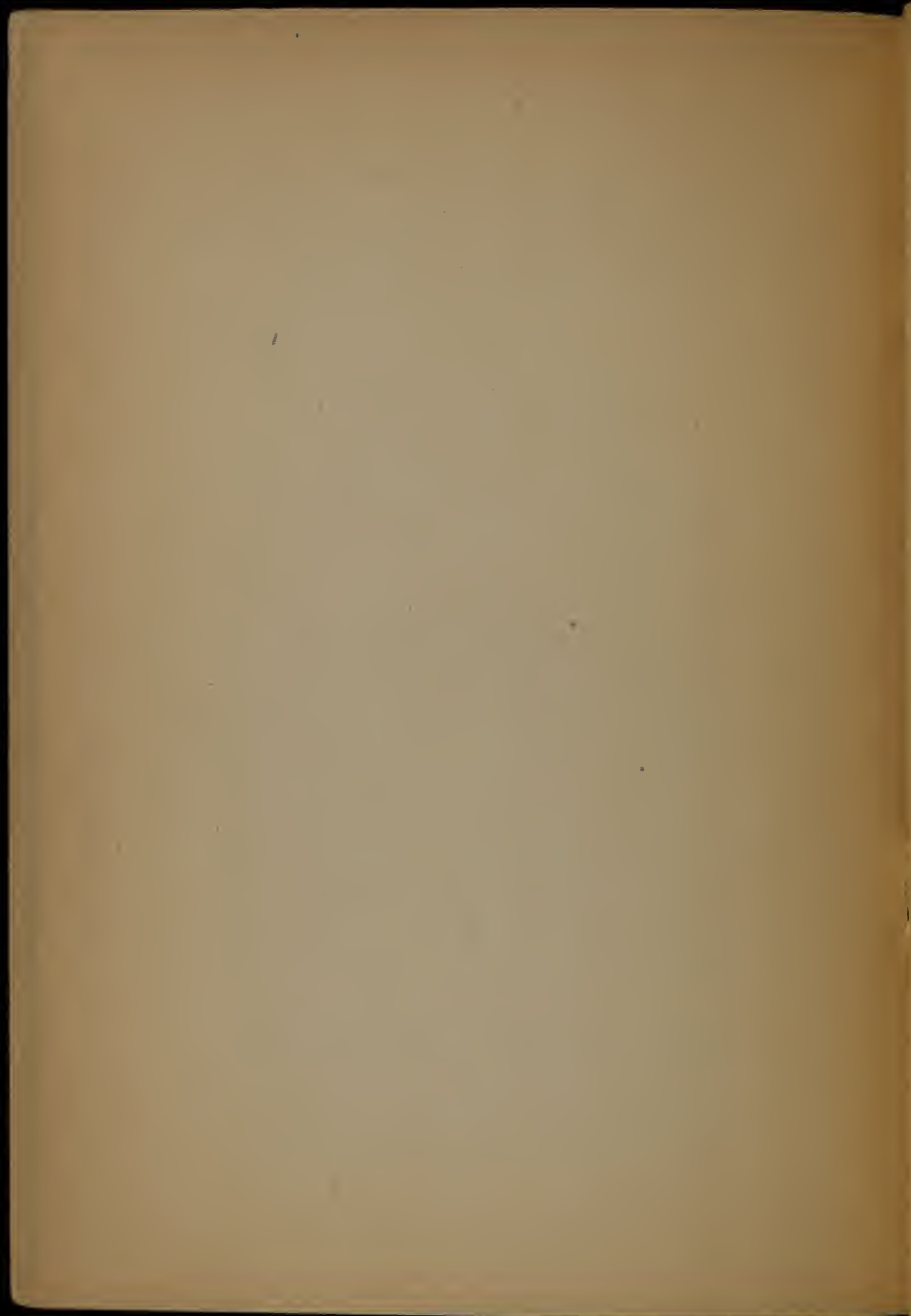
All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

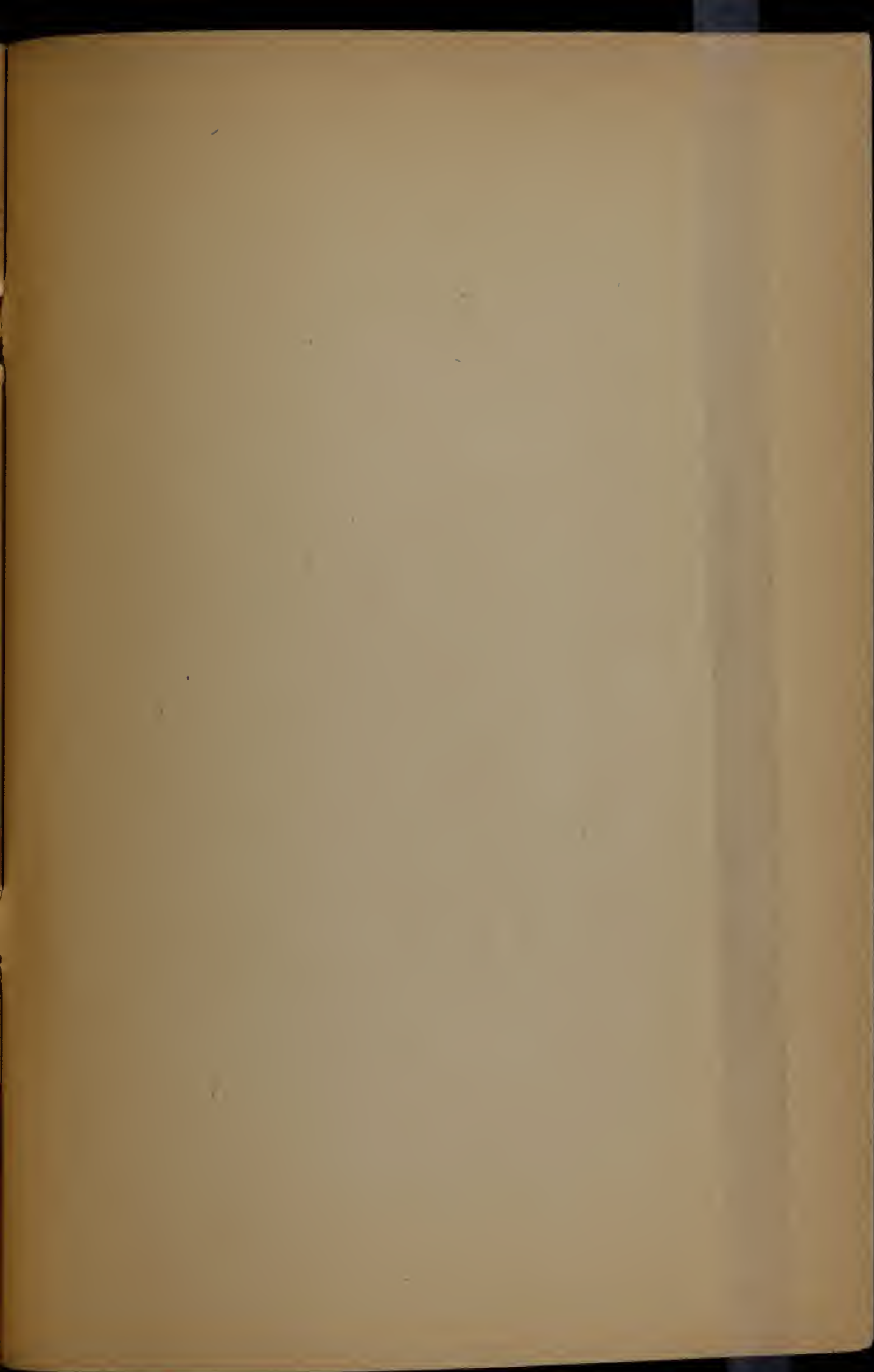
Workmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

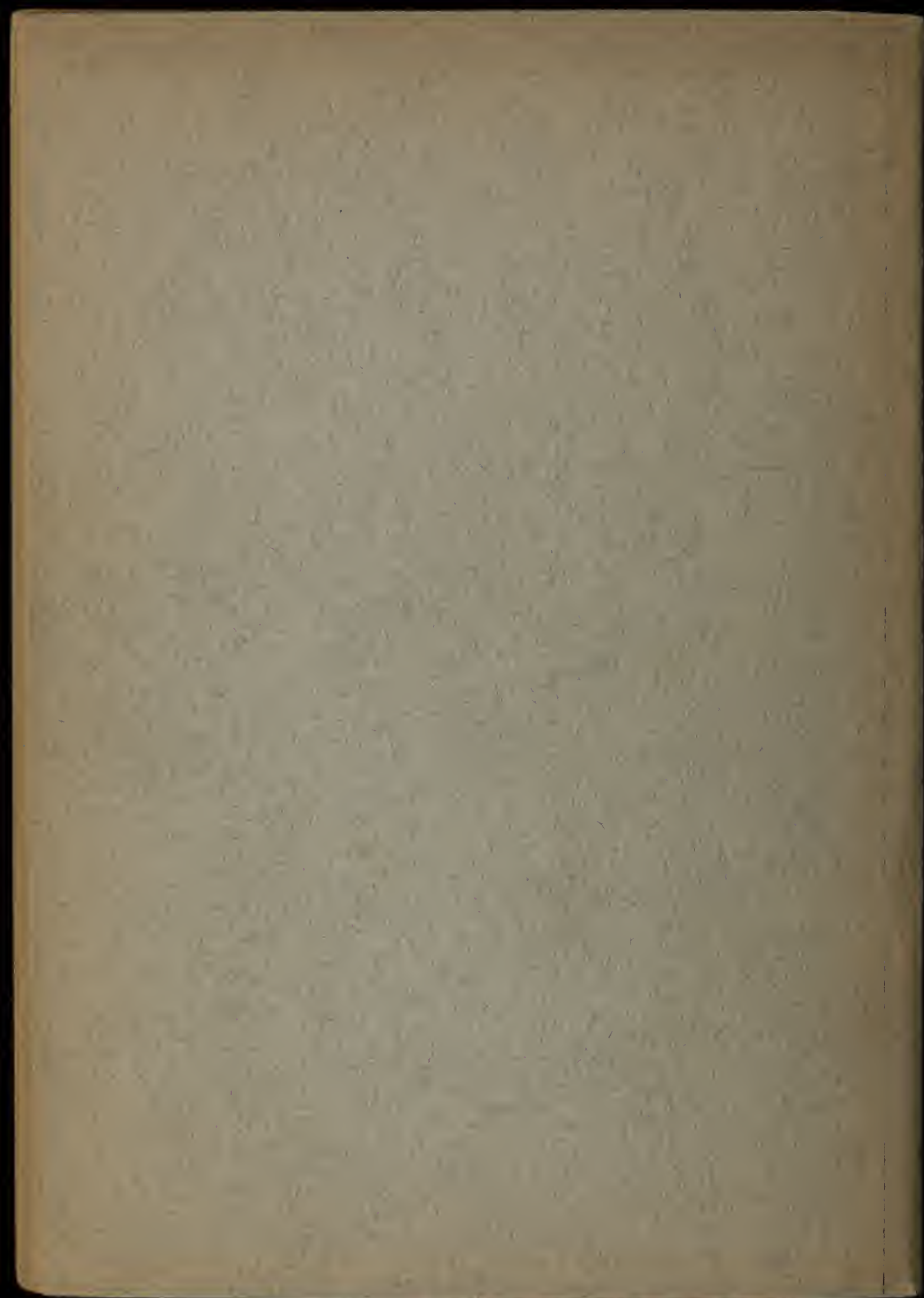
The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

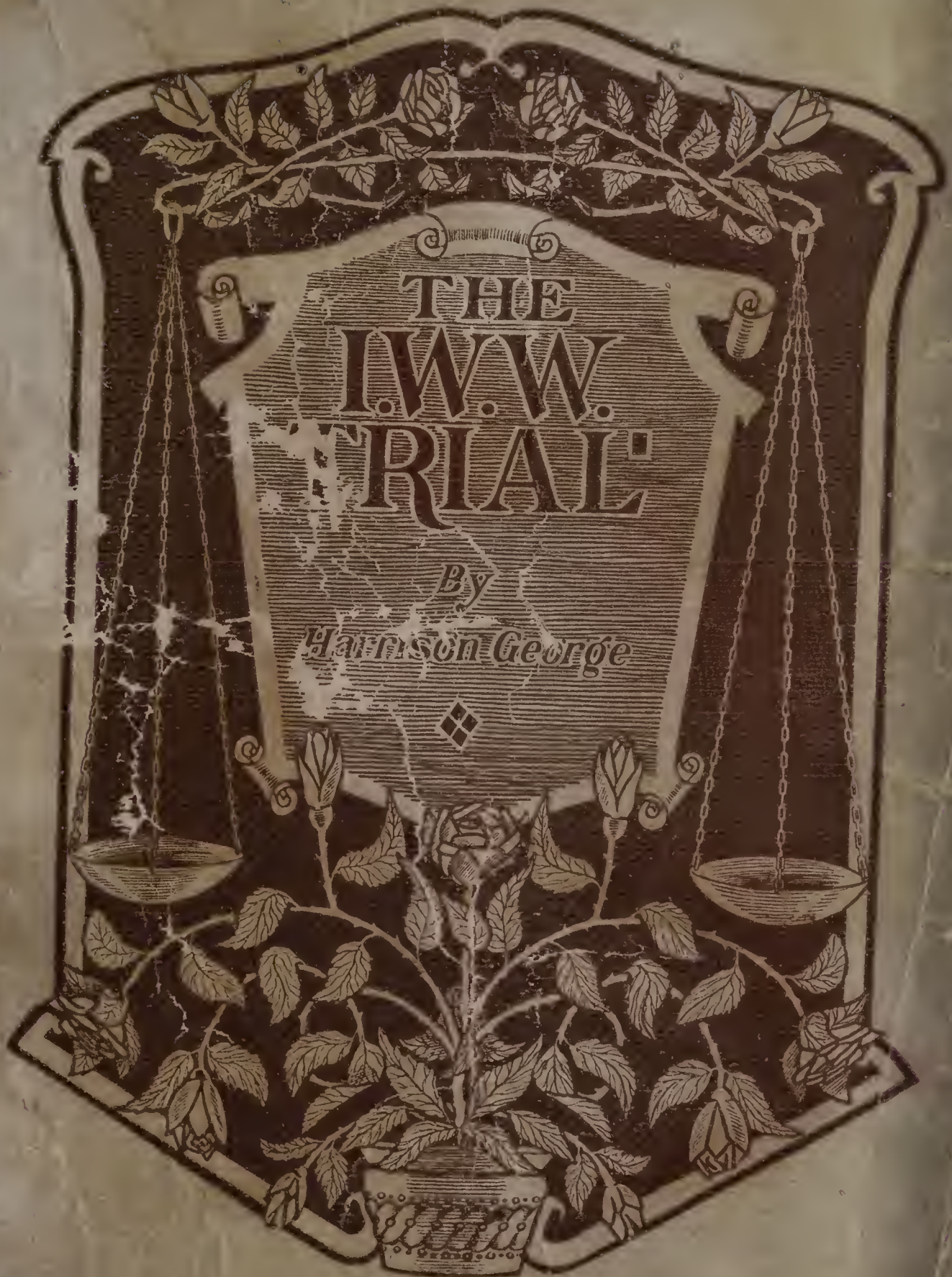
A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.











The I. W. W. TRIAL

Story of the Greatest Trial in
Labor's History by one
of the Defendants


HARRISON GEORGE

Introduction by
A. S. EMBREE





Introduction.

 HIS history of the I. W. W. trial at Chicago, by Harrison George, one of the defendants, is necessarily greatly condensed. The author does not attempt to review the testimony of all witnesses for the prosecution and defense, but rather brings out the high lights of the case and shows particularly the importance of it as an integral part of the class struggle. Verbatim testimony is given only where the actual questions and answers bring out these phases.

The narrative starts abruptly with the court procedure after the selection of the jury from the second venire—April 15, 1918. In order to show the background of this greatest trial in the history of labor, it is necessary to provide a brief review of the strikes in the lumber and mining industries of the northwest and southwest in the spring and summer of 1917, which historic struggles, shaking the very basis of capitalist exploitation, so alarmed the lumber and copper barons that federal aid was invoked by them and speedily granted, the fact of the country being at war with the Imperial Government of Germany being made the cornerstone of the prosecution.

Space forbids even a brief review of the early histories of the lumber and mining industries of the northwest and Arizona.

THE LUMBERJACKS

In the spring of 1917, the greatly increased demand for lumber to fill war orders was of itself sufficient to boost wages in the lumber industry to a point before almost unthought of. But for years the loggers had been figuring on some day making a stand for eight hours. While the other demands—shower baths, dries, sanitary bunkhouses, etc.—were

important, the eight-hour day was the one big thing.

The first strike which occurred among the loggers took place on the Fortine River, Montana, on April 17th.

The second strike, lasting three days and resulting in a complete victory for the strikers, was on the St. Maries River, Idaho.

The Flathead River and Stillwater, Montana, and the Little and Big North Forks of the Coeur d'Alene River, Idaho, were the scenes of the next strikes. The companies, by giving an advance in wages of two dollars per day, succeeded in getting the drives through with scabs.

A strike on the Entiat River, near Wenatchee, Wash., was next, the strike winning \$5.00 for eight hours for peavey men and \$6.00 for boatmen and cooks. The strike was of ten minutes duration.

St. Maries River, Idaho, was the scene of a second strike which lasted thirty days and resulted in a decided victory for the strikers.

On June 10, the employes of the Cascade Lumber Company and those of the Humbird Lumber Company at about the same time went on strike as a protest against the food. When they reached town they held meetings and decided to enlarge the scale of the strike to cover the full demands outlined at the first convention of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, I. W. W., held at Spokane, Wash., on March 3, 1917.

Seeing that the two strikes were important and really strategic, the organization committee of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union decided to act on their instructions. Accordingly a call was issued on June 18, for a general strike of lumber workers for the full demands, to which all the camps of the Inland Empire responded by July 1, causing a complete tie-up of all the camps and a partial tie-up of the mills. A few of the smaller mills were closed and in several of the larger mills the working forces were reduced to one shift in each mill.

The following mills were closed down partially: Milwaukee Land Company, St. Joe, Idaho; Milwaukee Lumber Company, St. Maries, Idaho; Blackfoot Lumber Company, (Owned by Amalgamated Copper Company, Butte), Bonner, Mont. The following were completely tied up: Coeur d'Alene, at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; Humbird Lumber Company, Sand Point, Idaho; Eureka Lumber Company, Eureka, Mont. and Sumner Lumber Company, near Kalispell, Mont.; Weyerhauser Mill, Elk River, Idaho; Mann Lumber Company, De Borgia, Mont.

The fact that most of the employes of these mills were married men, forced to trade at the company stores and rarely ever free of debt, accounts for the lack of response to the strike call on their part.

On July 4, the most of the camps in Grays Harbor and Puget Sound districts closed down, as is customary at that time of the year, for ten days for repairs and to give the men a chance to celebrate the Fourth in town. A few days previous a call was sent from the short log men of the Inland Empire calling on the long timber men to come out with them. Big meetings of lumberjacks were held at Seattle, Hoquiam, Aberdeen, Tacoma, Everett and Portland.

The result of these conferences was a strike call, issued on July 13. The workers in practically every logging camp responded to the call. By July 17, twenty per cent. of the mills on the Pacific coast had also ceased operation.

The strike was bitterly fought for a period of three months when, after due deliberation, it was decided to go back on the job and use the intermittent strike. This policy was immediately adopted and resulted in a complete victory by December 1, 1917, in the Inland Empire and by January 1, 1918, all through the northwest.

The Lumbermen's Association, seeing that the I. W. W. refused to work more than eight hours and had practically enforced it in all the camps, granted the eight hour day on January 1, under the guise of

patriotism. The Lumbermen's Association of Oregon at the same time refused to grant the eight hour day, giving the same patriotic reasons to explain their attitude. However, the lumberjacks in Oregon kept hammering, pulling new camps every day, and finally Colonel Brice P. Disque, having superintendence of all lumber production in the northwest, after a conference at Washington, went over the heads of the lumber barons and declared for an eight-hour day.

THE MINERS

For years the blacklist system obtaining in nearly all metal mining camps has been the underlying cause of strike after strike. In the copper mining and smelting industry wages, based for the most part on the sliding scale, went up and down with the price of copper. With copper selling at thirty cents in the spring of 1917, wages were the highest on record. But the cost of living had outstripped even the increase in wages. Another great cause of discontent among the miners was the speed-up system which greatly increased the percentage of accidents and deaths.

In Butte particularly the rustling card (blacklist) and speed-up system were both used ruthlessly on the workers. A fire broke out in the Speculator Mine on June 8, and as exits by which the miners could have escaped had been blocked by concrete bulkheads, (to make easier the gleaning of excess war profits) one hundred and seventy-four men died a horrible death.

The indignation of the miners of Butte culminated on June 12 in the calling of a strike by the Independent Metal Mine Workers' Union, the latter made up almost wholly of former members of the Western Federation of Miners.

The response to this strike was wonderful, and demands were made for the abolition of the rustling card, \$6.00 flat minimum scale, union supervision of

safety appliances, and other demands for better conditions underground.

Meanwhile in Arizona, the miners throughout the entire state had been seething with discontent, mainly due to the speed-up system, for many months. A strike had occurred in Jerome in April in which both members of the I. U. M. M. & S. W. (Western Federation) and of the I. W. W. participated. This strike which was mainly for the purpose of bringing the wage scale in Jerome up to the standard of the Miami scale, was won in a short time.

In Miami and Globe the I. U. M. M. & S. W. had presented demands amounting to very little more than a recognition of the union, in April or early in May, later setting July 1, as the date for a strike in case the demands were refused by the companies. In Clifton, Morenci and Metcalfe, the miners, mostly Mexican, organized independently under the Arizona State Federation of Labor, had long been threatening to strike.

At Bisbee the speed-up and the physical examination (blacklist) systems had been the cause of strike talk among the employes of the Copper Queen (Phelps-Dodge) Company and the Calumet & Arizona for more than a year.

On June 15, 1917, the first convention of the Metal Mine Workers' Union No. 800, I. W. W., was held at Bisbee. The Butte strike was endorsed, but delegates present went on record against immediate strike action in Arizona. Nevertheless on June 24 a mass meeting of miners of the I. W. W. elected an executive committee of five and instructed them to present demands to the companies, giving the committee power to call a strike if the demands were refused. Demands similar to Butte demands were presented to the companies on June 26 and being promptly refused the strike was called for the following morning. Nearly eighty per cent. of the day shift came out at once and on the fourth day of the strike ninety-three per cent. were out on all shifts.

At Globe and Miami on July 1, strike calls issued by both the I. U. M. M. & S. W. and the I. W. W. resulted in a complete tie-up of every shaft in both camps. Volunteers manning the pumps could not get supplies through the pickett lines without the consent of the strike committees. Demands presented by the I. W. W. were as nearly as possible identical with demands in Butte and Bisbee.

The miners in Clifton, Morenci and Metcalfe came out immediately afterwards making local demands. At Jerome a strike was called on the 2nd and was followed by a walkout of the majority of the miners in that camp. Other smaller camps also fell in line and the production of copper in Arizona was completely at a standstill.

The strikes were peaceful in every camp. No excuse could be found by the company hirelings to start riots. But the company papers maintained a steady campaign of lying misrepresentation with the object of making the general public believe that the strikers contemplated violence. Their big card was patriotism. On this plea eighty strikers were forcibly deported from Jerome on July 10, in cattle cars. They were turned back at the state line by California authorities and were taken to Prescott, where they were lodged in jail.

On July 12, under the nominal leadership of Sheriff Harry Wheeler, twelve hundred striking miners were rounded up by two thousand gunmen gathered from many points, and loaded on a train of cattle and box cars. There was no food and very little water. They were taken into the state of New Mexico and left on the desert at Hermanas. On July 14, after forty-eight hours without food, the deportees were given shelter and food at Columbus by the United States Government.

Attempts to deport the strikers at Globe and Miami were frustrated by the vigilance of the men. The strike there and in the Clifton district continued in force until about the middle of October, when they

were "settled" by President Wilson's Labor Commission, headed by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.

After two months of splendid solidarity on the part of the deportees at Columbus, during which time repeated demands were made for their return to their homes in Bisbee, orders were posted on September 11, that rations would be discontinued. Nearly six hundred immediately returned to Bisbee without protection, completely at the mercy of the so-called Loyalty League. There they were arrested wholesale and the majority of them again driven from the camp. Three hundred Mexicans went over the line from Columbus into Old Mexico and were furnished transportation and employment by the Mexican government. The Bisbee strike was also "settled" in October by the Labor Commission after a psuedo agreement had been made between the companies and a handful of gunmen and scabs hastily "organized" by Chas. Moyer, president of the I. U. M. M. & S. W.

During the month of July in Butte, the Amalgamated Copper Company, "voluntarily" granted an increase in wages amounting to more than fifty per cent. of the increase demanded by the strikers. Other concessions were made by the company, but as the abolition of the rustling card was the chief demand the strikers refused to return to work. On August 1, before daylight, company thugs kidnapped Frank Little, organizer and member of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., and taking him to a trestle on the Milwaukee railroad lynched him and left his body hanging. The strike lasted six months and was called off on December 18, at a joint meeting of both unions. There was a net gain to the strikers of nearly \$1.00 a day in wages and a slight betterment of underground conditions, but the rustling card was still maintained with a modification that one card would serve for a year instead of it

being necessary for a miner to get a new card every time he quit or was fired.

RAIDS AND INDICTMENT

The fact that 50,000 lumberjacks and 40,000 miners were on strike at once, nearly all the strikers being under the banner of the I. W. W., caused consternation in the camps of the lumber and copper barons. Helpless of their own accord to break the strikes and make safe their enormous excess war profits, they appealed to the federal government, charging that the I. W. W. was being financed by German gold for the purpose of hampering the government in carrying on the war. Attorney General Gregory came to the rescue and a federal grand jury was convened at Chicago during the month of August.

On September 5, 1917, raids were made on headquarters of the I. W. W. at Chicago and on branch offices throughout the country by agents of the Department of Justice. Books, correspondence, even typewriters and spittoons were in many cases seized and taken as evidence.

On September 28, arrests were made after an indictment had been returned by the grand jury. The names of the men indicted follow, those apprehended appearing in capitals:

OLIN B. ANDERSON
AURELIO V. AZUARA
CHARLES ASHLEIGH
JOHN AVILA
CARL AHLTEEN
GEORGE ANDREYTCHEV
Joe Barick
CHARLES BENNETT
ARTHUR BOOSE
JOHN BALDAZZI
George Bailey
Jimmy Burch
ROY A. BROWN
R. J. BOBBA
RICHARD BRAZIER
DAN BUCKLEY

JULIO BLANCO
Nick Berborc (Verbanoc)
J. R. BASKETT
G. J. BOURG
J. H. BEYER
STANLEY J. CLARK
McGregor Cole
Ed. Cunningham
Pedro Cori
Ernest D. Condit
RAY CORDES
RALPH H. CHAPLIN
ROGER S. CULVER
ALEXANDER COURNOIS
ARTHUR C. CHRIST
J. T. DORAN

E. F. DOREE
 PETE DAILEY
 C. W. DAVIS
 STANLEY DEMBICKI
 JAMES ELLIOTT
 JOSEPH J. ETTOR
 FORREST EDWARDS
 Phineas Eastman
 B. E. Fabio
 MEYER FRIEDKIN
 JOHN M. FOSS
 Joe Foley
 BEN FLETCHER
 ELIZABETH G. FLYNN
 RAY S. FANNING
 TED FRASER
 Sam Fisher
 J. Fishbein
 PETER GREEN
 H. A. GILTNER
 JOE GRABER
 C. R. GRIFFIN
 Fred Goulder
 Charles Garcia
 JOSEPH J. GORDON
 W. A. GOURLAND, (or
 N. G. Marlatt)
 HARRISON GEORGE
 Jack Gaveel
 ARTURO GIOVANNITTI
 James Gilday
 ED. HAMILTON
 CLYDE HOUGH
 F. Humphrey
 WM. D. HAYWOOD
 GEORGE HARDY
 HARRISON HAIGHT
 DAVE INGAR
 C. A. Jones
 RAGNAR JOHANSON
 FRED JAAKKOLA
 OTTO JUSTH
 CHARLES JACOBSON
 CHARLES R. JACOBS
 PETER KERKONEN
 Charles Kratspiger
 Ph. Kusinsky (Kerinsky)
 William Kornuk
 Ben Klein
 H. F. KANE

JAMES KEENAN
 A. D. KIMBALL
 JACK LAW
 LEO LAUKKI
 VLADIMIR LOSSIEFF
 ————— Lanikos
 W. H. LEWIS
 BERT LORTON
 HARRY LLOYD
 MORRIS LEVINE
 CHARLES L. LAMBERT
 H. H. Munson
 ————— Mowess
 WILLIAM MORAN
 JAMES H. MANNING
 HERBERT MAHLER
 A. Martinez
 JOHN MARTIN
 Edward Mattson
 W. E. MATTINGLY
 FRANCIS MILLER
 JOE McCARTY
 CHARLES McWHIRT
 H. E. McGuckin
 PETER McEVOY
 HERBERT McCOSHAM
 CHARLES H. McKINNON
 J. A. McDONALD
 WALTER T. NEF
 PIETRO NIGRA
 George Numcoff
 FRED NELSON
 V. V. O'HAIR
 JOSEPH A. OATES
 PAUL PIKA
 LOUIS PARENTI
 GROVER H. PERRY
 ALBERT B. PRASHNER
 JOHN PANCNER
 JAMES PHILLIPS
 CHARLES PLAHN
 WALTER REEDER
 ABRAHAM RODRIGUEZ
 GLEN ROBERTS
 Fred C. Ritter
 Frank Reily
 Frank Russell
 MANUEL REY
 J. E. Rogers
 JAMES ROWAN

CHARLES ROTHFISHER
Herman Reed
C. H. RICE
Ed. Rowan
SIEGFRIED STENBERG
George Stone (Lowenstein)
ALTON E. SOPER
WALTER SMITH
BEN SCHRAEGER
GEORGE SPEED
Joseph Schmidt
ARCHIE SINCLAIR
SAM SCARLETT
VINCENT ST. JOHN
William Shorey
Abe Schram
DON SHERIDAN
F. P. Sullivan

JAMES SLOVICK
WILLIAM TANNER
JOHN I. TURNER
Louis Tori
HARRY TROTTER
JAMES P. THOMPSON
CARLO TRESKA
JOE USAPIET
Albert Wills
JOHN WALSH
Ben H. Williams
FRANK WESTERLUND
PIERCE C. WETTER
Wm. Wiertola
R. J. Wright
WILLIAM WEYH
SALVATORE ZUMPARO

The number indicted was one hundred and sixty-six; of these one hundred and thirteen were brought to Chicago and arraigned and ninety-three of them were finally convicted.

The men were taken before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, of the United States District Court at Chicago, on December 15, 1917, for arraignment. There they found appearing against them a formidable array of legal talent, consisting of Frank K. Nebeker, formerly leading counsel for Utah copper companies at Salt Lake City, and Claude R. Porter, of Iowa, besides District Attorney Chas. F. Clyne, of Chicago. Appearing for their defense were Geo. F. Vanderveer, who, with Fred H. Moore, so ably conducted the defense of the Everett case at Seattle, Wash., early in 1917; Otto Christensen, an able Chicago attorney; Miss Caroline Lowe, who also appeared as attorney for defense in the Everett case; Wm. B. Cleary of Bisbee, Arizona, was later added to the defense staff. A plea of "Not Guilty" was entered by all.

On December 17, 1917, headquarters at Chicago was again raided by agents of the Department of Justice and occupied until December 31. Truck

loads of literature and material from the publishing bureau were taken as additional evidence.

Two months passed when early in March Judge Landis set the date for trial, April 1. In the meantime several of the defendants had been able to provide bonds and thus were able to assist in the work of defense.

The great trial started on April 1, 1918. For five days the selection of the jury proceeded with the result that the prosecution under the direction of Mr. Clyne had exhausted five of its six peremptory challenges while the defense had used but four of its ten challenges. Five jurors were in the box and the situation seemed to strongly favor the defense. The prosecution then raised the cry that prospective jurors were being tampered with by I. W. W. investigators. Judge Landis ordered an investigation, dismissed the entire venire and set a new date for trial, April 15. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Fellow Worker L. C. Russell on the charge of jury tampering. He was later arrested, and at this time is still in Cook County Jail, awaiting trial.

The trial proper started on April 15, with Mr. Nebeker, acting as chief prosecutor. The selection of the jury occupied nearly two weeks and the narrative starts with the actual presentation of evidence.



The I. W. W. Trial.

OVER two weeks' time was consumed by the prosecution in proving the general fact of the organization and its purpose as shown by its history—going back to 1905.

An expert accountant, one Mr. Bailey, who had audited all I. W. W. financial records for the Department of Justice, under oath as a witness said he had found no German gold.

Elizabeth Serviss, book-keeper at I. W. W. headquarters, called by the government to prove that Haywood was the "man who signed the checks" also proved that this "uncrowned king" received a salary of only \$90.00 per month; she herself getting nearly as much as "the king."

The next witness of importance was Special Agent Roy C. McHenry from Scranton, Pennsylvania, called to testify against Albert Prashner on May 15th as to the charge of sheltering German agents. Vanderveer in cross-examination brought out the following:

VANDERVEER: Don't you know this man here (Prashner) stated to you that if Zumpano (a suspected man) is doing any of the things you say he is, we are glad to know it?

Answer: Yes, sir, he said that.

Q. Don't you know he said, "We have no use for German spies?"

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he said to you if we detect a German spy in this organization we will report him to you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you tell counsel (for the government) that?

A. I don't remember now.

Q. I suppose you told him the whole story, didn't you?

A. I think it is in my report.

Q. You told him this, then?

A. He has my report.

Q. Did you include this in your report?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He has that report?

A. I assume so.

Q. When he was questioning you here?

A. I assume so. I don't know.

McHenry was followed by George F. Buss, Sheriff of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Buss was born in Hessen, Germany, and has a dialect like a barrel of old kraut. He got very choleric when under cross-examination as to his reasons for breaking up the I. W. W. meetings and arresting the speakers. In regard to a meeting held at Hillside, Pennsylvania, June 17th, 1917, where Buss had arrested Baldazzi, Graber and Prashner, Attorney Vanderveer asked:

Q. You said you arrested him (Prashner) for not being registered?

A. That was one of the reasons.

Q. Why did you hold him five days for not being registered, when he could get his card in two hours?

A. I want you to know, sir, that I did not hold that man at all.

Q. He was released on a writ of habeas corpus directed to you, was he not?

A. I don't know; the court released them.

Q. Now, you say that was only one of the reasons why you arrested Prashner?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the other one?

A. He was arrested for helping to obstruct the highway.

Q. Was he speaking?

A. Not then, no.

Q. Did he ever speak that day?

A. No, he didn't speak.

Q. How many people were there?

A. Probably 500.

Q. You arrested these three?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't know a word that had been said, do you?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Did anybody send you up there?

A. Not in particular. The court of the county had instructed me to break up these meetings.

Q. Not (from the judge) on the bench?

A. No, not on the bench.

Q. I see. Now, where did you first get notice of this meeting?

A. Why, I had some inkling of it the day before.

Q. Where did you get it?

A. **I got it through the United Mine Workers.**

Q. I see. **And the United Mine Workers asked you to go up there?**

A. Yes, sir.

Q. **To break up their rival's meeting?**

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you went?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you did it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you arrest them because someone could not get through (the roadway)?

A. Arrested them because they were going to hold an I. W. W. meeting.

How tenderly Constitutional rights are regarded by the "Black Cossacks" of Pennsylvania may be gathered from the following testimony of Herbert Smith, a lieutenant in the mounted "Coal and Iron Police" of Pennsylvania, a veteran strike-breaker of McKees Rocks. Speaking of a "Cossack" raid on a meeting held June 10th, last, Vanderveer asked:

Q. You were ordered to break it up?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you arrest anyone?

A. I did not.

Q. Do you know why you broke up the meeting?

A. Unlawful assembly.

Q. Did you see anything unlawful?

A. Yes; insulting people going to and fro in the street.

Q. Insult them?

A. We saw them stopped, yes, sir.

Q. You construed that to be an insult?

A. Unlawful action, yes, sir.

Q. Did you arrest anybody for that?

A. No, sir. We broke up the meeting.

Q. Why didn't you arrest people you saw stopping miners?

A. We didn't wish to at that time. We had orders to break the meeting up.

Q. You did not wait to hear what happened?

A. No.

Q. Or to see what happened?

A. No, sir.

Q. Or to see whether it was going to be orderly or disorderly?

A. We did not. We dispersed the crowd.

Q. You did not go there to maintain order, but to break the meeting up?

A. To disperse the crowd; that was our intention.

Q. Now, at the other meetings you did the same?

A. The meetings were dispersed, yes, sir.

Following these Pennsylvania witnesses, fully another week was occupied with the reading of routine correspondence between defendants to prove "conspiracy," probably—but so lacking in exciting disclosures that nearly everyone went to sleep; the jurors nodding drowsily under the strain; Judge Landis jolting his nerve centers with copious gulps of ice-water from a convenient pitcher, or striding impatiently to and fro—stopping now and then to survey the somnolent assembly.

May 23rd; fireworks! And echoes of Cripple Creek ringing out in the Chicago courtroom as three reporters of Butte daily papers put on by the prosecution to prove the utterances of Frank Little were mercilessly grilled by Vanderveer, who sought to prove the servility of these papers to the mining companies; the cause of the miners' strike and Frank Little's bitter phrases and the fact that Little's speech on July 19th had nothing to do with his murder two weeks later.

Of these three witnesses, A. W. Walliser of the Butte Evening Post was the most important. The following is verbatim testimony, minus some "dead timber" of objections by counsel and evasions by the witness:

VANDERVEER: What is the attitude of your paper on the labor issue in Butte? Did it support the strikers during the recent strike?

A. Oh, no, sir, no.

Q. Who reported the fire in the Speculator Mine?

A. There were three or four of us. I was up there.

Q. Did you report in your paper that there were concrete bulkheads in that mine with no manholes and it trapped the men and were responsible for their deaths, to the number of about two hundred?

A. No, sir.

Q. You did not?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Were you there when the bodies of those miners were brought out?

A. I was there part of the time.

Q. You never colored anything you wrote to fit what you understood to be the policy of the paper?

A. I might have colored things. I might have toned down things, and I did repeatedly.

Q. Did you ever hear that **the bodies that were taken from the mine were sold for twelve dollars and a half apiece?**

A. **No, sir.**

Q. Did you ever publish any such story?

A. No, sir.

Q. Would you, if you had heard it and **verified** it?

ATTORNEY FOR GOVERNMENT: I object. That is not proper cross-examination.

JUDGE LANDIS: Objection sustained.

Q. Did you **attack** the bulkheads in the mine?

A. No, sir,

Q. Did your paper?

A. Not that I know of, no, sir.

Q. Did you attempt to place responsibility for the murder of those two hundred men or more—260 men?

A. It was **not my business.**

Q. It was not your business?

A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever in the offices of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company on the sixth floor of the Hennesey Building?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did you ever see **guns** there?

A. I have seen them in the Miners Union Hall. I have seen them in the Finlander Hall.

Q. Answer my question. Did you see them on the sixth floor of the Hennesey Building?

A. Yes, sir. I saw them all over Butte.

Q. Did you ever see people there that you had **never seen before**, with guns?

A. Why, I don't know everybody in Butte.

Q. I take that to mean you **did** see such people.

A. No. But there were plenty of people carrying guns.

Q. How many (Frank) Little meetings did you attend?

A. I attended one.

Q. Did he speak only once?

A. I think he made only one public address, yes, sir.

Q. In the course of that utterance he referred to "Uncle Sam's scabs in uniform?"

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you have been a newspaper man in Denver?

A. (Witness startled.) Yes, sir.

Q. You were in Denver during the Cripple Creek Strike?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. During Governor Peabody's regime?

A. I was. Yes, sir.

Q. **You knew** what Frank Little **meant** when he talked about "Uncle Sam's scabs in Uniform," **didn't you?**

A. Why, yes, I knew what he meant.

Q. He had come from the scene of the deportation of 1200 miners in Bisbee?

A. Yes.

Q. And they were taken to a stockade in Columbus, New Mexico, and guarded by **Federal troops**, were they not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, the **same thing** had occurred at least five times during the Colorado strikes, hadn't it?

A. Oh, **more** than that!

Q. You have heard that remark, "Scabs in uniform" **thousands of times**, haven't you?

A. **Yes, sir**, absolutely, yes.

Q. And **you know** that a miner who uses that during the strike refers to the employment of troops for breaking the strike, don't you?

A. **Yes.**

Q. Did Frank Little tell you that he had been kidnapped four or five times?

A. I believe there was some reference to that in that speech.

Q. And that he had had his leg broken?

A. Yes.

Q. That he had lost an eye?

A. I don't know about losing his eye.

Q. And that he was ruptured by being thrown down and jumped on by the gunmen?

A. He may have told all that.

Q. And you were **surprised** at the **bitterness** of his conduct?

A. Yes, sir, I was.

TRAGEDY

Q. Now, you were in Butte on the First of August?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The day Frank Little was hanged?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who committed the lynching?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear about an automobile leaving a certain livery barn up on the hill, or up at the foot of the hill and going up Wyoming street and down through—I don't remember all those streets—with five people in it?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear about that machine being---

A. (Hastily) No.

Q. Did you **ever try to find out** who the occupants of that car were?

A. No, sir.

Q. If I **give you the names will you publish them?**

A. **No, sir.**

Q. You won't?

A. **No, sir.**

"If I **give you the name of the boy that drove that car, will you publish it in your paper?**" shouted Vanderveer at the now highly nervous witness squirming under the stinging probe.

"No!" said Mr. Walliser of the Butte Evening Post, and walked from the witness stand as the

Page Twenty-two

tension of onlookers relaxed, having completely exonerated himself and his paper from any charge of unfairness and having upheld the traditional honesty of "our" impartial daily press!



CHAPTER III.

THE closing days of May were marked with incidents of increasing interest as the prosecution began interlarding witnesses with the reading of seized correspondence.

The last of their witnesses from Butte, C. L. Stevens of the Anaconda Standard, went on the stand for cross-examination May 24th, and proved that his paper, owned by Mrs. Marcus Daly, chief stockholder of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, is just as "fair and impartial" as the Butte Post toward union labor. Aside from that Stevens only proved his ignorance, or something worse, by lumping together the two separate unions of miners in Butte with the Pearse-Connelly Club as "all I. W. W.," and attributing to it an anti-draft circular which he said was "commonly known" to have been issued by the Pearse-Connelly Club. Followed—the unimportant letters of G. J. Bourg and William Weyh, the beginning of an attack upon Industrial Union No. 400 of the Agricultural Workers.

Then on May 25th, proceedings were enlivened with a "star-witness" stool pigeon, one Joseph Badozinski, alias Joe Burdell, late member of I. U. No. 400, since April, 1917, an attache of the Secret Service.

Burdell, however, had learned his lines badly; said he had "a bad memory" except for certain lurid details of fire and flood. Strange as it may seem, Burdell, after stating that he was a member of the "International Workers of the World" remarked that his folks had forbidden him to use the family name of Badozinski fully "twenty years ago" because they thought him an I. W. W. at that time. Under cross-examination he candidly conceded that he was a "Scissor-bill" and a "jungle-buzzard."

Pirating "mulligan" off "wobblies" in the "jungles" for many years, Joe drifted westward—"on a pleasure trip to California, lived for two weeks on a box of crackers," finally landing in the northwest harvest fields where, be it said, the I. W. W. spent all their time threshing pitchforks and other hardware. He admitted it a dangerous sport, as the hardware mentioned would backfire instantly and demolish the person putting it in the feeder as well as the cylinder teeth.

Then there was the story of a well and a horse—a most remarkable story. In broad daylight, one noon, back in 1913, an I. W. W. had deliberately, so the "cookee" told him, picked up a 1200 pound horse and thrown the critter down a well! Had added insult to injury by saying "the son-of-a-gun ought to have been down there long ago!" Witness had rescued the animal from a watery grave by means of a derrick and a slip-noose cast round the horse's neck! Wonderful work—as Vanderveer pointed out—so Burdell remembered "another rope," both ropes being cast through a single-block pulley!

For seven years Burdell held out—"wouldn't join a loafers' union." "Hit in the snout" by I. W. W. brakemen, and suffering many violences, he "wouldn't line up." But Fate ended this Odessy of a Scissor-bill at Milwaukee in 1917, where he succumbed to the blandishments of G. J. Bourg, who, after forcing him to join the I. W. W., delivered a thousand-word oration upon the necessity of Germany winning the war, revealing the secret that "when Germany attacks in the East, the I. W. W. would attack in the West," etc. Burdell's testimony, though unimportant, was at least amusing—the jurors laughed.

Badozinski — alias Burdell — lasted until May 28th, when the prosecution opened up on Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 800, reading letters passing between Grover H. Perry and various branch

secretaries and organizers. These were wholly industrial in character. One letter from Vincent St. John informed Perry that he, as head of a New Mexico mining company, was in touch with a detective agency which claimed to have operatives in the Arizona camps carrying red cards of the I. W. W. Perry replied that he knew it as "three detectives in Bisbee had come through and their reports were being dictated by the I. W. W. secretary there, but three new ones and the agency manager were on their trail.

Here the International Socialist Review was brought into the case by the prosecution attempting to read to the jury a letter addressed to Perry, signed by Leslie H. Marcy. Vanderveer objected on the ground that the letter was never answered, that Marcy was not an I. W. W., nor was the Review an I. W. W. publication. Nebeker held that the Review was an "I. W. W. organ inasmuch as Haywood himself is an editor of it." Landis sustained Vanderveer.

May 28th and 29th were entirely occupied with the copper miners' strike of Arizona—interlarding witnesses of minor importance against several of the defendants. Three witnesses were called in an effort to prove membership in the I. W. W. of Stanley J. Clark, elected while in the Cook County Jail to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Although Clark is an attorney and not eligible to membership, these witnesses were quite sure he was a member because he collected money for the Arizona strikers at a speech they heard at a Texas school-house, where, according to them, Clark "made seditious utterances"—among others that "the draft law is constitutional and you must abide by it, but that the war will be stopped only when the workers stop it and the soldiers on both sides shake hands across the trenches."

Letters of Charles H. MacKinnon told of his being deported from one mining camp after another in Nevada last summer—no laughing matter, facing

murderous mobs of business men—an I. W. W. organizer—"an alien in the commonwealth of Israel and a stranger to the Covenant of Promise." Ditto J. R. Baskett whose letters told of being ordered from Jerome, Arizona, by a Justice of the Peace, whose office looked like "a handle factory or an arsenal."

The "meeting of minds," to-wit, "the conspiracy," cracked under the strain when letters passing between the Arizona defendants were read. H. F. Kane, a defendant, wrote to Grover Perry, defendant that R. J. Bobba, defendant, was "suspicious" and that Roger Culver, another defendant was "all to the bad." The written abuse of "conspirator" versus "conspirator" grew to flaming anger, the final letter read stating Bobba's intention to visit Perry's office and "straighten out things properly." Evidently the "conspirators" were barely arrested in time to prevent the sanguinary combat.

Enter now a pitiful weakling of a man, Frank Wermke, alias Frank Wood, now of Battery A-16th Field Artillery, a one-time "soap-boxer" and delegate for the I. W. W. Shifty-eyed and plainly distraught by the prospect, he entered the witness stand and sat gazing at his feet while he answered Nebeker on direct examination in tones so low and with a manner so hesitating as to repeatedly receive bawl-outs from attorneys and the court.

Under the attentive gaze of scores of those he once addressed as "fellow-workers," Wood, who last year wrote many articles in "Solidarity," shamefacedly stammered out the scarcely audible words intended to fix imprisonment upon those men who had, as he declared, "nursed him in sickness" and befriended him on the job and in jail. The old story—he had joined at Sioux City, Iowa, in July, 1916—was in Kansas when I. W. W.'s "took some members out of the jail and locked up the sheriff," followed the harvest northward committing acts of destruction and "hi-jacking;" went to California where 25

I. W. W.'s "captured a freight train;" did more violence around Eureka and San Pedro; went east again, finally landing in jail at Minot, North Dakota last July for carrying concealed weapons. There he suffered "a change of heart" possibly due to a dislike for being punished as an apprehended deserter from the army. "Olin B. Anderson had written him a letter while he was at Jefferson Barracks." But when the letter was produced, it was shown to be an innocent note signed C. W. Anderson, now in jail at Wichita, Kansas, while Olin B. Anderson could not be identified as his old friend.

Like snow in summer's sun, his fabricated story faded away under the heat of Vanderveer's inquisition. As an orphan boy he had stolen something and spent several years in Wisconsin's reform school; was farmed out to a rancher who starved and beat him so badly he ran away—back to the reformatory. He had stolen—but as an I. W. W., he did not "steal and shelter himself behind the union" as Vanderveer asked—"Oh, no. I was conscripting the wealth of the master."

VANDERVEER: "If you saw a man's watch in his pocket where you thought you could get it, would you conscript it?"

Answer: It all depends.

Q. What?

A. If I could get away with it I probably would.

Q. Did you ever hear any defendant in this case advise anybody not to register?

A. I don't recollect any.

Delving into Wermke's past—"a dog's life for two years," as he said, Vanderveer examined his experiences as a migratory worker in the woods and harvest fields. As to conditions in lumber camps Vanderveer asked:

Q. What kind of bathrooms do they have?

A. There is no such thing in existence.

Q. How do you bathe?

A. Any time you bathe is when you can find a washpan of water somewhere, or quit your job and go to town to clean up.

Q. In the harvest fields, or harvest work, rather, where do the men sleep?

A. They usually sleep in the barns and out-buildings or under the rig. Some farmers furnish a tent; some furnished a lousy bunk-wagon.

Q. Did you, after about five years of that, find yourself developing a feeling of friendliness toward the farmers and lumber camp men?

A. You don't mean friendliness, do you?

Q. Well, do I or don't I?

A. My feeling was very antagonistic to the capitalist class.

Q. You became very bitter, did you?

A. Yes.

Asked if he had studied the I. W. W. principles and literature, Wermke replied, "I studied them, yes, sir."

Q. So among them did you study the report of the Industrial Relations Commission?

A. I did.

Q. What?

A. I did.

Q. In that report you found that the Commission appointed by the President of the United States had said that everything you discovered about the industrial conditions was true, did you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that the workers were being exploited and robbed by their employers? What?

A. Yes, I read that.

Q. And that most of them were not paid enough to live on?

A. I read that.

Q. And that a few people in this country owned most everything in it; two per cent of them owned over two-thirds of the property? You saw that in there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. It increased your bitterness; is that right?

A. Well, my attitude to them was the same as it was when I was working for the state of Wisconsin as a chattel slave. I had that same feeling born right in me.

Q. Now, can you tell me any one thing that has a more definite tendency and a more direct tendency in developing your hatred of this system and your employers than the government's own report that you read?

A. Well, I was aware of those conditions before I read that report.

Q. Let me ask you if you ever heard the expression—"a fair day's work for a fair day's pay?"

A. I have heard that.

Q. Did you ever hear the other one—"a bum day's work for a bum day's pay?"

A. I have heard that, too.

Q. That is what is meant by sabotage, isn't it?

A. That means the slow-down system of sabotage.

While the witness strove vainly to conceal his agitation and while Nebeker, seated directly in front of Wermke leaned forward in silent intimidation, Vanderveer cut into the causes of Wermke's "change of heart" which brought him into the Chicago courtroom as a witness for the prosecution. Vanderveer, hurling his questions like hand grenades across thirty feet of space between him and the cowering witness cast dismay into the opposition as he sprang the denouement—

Q. You did not change because you were **afraid**?

A. Because I was afraid?

Q. You had **nothing to be afraid of**?

A. Nothing whatever.

Q. You did not join the army **because you were afraid**?

A. I did not.

Q. You did not? **Do you tell your friends the truth?**

A. Sometimes I do—sometimes I do not.

Q. **Do you know Aleck Mulberg?**

A. Aleck Mulberg?

Q. **Aleck Mulberg?**

A. I do.

Q. You wrote him a letter on January 21, 1918?

A. I did.

Q. Did you tell Aleck anything that was not true in there?

A. The **first part of it was lies** in reference to the army.

Vanderveer then introduced and read to the jury the letter following:

Camp Greene, Charlotte, N. C.
January 21st, 1918.

Mr. Aleck Mulberg,

Dear Friend:—

I hope you will be pleased to hear from me.

I joined the army last September, because eventually it had to come **or I would be found out and it was not my desire to martyr myself to a term of imprisonment.** So I joined under the name of Frank Wood, as you know me. My real name will be found at the close of this letter.

In the government raids they found that Frank Wood was **a deserter from the army** and among other things a radical or I. W. W. and horrors be it, **he was an organizer.** So I was **thrown in a guardhouse in solitary confinement for nearly a month.** I joined in Colorado, in 1916, and **stayed two days that time.** I am again cooking for the First Battery, known as Battery A. I hear they arrested all members in San Pedro. I have been unable to secure any literature lately, and don't know any of the events occurring through the arrest of Bill Haywood.

If possible I want you to post me on those things. Also, get me some papers, the Industrial Worker or Solidarity and wrap them inside a Los Angeles or San Pedro paper. They sometimes tear the wrapping a little to see what paper it is.

The Plattsburg Press states that I was willing to appear against Haywood. That is ridiculous. I was willing to testify at the trials to bring out the wrongs suffered by the poor people and the workers from the capitalist class. They declined to accept me. In the investigation they wanted me to write a statement of sedition against the I. W. W. and myself. I could not do so and told them to send me to Leavenworth. They released me as soon as I demanded imprisonment. I want you to let the boys know that I am still in the game.

Your friend for Industrial Freedom and Democracy,
FRANK WERMKE, formerly FRANK WOOD.

"That's all," said Vanderveer in decisive tones, and Wermke, alias Wood, slunk from the courtroom and vanished into ignoble history.



“CONSPIRACY” is a peculiar charge provable by establishing “a state of mind,” and this latter may be adduced by most any sort of testimony. So it is not surprising that what we consider irrelevant evidence in the effort to prove the I. W. W. men guilty of having “a state of mind” is admitted in their trial. What a defendant’s wife told a neighbor over the backyard fence two years ago; the fact that the I. W. W. was born in 1905, significantly preceding the San Francisco earthquake and fire, are facts “competent and material” in fixing the crime of “conspiracy” upon the defendants on trial.

This explains the otherwise strange conduct of the prosecution in bringing scores of witnesses thousands of miles—not to prove that I. W. W. men actually did anything—but to state on the witness stand that “it was commonly rumored as being generally known that someone had heard it said that some alleged I. W. W.’s had been accused of burning something.” This is almost unbelievable, but it is true. Considering the magnitude and importance of the case the evidence seems absurd to us. The only points possible to hang a conspiracy charge upon yet introduced are some written and oral utterances opposing war as an institution and in general, also resolutions passed by two or three isolated union branches before conscription became a fact, stating an ethical objection to it. At the time scores of A. F. of L. locals were doing the same, but—the I. W. W. is on trial and “anything goes.” Stories of “violence and destruction” dissolve into rumors and hearsay in the atmosphere of cross-examination as shown by the proceedings in the early days of June.

HIGHLIGHTS

Deputy Sheriff Cole of Colfax, Washington, told how scores of threshing machines had burned. He had never heard that both the State Agricultural College and the U. S. Department of Agriculture had proven that the smut in wheat exploded by electric sparks from gearings was the cause. Only one conviction had ever been obtained for this offense, that of a half-breed Indian, not an I. W. W., who had signed a confession under duress. "You knew he was an Indian, didn't you?" asked Vanderveer. "Well," said the deputy, "I knew he was some sort of a foreigner."

On June 3rd, 1918, correspondence of Vincent St. John, dating back to 1908, was read. In regard to a Socialist paper whose editor advocated armed organization of the workers, St. John wrote in 1914: "It is as foolish to suppose that the working class can compete with the military organizations of capitalism as to fancy that the workers can succeed by competition with capitalists in industrial production." Here, also, it was revealed in a letter from Haywood to St. John, dated in January, 1916, that the Department of Justice was "investigating" the I. W. W.—long before America entered the war.

On June 3rd a number of characters from the copper camps of Arizona were exhibited. "You are what is commonly known as a 'gunman'?" asked Vanderveer of one. "I am," proudly stated the witness. Many of these gunmen were sent back to Arizona without having testified. Readers may guess the reason from the following bits of testimony:

E. T. Ussher from Miami, Arizona, after denying he was a gunman, was forced to exhibit a strange combination of suspenders and pistol holster—the holster being, as he said, "a part of his dress, without which he would lose his pants." Defense attorney Cleary questioned Ussher about breaking up an I. W. W. dance last March. Ussher replied, "The

discontinuation of that dance was incidental. What we did was to **stop the defense subscriptions** that those people were making."

Q. The defense subscriptions?

A. Yes. They were collecting money for some defense fund; we broke that up.

Q. Did you have warrants for the arrests?

A. No.

Q. Were they breaking the law?

A. Yes, that is my interpretation of it.

Q. That the collection of funds for the purpose of defending men in jail was a breach of the peace?

A. Well, some of them are proven enemies of the government and the collection of funds for their defense or comfort is certainly aiding and giving comfort to the enemies of the United States.

Q. Tell me the names of the men this defense fund was to defend.

A. I cannot do that.

Q. Well, how do you know then that they had been proven enemies of the government?

A. Because their card said for the defense of men now incarcerated in jails of the United States.

W. B. Clegg, Miami gunman, under cross-examination by Vanderveer:

Q. I am asking if you understand what a strike is?

A. Yes, I understand.

Q. It is a controversy between two people?

A. Well, that was; yes, a strike usually is.

Q. Did it ever occur to you that either one might be wrong?

A. I could not see where they (the I. W. W.) were right.

Q. You knew that they were mining copper for eight or nine cents a pound and selling it to the government for 23½ cents?

A. I knew the government had fixed that price and had asked the people not to strike.

Q. You knew that the workers there were striking for more wages, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you thought it was unpatriotic under the circumstances?

A. I sure did.

Q. You called it an I. W. W. strike?

A. No, we didn't call the Western Federationists' a strike at all. The I. W. W.—

Q. That was an imitation, was it; the I. W. W. were right about it—calling the Western Federationists' no strike at all?

A. No, I don't think they had any right to say that.

H. K. Peterson, another Miami "gunman," under fire by Vanderveer:

Q. Were you ever employed as one of the guards?

A. I was.

Q. Gunman? You know what I mean by a gunman?

A. Define it.

Q. Well, I will define it for you: A gunman is a man sometimes with a reputation for using a gun; usually handy and quick with a gun, who is brought into a strike zone for the purpose of bullying or deporting or abusing working people.

A. I was not.

Peterson became "sassy" when asked why he did not arrest seditious speakers at the strike meetings instead of merely "reporting them to superior officers."

Q. Is that the way you always did out West? What did you carry a gun for?

A. To shoot blackbirds.

Q. Did you report that to your superior officers?

A. No, sir; because I never shot any.

Peterson said, Julio Blanco made a seditious speech and advocated government control of the mines.

Q. Didn't you like the idea of the government taking over the mines?

A. I didn't like the idea of those speeches.

Q. Answer the question—you are not in Arizona now. I asked you if you liked the idea of the government taking over the mines?

A. I did not.

Q. You believe in profiteering, don't you?

A. I do, not.

Q. You believe in letting the copper companies do that? In fact, you believe in helping them do it, don't you?

A. It is none of my business what they do, if I get—

Q. If you get a job and get your pay check?

A. If I get remuneration, it does not make any difference what you or anybody else makes.

Vanderveer elicited some information as to conditions in the California fruit industry and Judge Landis made an eminently fair ruling while Antonio Cerutti of the California Packers' Corporation was being questioned upon possible reasons for the defendant Parenti calling a government strike mediator "a helper for the vampires."

Q. How long do you work your men in the canneries?

A. Well, we haven't got any hours. We work till we get through.

Q. You work till you get through—daylight or dark?

A. Sometimes.

Q. And when they don't work they make nothing and the rest of the time they make 25 cents an hour?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you worked them sometimes from daylight to dark?

A. Yes, ten, twelve, or thirteen hours.

Q. You are very considerate of your employes, aren't you?

NEBEKER: I object, if the court please, as immaterial and irrelevant. (After a sharp tilt between counsel in which Nebeker said Parenti's reference to "vampires" was highly disloyal).

JUDGE LANDIS: Now I am just putting this question: Suppose it was a bad mess there, that the cannery companies were in a situation of unjustly treating their men and all that would go with that; would that have any bearing upon Parenti's state of heart? Objection overruled.

Regarding a speech made by Peter McEvoy at San Jose, George A. Wilson testified, "I heard him say that the President of the United States was a hireling of Wall Street."

VANDERVEER: That was not the first time you have heard such remarks, is it?

A. I don't quite understand the question.

Q. I say that was not the first time you heard it suggested that Wall Street elected the president, was it?

A. No, I have heard it in years previous.

Q. You have heard it in every campaign speech you ever listened to, on one side or the other, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir, I have.

Q. Did you hear him talk about the craft form of organization?

A. Well, I heard him compare the I. W. W. with the ordinary labor unions.

Q. He explained how foolish it was for men to organize in different unions so that they would compete with each other?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that when some of them went on strike others could not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that the object of a strike is to make the boss come to terms?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if you were all in one union you could do that by all striking together?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear him say anything in defense of the Kaiser?

A. No, sir.

Q. He did not believe in war, very evidently?

A. Well, no, according to his speech.

Q. Just that the people who got us into war, the Kaiser and the King of England, or whoever it was, should fight it out for themselves?

A. Yes, sir, that is what he said.

Q. And you don't think that is a good idea?

A. I don't think so.

H. Thorwaldson, Sheriff at Fresno, California, tried to connect the I. W. W. with "lots of fires," yet, under cross-examination it shrunk to four fires of unknown origin. That the California Raisin Growers' Trust had hired firebugs was the information Vanderveer finally forced Thorwaldson to disgorge.

Q. Now, what other kinds of cussedness went on down in your valley other than these four fires?

A. Other than fires?

JUDGE LANDIS: (testily) Killings, suicides, rape or anything. Tell us all about it.

Here the witness stalled until closely pressed, when he said, "Oh, yes, I remember now. There was another fire, the one you mean." There were four boys that set this fire to these raisin trays. The California Raisin Association was organizing and getting signers to join their association, and there was a man that owned these raisin trays that was reluctant to join, and these boys conceived the idea—they were very **enthusiastic for the association**—they would **do a little sabotage** themselves. So they set fire to those trays and were convicted of it, and the California Raisin Association said that as long as these boys did this **erroneous** act—Mr. Griffin said, "I feel in duty bound to pay the man for his loss." (A loss of \$8,000.00.)

It was witness Geo. H. Hudson of Fresno, who earned a "distinguished service" medal. All last summer he was not paid for his detective work, yet he was a better detective than all of the government's regular officers who raided the hall. For did he not "find things" they could not? Indeed, 'tis so! He "found" a bottle of emery dust; he "found" a cup of copper nails, too; and other things! "Are you," said Vanderveer in sarcastic tones, "the official finder for your town?" Hudson cast a dark inference about a planing mill fire but had to admit that the origin of it was a mystery and as easily attributable to anything or anybody as to the I. W. W., whose hall was close by, Vanderveer driving home the issue:

Q. You had no purpose, of course, in stating to the jury that it was almost across from the I. W. W. hall, had you? (No response.)

Q. Do you know anything about what started that fire?

A. No, sir, I don't.

Q. Do you know of any reason why you should come into this court and testify about it at all?

A. Because it started at an unseemly hour of night.

Q. Do you blame all the fires that start at night on the I. W. W.?

A. At times, I do, yes, sir.

Although not an officer of any kind, Hudson had arrested an I. W. W. last summer for advising raisin pickers in front of the state employment bureau to demand 5 cents a tray instead of the proffered 3½ cents.

VANDERVEER: You didn't approve of that, did you?

A. No, 3½ cents—

Q. 3½ cents is quite enough for them, isn't it?

A. It is, yes.

Q. So you cut it?

A. I had nothing to say right at the time.

Q. You had nothing to do with running that employment office, did you?

A. Not a bit.

Q. You had nothing to do with hiring those men, did you?

A. No, sir.

Q. It was none of your business whether they got 3 1/2 or 10 cents a tray, was it?

A. No, sir.

Q. You thought they ought to go out anyway?

A. I didn't think anything about it. I didn't have anything to say with him until he got too raw with it and I had the patrol wagon come and pick him up.

Q. Did you prosecute him?

A. No sir, we released him.

Q. What did you pick him up for?

A. To get him away from there, to kill the agitation around the bureau.

Q. Did he go back there?

A. The next day, he did, yes, sir.

Q. Did you pick him up again?

A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?

A. Why, he kept his mouth shut.

Q. That was all you wanted, was it, to keep his mouth shut?

A. To keep the agitation down, yes, sir.



CHAPTER V.

THE great trial moved swiftly along during the second week of June. Much uninteresting correspondence was read and for hours at a time most of the defendants and part of the jury were wrapt in profound slumber. "Not poppy, nor mandragora, nor all the drowsy syrups of the world" could out-opiate this soporific "evidence."

Sleep is undeniably sweet, but there were interesting interruptions by witnesses—38 in number during the period from June 8th to 15th inclusive. Of this sum, 6 were "straw bosses" of lumber camps, 6 were federal special agents, 13 were state or municipal police officers, 4 were company managers or employing farmers, 5 were scabs, 1 was a "stool-pigeon" and 3 unimportant "outsiders." The I. W. W. is proud of its enemies.

Many of the Minnesota witnesses did not testify at all as Vanderveer had brought out, from those who did, the fact that many Finnish workers who had not registered for the draft acted under mistaken advice from the Russian consul at Chicago who told them they were exempt from service here as they were exempt in Russia for years past by the Tsar's order.

Cross-examination of John Kenny of the Department of Justice, stationed at Duluth, Minnesota, disclosed a suspicious harmony between Kenny and Steel Trust officials. Kenny's contract with James Gilday, an I. W. W. organizer in the Mesaba Miners' strike in 1916, and later suspected of being a labor spy, was investigated by Vanderveer.

Q. Were you ever connected with a detective agency?

A. No, sir.

Q. You say that you have never written James Gilday a letter about his expenses as a detective?

A. I never have. (Vanderveer here secured samples of Kenny's signature for later reference.)

Q. At the time you interviewed him in 1916, did you do it as a private citizen or as a representative of the Department of Justice?

A. It was as a citizen representing a gentleman from the east by the name of O'Blennes.

Q. Who was this man O'Blennes?

A. He is chief of the labor department of the Carnegie Steel Company at Pittsburgh.

Q. Connected with the Steel Trust?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He wrote you, did he, to have Gilday cease his activities in the strike?

A. He did not write to me. He talked to me.

Q. Did this occur in your office at Duluth?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I presume you were paid for your work?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it because you were connected with the Department of Justice that he came to you?

A. I think not.

Q. Did O'Blennes go with you when you talked to Gilday?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did he pretend to know Gilday?

A. Pretended to know his father.

Q. Did he explain why he didn't do this personally for his father, rather than have you do it?

A. I don't think he did, no.

Q. Was it ever mentioned to you that Gilday's father was connected with a detective agency?

A. No, sir. I was told his father was a labor leader in Pennsylvania.

Q. Connected with the United Mine Workers of America?

A. I was not told that; just told he was a labor leader.

The witness then explained how soft-hearted and generous the Carnegie Steel Company was towards

this "I. W. W. agitator." He said, "O'Blennes came to my office and said he was a representative of the Carnegie Steel Company and that Gilday, whose father was a prominent labor leader in Pennsylvania, was under arrest, in custody at the county jail in Duluth; that Gilday had a mother, I think he said, or a sister who was very sick and about to die at his home, and that O'Blennes would like very much to have me go and see Gilday and ask him to return, to withdraw from the I. W. W. activities and return to his home before his mother should die. He said he was doing this on account of Gilday's folks, and I went and talked to Gilday at the jail."

Q. Had he come clear from the east to do this?

A. I don't know. I assumed he was up there in connection with the strike.

L. S. McKay, a typical "Simon Legree" of the harvest fields, after telling how vast numbers of the I. W. W. had thrown bolts into his thresher and escaped detection, was brought to earth by Vanderveer and landed with that "dull, sickening thud" as may be observed from the following:

Q. You would not have an I. W. W. around?

A. No, sir.

Q. What was the trouble about?

A. Well, they would not work.

Q. What do you mean, they would not work hard, or they would not work fast, or they would not work good?

A. Well, they would do neither.

Q. They would not do any? How long did you work?

A. I worked reasonable hours, the custom of the country.

Q. What is that? How long?

WITNESS: (appealing to Landis) Do I need to answer that, Judge?

ATTORNEY PORTER: That's all right. Answer the question.

VANDERVEER: Are you ashamed to answer?
How long did you work?

A. I went to work at 4 o'clock in the morning.

Q. When did you quit work?

A. I quit work at 8 o'clock in the evening.

Q. Sixteen hours! Do you call that reasonable?

A. Now, look here—

Q. No, I do not want to argue it with you. I am here to ask you questions and you are here to answer them. You call that reasonable, do you?

A. Yes, sir. It is the custom of the country.

Q. And if it was the custom to work 20 or 22 hours, would you do it?

A. I would work, yes, as the custom.

Q. What would you expect those fellows to do in those two hours that you were not working them? Just waste—just waste that two hours?

(No answer.)

Asked how hot it was in the wheat fields of Whitman County, Washington, according to the thermometer, McKay said, "I don't know. It would run up until you could not read it."

Q. And that is where your men were working?

A. They do not take the temperature out in the sun.

Q. No, but you take the wheat out in the sun, don't you?

A. Yes.

McKay admitted he used abusive language to his men when they complained—and discharged them besides—and Vanderveer exploded.

Q. Now, suppose one of your men would give you a punch on the jaw, you would have understood that, would you not?

A. I might have.

Q. But throwing a bolt in the threshing machine you could not understand, working the men 16 hours a day in the hot sun and then talking that way to them.

A. The sun don't shine all day.

J. A. McBride was the lone stool-pigeon witness of the week. He had to be lead by Porter on direct examination, but at that he could only recall that someone in the I. W. W. Hall at Aberdeen, Washington, had made some "seditious remarks" which he "couldn't remember very well." What he did, how he did it and his character is shown by his own words. He joined the I. W. W. at Aberdeen on July 15th, 1917, while the lumber strike was on.

VANDERVEER: Were you ever a member of a union except the I. W. W.?

A. I was a member of the I. L. A. No. 2, New York, about 1902.

Q. Were you a stool pigeon then?

A. No, sir.

McBride said he had joined the Naval Militia in January, 1917, but was excused when called for service, because he had seven children and bad teeth.

Q. Why had you entered the service in January?

A. I thought there was a chance to see service if war was declared.

Q. In spite of the seven children?

A. Yes, sir.

JUDGE LANDIS: Did you claim exemption because of the seven children?

A. I did not, I did not.

LANDIS: Who was the doctor who examined you?

A. I don't remember.

LANDIS: When was that examination?

A. I don't remember the particular date, your Honor.

LANDIS: (sarcastic) Can you give me the year?

A. Yes, sir, 1917.

LANDIS: What month?

A. That I don't remember.

LANDIS: Well, when were you discharged?

A. I don't remember the date now, your Honor.

LANDIS: Give me the month.

A. I couldn't do that, even.

Landis looks disgusted, then tells Vanderveer to "go ahead."

Q. How long after your discharge did you become an investigator?

A. Almost at once.

Q. And that, you say, was arranged by a man who was a deputy sheriff?

A. At that time, yes, sir.

Q. Did you know at the time he first spoke to you and that you went to work that you were working for the Lumbermen's Association?

A. I presume so, I was hired to get information about the strike.

Q. And you reported to this man?

A. Nearly every day, yes, sir.

Q. Did the I. W. W. tell you the Lumber Trust was exploiting the workers?

A. I have heard them claim that.

Q. You didn't believe it?

A. I didn't, no.

Q. Did any of them explain to you that the Lumber Trust has stolen its timber land?

A. They did not.

Q. Did they tell you that the only chance workmen had was by sticking together for their common interests?

A. They undoubtedly told me that.

Q. Did you believe it?

A. I did.

Q. Why, then, did you go out to spy on them? You are a workman, aren't you?

A. I am.

Holding up an application for membership in the I. W. W., Vanderveer asked: Did you sign one like this?

A. I signed something; what it was, I don't remember.

Q. So far as you know, you were signing a pledge of loyalty?

A. I presume I was.

Q. And you did not intend to be loyal, did you?

A. I did not.

Q. And when you got into the organization you immediately set about spying on its meetings?

A. I did.

Q. And its members?

A. I did.

Q. You say at first you found some difficulty in getting access to an inner circle?

A. I did.

Q. You found an inner circle?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. Apparently a well organized bunch inside?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they? Name the members.

A. I cannot name any of them.

Q. Who was the man you looked up when you had difficulty about getting into their confidence?

A. A man by the name of A. B. Miner.

Q. Was he a stool-pigeon?

A. No, sir.

Q. A member?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not know him very well?

A. I have known him five or six years.

Q. Who was it he introduced you to?

A. No one in particular.

Q. Told them you were all right?

A. He did.

Q. Which was not true?

A. Apparently not.

Q. You say you were paid in cash?

A. Every week, yes, sir.

Q. Gold, silver, paper or what?

A. Legal tender of the U. S.

Q. Well, you know silver is the usual payment

for such services as you were rendering? You heard how Judas was paid, didn't you?

MR. PORTER: Oh, now—

MR. NEBEKER: If the Court please—

VANDERVEER: That is all.

A ubiquitous young man was F. A. Thrasher of Portland, Oregon, special agent of the well known Department of Justice. He swore that Harry Lloyd, defendant, who is over draft age, had said he would "resist conscription with his life's blood." This remark, so Thrasher swore, was spoken May 17, 1917, while he and other officers were "on a slacker case." Vanderveer was astonished.

Q. A slacker case on May, 17th, 1917?

A. A slacker case.

Q. Yes?

A. Yes, I say a slacker case, a man that had not registered, we call them slackers out there.

Thrasher was reminded that no one registered previous to registration day on June 5th, 1917.

C. N. Buffum, manager of the Panhandle Lumber Company of Idaho, brought in a busted bandsaw for the prosecution and some good testimony for the defense. Who or what broke the saw did not appear—the testimony is given below. About last year's strike.

Q. You were informed that the strike was for the eight-hour day?

A. I was, after it was pulled.

Q. You know there had been a convention of lumber workers held that spring in Spokane?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. At which demands had been formulated for an eight-hour day?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had men who were keeping you informed of everything like that occurring in the I. W. W. conventions, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do to adapt yourself to the demand which you knew would be made?

A. Nothing.

Q. Were you very deeply concerned about filling these government orders?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why then did you take no steps to avert a strike (called June 20th, 1917,) of which you had warning early in March?

A. Because we had no trouble.

Q. Do you belong to any association of lumber men?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the name of it?

A. The Western Pine Lumbermen's Association.

Q. How many of the mill men of eastern Washington and Idaho belong to it?

A. Practically all of them.

Q. Do you know Dr. Carleton Parker?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. A professor in the University of Washington, a representative of the War Department of the United States?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you met him?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He came through Washington and Idaho and talked with you mill owners individually and met the representatives of your association, didn't he?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a representative of the United States Government?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And urged you to concede the eight-hour day?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And told you that the War Department and the President of the United States, through him, asked that of you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you refused to do it.

A. We granted the eight-hour day voluntarily.

Q. When?

A. The first of January, 1918.

Q. Parker was there in September, wasn't he?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you did not grant it in October?

A. No, sir.

Q. You did not grant it in November?

No response.

Q. You didn't grant it in December?

No response.

Q. **You granted it when you found you could not run your mill any other way, didn't you? DIDN'T YOU?**

A. Yes.

Q. And you have been calling the I. W. W. disloyal?

A. I have, yes, sir.

Q. You have. Did they ever call you disloyal?

A. I don't know.

Q. Were you at liberty to grant the eight-hour day in your plants **without consulting the association** of which you are a member?

A. No, sir.

On June 14th and 15th the prosecution went back to Butte; Butte, the mysterious; Butte, the sinister contact point of class conflict; Butte, the great copper camp—built on the ugly slopes of the "richest hill in the world"—the dark and bloody ground so rich in the unutterable tragedy of Labor's serfdom and rebellions.

A question or two of Vanderveer's intimated, but did not reveal, some possible disclosures that may later set the nation agog with stories now hidden. The situation as varnished over by the prosecution presented only a disjointed and semi-amusing jumble of a Sinn-Fein circular, seven Irishmen and a pair of breeches. The circular was connected with the

breeches and Porter was trying to put the breeches on the I. W. W. when Vanderveer halted the witness with the objection: Wait, wait. The trousers speak for themselves, your Honor. Landis: Yes, the breeches would speak.

PORTER: Do you know whatever became of them?

WITNESS: They were introduced in the Federal Court of Montana as evidence in another matter. I understood that the Judge—

LANDIS: The Judge is not wearing them?

A. I hardly think so.

The trousers testimony was thus dropped. About the anti-draft circular Vanderveer put a pregnant question to the United States Marshal of Montana by inquiring if that official knew that Mr. Rohn, President of the North Butte Mining Company and another man, a German named Von Pohl, had some connections with the famous circular. The marshal didn't know, neither did he know why the Montana district attorney should conceal such things from him and from the Chicago prosecutors.

Another query of significance put by Vanderveer to Patrick Howe, a Butte policeman:

Q. Do you know a man named Morrissey, captain of detectives in Butte?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know he took a twenty-day lay-off on the morning of August 2nd because he had scratches on his face?

Nebeker's objection to this question was sustained by the court.

"For lack of evidence!"—J. J. Keenan, Stanley Dembicki and Julio Blanco have been released. This leaves 109 on trial.

THE third week of June opened with the promise of a speedy passing, as the prosecution had announced a purpose to close their case by Wednesday, the 19th. With the closing of the prosecution's side in view, the interest became heightened, as all looked for "surprises" and expected some tremendous broadsides at the finish. It was a real disappointment when nothing of the kind occurred, when no climax came, and everything merely fizzled out like a bad fire cracker.

Comparatively few witnesses appeared, the most important ones taking the stand Monday, the 17th. To illustrate what was left of them after Vanderveer's grilling, let us pick at random from the record, let us examine the testimony of Elton Watkins, special agent of the Department of Justice, stationed at Portland, Oregon, and sent from there last July to the lumber strike district at Astoria, Oregon.

On direct examination Watkins told of his Sherlockian methods with some pride. He didn't go to Astoria to settle the strike, to ascertain the cause, or to confer with both sides. He did talk with the bosses; he did ask the postmaster who the I. W. W. secretary was; and he did spy upon the strikers' meetings through a crack in a partition to hear what A. E. Soper, then secretary, now a defendant, said in speeches.

Vanderveer: Did you make any effort to gain access to those meetings by the regular door provided for that purpose?

A. No.

Q. You wanted to be sure that nobody would be warned of your presence and thereby be guarded in their talks? You wanted to hear what they said among themselves, didn't you?

A. Indeed I did.

Q. Didn't Mr. Soper say that violence was a sign of weakness? When people became industrially impotent they became violent?

A. I don't remember, but he did say that was the method of the A. F. of L.

Q. You did not hear anything about the war, did you?

A. No, I don't recall anything.

Q. Nor anything about conscription?

A. No.

Q. You say Mr. Soper explained "direct action." Do you remember his explanation of it?

A. The way I remember, "direct action" was in presenting their demands or grievances directly to the fellow who owned the place.

Q. And if they could not adjust it, force it by strike?

A. Yes.

Q. Or by industrial methods?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Mr. Soper or anyone else at the meetings advocate the driving of spikes in logs or the breaking of saws?

A. No, I never heard that.

"That is all," said Vanderveer.

The prosecution tried hard to make this "spikes in logs" theory stick, but to no avail. Two knives broken from a rotary planer machine were made much fuss over, Nebeker tenderly fondling them in ostentatious display before the jurors, as he examined a witness on "direct." These planer knives were brought from a mill at Aloha, Washington, by a mill superintendent, Mr. Frank Milward, who knew the knives were broken, but did not know what the cause was, or who, if anyone, was responsible; yet, of course, testifying that it "must have been the I. W. W."

Vanderveer: Did you ever see a spike knot (a natural growth) in spruce?

A. Yes, considerable.

Q. Did you ever see it break a planer knife?

A. Yes.

Q. Very often?

A. Yes, quite often.

One might comment here how unfortunate it was that the I. W. W. did not exist in George Washington's boyhood, else he might have responded to the question of who cut the cherry tree by saying, "Father, I cannot tell a lie; the I. W. W. did it."

But Vanderveer was not through with Mr. Milward, and while the hundred defendants leaned forward in hushed expectancy, the little lawyer with the fighting jaw launched an attack that carried the prosecution off its feet and caused Nebeker to go white and red by turns, uncovering in a few minutes the depravity of our opposers.

Vanderveer: You say you are the superintendent of the Aloha Lumber Company?

A. I am, yes.

Q. That is located between Aberdeen and Mo-clips, Washington?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were you on the 20th day of May, 1918?

A. Well, I could make a pretty close guess.

Q. Where were you on the 20th day of last month?

A. I would make the same guess.

Q. You were at Aloha, Washington?

A. That is the best of my knowledge.

Q. How far do you say your plant is from the Joe Creek Shingle Company?

A. Two and a half miles, probably.

Q. Do you know the foreman of the Joe Creek Company, Mr. Campbell?

A. I know Mr. Campbell, yes, well.

Q. I want to ask you whether, on the 20th of last month—your name is Frank, isn't it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Campbell came to you and told you that a certain man who had formerly been employed in their mill had quit work there; that they wanted him to stay and he would not—just that much?

A. I remember a conversation something of that kind.

Q. And whether that man did not come to Aloha? Wasn't he sent down there to get his pay, ostensibly?

A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. He came down there?

A. I saw—

Q. And you and some other gentlemen took him and locked him in a car from about 8 o'clock in the morning until about noon?

A. Well, you wish then, probably, to make me instrumental in that, other than just being a spectator?

Q. Oh, I am trying to find out were you there?

A. I saw it transacted.

Q. And then **you and some soldiers** took the man out about noon—**tarred and feathered him**, didn't you?

A. I saw it done.

Q. You had nothing to do with it?

A. Well, no; no more than being a spectator. I never laid hands on the man or put any tar on the man.

Q. Did you say anything to the men to **encourage** them?

A. I don't know if I did in particular.

Q. Did you say anything to **discourage** them?....

A. No.

Q. **What?**

A. I said I did nothing to discourage them.

Q. Nothing to discourage them, although some of them were your employes?

A. They were all.

Q. Except the soldiers?

A. **The soldiers were also my employes.**

Q. The soldiers were also your employes? You didn't order them to stop that?

A. No, sir.

Q. You thought he was an I. W. W., but was not; isn't that a fact?

A. How do you know about that?

Q. Well, didn't you?

A. I think he probably was.

Q. Is that the reason you tarred and feathered him?

Nebeker: I object, if the Court please. The witness has not said he tarred and feathered him.

Landis: Objection sustained.

Vanderveer: Well, is that the reason you watched the others tar and feather him?

A. Put that as one reason.

Q. You approve of what that crowd did to that fellow, did you?

A. Well, you claim I did.

Q. Well, did you?

A. I did not disapprove.

Q. You believe in that way of handling things, don't you?

Witness: (to the Court) Would I be compelled to answer a question of that nature?

Landis: Yes.

Witness: Well, I don't believe the man got anything he did not deserve.

Q. Well, then, you believe that is all right?

A. In that particular instance.

Q. **You made a nice, loyal citizen of that man, of course?**

Nebeker: I object, as not proper.

Landis: Objection overruled.

Q. You made a good, loyal citizen of that man?

A. I don't know anything about that man.

Q. You made him dearly love the soldiers? You made him love the flag and everything, didn't you?

A. I don't know what he loved.

Nor was this the end of Milward's discomfiture. On being recalled to the stand next morning, June 18, and after finishing with questions from counsel, Judge Landis took a notion to do some investigating

on his own account and, waiving aside the anxious objections of Nebeker, he spoke to the now worried lumber boss: "Just a moment. Sit down. You mentioned a figure of \$33 a thousand in talking about lumber, didn't you?"

A. I haven't any recollection.

Vanderveer: I did, Your Honor.

Landis: Was it spruce or fir?

A. Spruce.

Q. When was this price of \$33 in force?

A. Your Honor, **I don't like to go back into the things**; it has gone up; I think in 1916 we got about that much for spruce.

Q. For aeroplane construction?

A. Yes.

Q. What do you say it is now?

A. Spruce has went up in price, if you will let me explain; we are getting an average today of about \$75 a thousand.

Vanderveer: You said \$90 yesterday.

Landis: What I want to know is what happened to your spruce to make it worth \$90 today, where it was worth \$33 two years ago.

After much evasion which vexed His Honor, the witness finally had a happy thought. A. Well, logs cost two and a half times as much.

Q. Why is that?

A. Why, I only know that the increased cost of production—

Q. Well, now, tell me what that is?

A. Well, labor is double in price.

After much verbal stumbling, Milward stated that labor previously was paid \$2 for ten hours and now cost \$4.00 for eight hours.

Q. Now, when was this \$4.00 for eight hours fixed?

A. **I do not like to tell you the date**, because I have forgotten it.

Q. Well, about when was it?

A. **This spring** (1918); cannot that be taken from the record? I don't remember.

Q. Well, if you don't know—you were there; can't you tell within thirty days of it, when you went on the eight hour shift?

A. I would say it was about the first of April, 1918, after the I. W. W. strike on the job.

Landis: All right. Anybody any questions?

Vanderveer: And for your specification spruce you get \$105.00 and \$110.00 a thousand, don't you?

A. **We do.**

Two or three slant-headed persons who had scabbed during the lumber strike were brought in to tell their misfortunes. Said misfortunes consisted of exceptionally itching underwear, noticed after refusal to participate in walk-outs made by the whole crews, nonunion men as well as I. W. W. crews. Nebeker contended it was a powder called "cow-itch," while Vanderveer suggested that the bunk-house vermin had merely concentrated upon the scab because he was the only victim remaining after the walk-out. Anyway, the scabs didn't know positively what the cause was, so the trial for "seditious conspiracy" went merrily on and the story of the pro-German lice is a matter historians and solemn judges may review and ponder over.

It was on June 19, at 4:50 p. m., after a long day of reading I. W. W. arguments against "militaryism" (which is the way both Nebeker and Porter pronounce it), that Nebeker turned to Landis and cried, "Your Honor, the government rests." The jurors were told to spend the following day as they pleased, as they would not be needed, and court adjourned until 1:15 p. m. the next day, when counsel for defense was expected to make motions for dismissals.

At the appointed hour on the 20th of June, the defendants being present, Vanderveer made a motion for dismissal in toto. "Overruled," said Judge Landis. The prosecution "non-suited" eight defend-

ants and they were released. Tardy justice was thus afforded Roger Culver, Harrison Haight, W. E. Mattingly, Otto Justh, A. Rodriguez, Joseph Laukis Paul Pika and Walter Reeder.

Vanderveer moved the complete dismissal of eighteen more.

"Overruled," said Judge Landis.

Next, Vanderveer offered a motion to dismiss the third and fourth counts against some sixty defendants, being the "anti-conscription" counts, and the contention made that no testimony connected them with such a charge.

"Overruled," said Judge Landis.

Vanderveer fought over some individual cases. "What has Ben Fletcher ever been shown to have done," said he, "except that he got married and wrote in for his week's wages?"

"Overruled," said Landis.

"Whatever Charles Ashleigh might have done last year, not one word of evidence is brought to show it, and Your Honor knows as little about it as of the Angel Gabriel," said Vanderveer.

"Overruled," said Landis.

Another question fought over was Vanderveer's motion to expunge from the record certain so-called "disloyal" acts and utterances under claim that they were acts of individuals and not in furtherance of any possible conspiracy.

"These acts," said Landis, in overruling the motion, "although not criminal in themselves nor apparently carried out by plan, may tend to show a state of mind, and, therefore, are admissible as evidence to be considered by the jury."

In comment Vanderveer said: "If this theory holds, nobody is safe, and I, for one, want to take to the woods."

Vanderveer read a judicial decision to the effect that "connection must be proved, and not assumed," continuing, "and Mr. Nebeker must prove his theory that when Haywood says 'no' he means 'yes,' as he

has asserted; the liberty of these defendants cannot be left to the guesswork of counsel. This is the law!" he shouted.

"Overruled," said Landis.

The writer is beginning to wonder if the I. W. W. are the only ones that may be accused of "disrespect for the law."

There are now 101 defendants. Friday, June 21, Pietro Nigra was sick and no court was held. The day following Albert Prashner sent down a doctor's certificate declaring illness, and further action was again delayed until Monday, June 24.



Vanderveer's Opening Address.

THE Federal Building at Chicago squats its low massive bulk of grey stone, like a misplaced feudal castle, in the very heart of the famous "Loop District." For blocks around, story piled upon story, gigantic sky-scrappers thrust their sharp angles into the clouds. Now and again fogs creep in from the great inland sea blotting out for a time those ugly walls wherewith man seeks to shut out heaven. Almost unnoticed here, the sun rises out of the lake and passes over the zenith to lose itself in the pall of smoke o'erhanging the West Side factory district. But always, day and night, winter and summer, the air vibrates with the throbbing rumble of traffic. In a voice of continuous thunder the God of Business cries but one word—"Gold! Gold!—"

It is Tuesday morning, June 25th. After four days of delay—four days filled with rumors, arguments in open court with defendants absent, conferences behind closed doors, etc., all ending with Judge Landis' significant ruling against the defense's asserted intention to introduce the Industrial Relations Commission Report—the great trial proceeded.

"Hear ye! Hear ye!" sang a voice back of the bench. The big room held an air of hushed expectancy. But there could be no silence. Through the open windows came the roar of the city; the smooth voice of George F. Vanderveer, beginning the opening statement for the defense, scarce rose above the tumult:

"This case is unusual. It is supposed to be a case against William D. Haywood, James P. Thompson, John Foss, and a great number of other men whom you never heard of before, but—it is a charge

of 'conspiracy' wherein the prosecution claims these defendants have conspired to violate certain laws of the United States and for which alleged crime the prosecution here purposes to send these defendants to prison. Yet in reality, it is the purpose of the prosecution to destroy the organization with which these men are connected and to break the ideal for which their organization stands.

"You are told that this case is of great importance to the nation; yet it involves more than the nation—it involves the whole social order. There are five counts in the indictment which recites numerous 'overt acts' supposedly committed in furtherance of the 'conspiracy;' one of these acts is the circulation of the Preamble of the I. W. W. Constitution; another an editorial in an issue of Solidarity entitled 'We are Dissatisfied'—the latter plainly stating that 'the present industrial system is useless and we mean to destroy it.' It is the function of the defense to explain this to you. We want you to notice especially that the purpose of this organization is not to destroy government but to control industry—two things which ought to be separate.

"It is manifestly impossible for me, gentlemen, within the limit of time allotted to me to attempt it—to tell you all that these hundred or more defendants have said or done, and all that they have had in their minds.

"They classify themselves, however, into two classes. Some have had something to do with strikes—not unlawful as such—and which become unlawful only when accompanied by a certain sinister, unlawful purpose which is attributed to them in these various counts of the indictment.

"Some of these men, again, have had no direct connection with any strike, but they have engaged during the period of supposed conspiracy in organizing men on various jobs—or have gone out as lecturers, or have carried the gospel of the organization in whatever manner to the workers.

"I am not clear, in my own mind, upon what theory counsel seeks to hold here men who have had nothing to do with strikes, men who have had nothing to do with war activities. It may be counsel's contention that their activities as members became unlawful by reason of the unlawful character of the organization. Again the question whether or not it is lawful or unlawful in its character must be determined by its purpose.

"Now, in every issue of Solidarity, about which you have heard a great deal here—on the top of the front page you will find these words—'Education—Organization—Emancipation.' What do they mean? What do they mean standing alone or taken in connection with other things which you will find stated as part of the philosophy of the organization?

"For instance, what do they mean in connection with the statement that the two classes in our society have nothing in common, the working class and the employing class?

"I want to state to you what these men have said, what they have done, and what their intention has been in doing these things.

"His Honor has struck out my reference to the Industrial Relations Commission Report. I do not want to repeat. You will remember—how the vast majority of our common laborers in the basic industries from which this organization recruits its membership, are unable to earn the barest living for themselves and their families. It has been the function of these men to tell these facts to the working people, in order that, understanding their conditions, and the causes of their conditions, they may more intelligently and efficiently go out and find and apply the remedy. It is a sad commentary on our system that 79 per cent. of the heads of our working class families are utterly unable to support their families and to educate their children on a plane of civic decency. Nobody can right the wrongs of the past. All we can do is to concern ourselves with the future

and prevent, if possible, further development and growth of a system which brings these things about.

"One hundred per cent. of railroad workers are employed by corporations; ninety per cent. of all workers in mines are employed by corporations; seventy-five per cent. of all workers in other industries are likewise employed by corporations. What is the purpose and method by which corporations, once organized, get together and blend themselves by a system of interlocking directorates or what not, into a large industrial unit known as a trust?

"We have reared up in our midst here a tremendous industrial fabric. When we look at it sometimes and contemplate the figures which it represents, it is appalling. We wonder what we are going to do. The bigger the thing the more it must be fed, because you have got to feed it six per cent. or ten per cent. or twenty per cent. or twenty-five per cent. a year, otherwise it disintegrates of itself.

"Another thing that is significant in connection with this development is the fact that trusts when formed, almost without exception, go under the management of financiers rather than business men. That makes for social waste. How far has that gone? I want to mention this, and I want you to get what it means because of its great social importance. The largest trust which stands over them all is what is known as the Money Trust, comprised of three rings; one known as the Morgan Group, which controls \$22,245,000,000; the Baker or First National Bank Group, which controls \$11,500,000,000; the third, the Stillman, or National City Bank Group controls \$11,000,000,000. This gigantic combine controls wealth to the equal of the total values of all property in the states west of the Mississippi, both north and south. This colossal power destroys initiative, pigeonholes inventions and stifles business credit. You know and I know and these boys know better than anybody in the world that it has corrupted absolutely every source of public informa-

tion. You never get the truth unless by accident. We are going to prove that to you in this case; right out of the mouths of some of these fellows who are sitting here and don't know how we are going to do it.

"Finally, perhaps most important of all, you have reared here a thing which is more powerful than your government itself; a thing which **is** the government—the invisible government of your country; which every day determines how much you eat, how much you get for your work; what kind of schooling your children get and how much food; whether your babies have proper medical attention; another thing—it has absolutely destroyed business ethics—business morals. A few years ago when the Pure Food Law was being considered, Doctor Wiley was told 'If you make us call things by their right names you will bankrupt every food industry in the country.'

"How do these things affect the workers and the future of the coming generations? How affect prostitution? We will prove to you how the present system gives a girl a chance; that four times as many babies in working class families die in infancy than in the families of the business and professional class. And to what end is all this? That a few, a mere handful, should grow richer than any Croesus; that they may have autos they haven't time to count; that they may lavish luxuries upon their lap-dogs that your babies and mine may never hope to have; that they may give monkey dinners and dog weddings.

"All of us agree this situation is not right. But counsel says, 'Your way is the wrong way, you must use political action.' Now, I never saw a gambler but what wants to use his own cards and make his own rules. We have tried that game and Bull-Moosed a while. We have tinkered with the tariff. We have busted the trusts into little pieces. And how much have we accomplished? Why?

"I have told you a while ago that we have reared up a thing here bigger than we are, but that thing

looks to me like a pyramid. It is top-heavy. It is balanced on its little point and that little point is on the back of Labor, and that is where the tap-root goes through, where it must get its dividends; and that is the point where the I. W. W. attacks it and is going to bust it. The minute you take the milk bottle away from this thing, that minute it is going to look around for a living elsewhere. Why political action? This thing was not reared by law. It grew because some men by combining in trusts and corporations within industry got power to exploit Labor. And it will quit growing just as soon as Labor organizes and gets the power to stop its being exploited. 'But you use sabotage,' says counsel. Yet out of the thousands of lumber mills in Washington, he brings only two which had saws broken by something not proven and a few threshing machines out of hundreds testified about here by witnesses. We will bring witnesses—not the kind you have seen here, I hope—but reputable farmers, who have been dealing with the I. W. W. for years in the places best organized by it, who will tell you they never had better workers than the I. W. W.

* 7
"A number of years ago the French Federation of Labor endorsed sabotage as a labor tactic and one of its leaders, Emile Pouget, wrote a book about it. He was not an I. W. W. That book was translated but not by an I. W. W., and was first published by B. W. Hupes in New York City, and exhibited everywhere. You will find here in the Chicago Library five times as much literature on sabotage as we ever saw, all open for reading. Courses of instruction on sabotage and direct action and everything else are taught at Harvard, Princeton, Stanford and in universities everywhere. The I. W. W. has sold these books, partly for revenue, partly because we believe that education about anything, right or wrong, is a good thing.

"In our confidential literature dozens of times the I. W. W. has argued and warned against violence.

In 1912, at the Seventh Convention, the General Executive Board report upon that subject was printed later into a book called 'On The Firing Line.' Nobody who reads that fairly and honestly can be in any doubt about our position on violence. Remember that the I. W. W. was born out of the bloody Cripple Creek strike and if ever Labor learned a lesson on the futility of violence it was there in Colorado. 'Why destroy a brother's product?' we ask. Somewhere, counsel says, we advise workers to 'misplace a nut.' When I contemplate that in comparison with evidences of strike violence that are all about you in this city every day—not I. W. W. violence—it is hard to restrain the inclination to laugh. Again—in one of the Agricultural Workers' bulletins is reprinted a circular letter sent out by some bank to farmers telling them how the I. W. W. was burning up everything somewhere else and that letter ended by saying, 'You can get insurance for \$4.00 a thousand from the Boyd National Bank.' Far from destroying, we will show that last summer the I. W. W. literally saved the forests of western Montana, northern Idaho and Washington from fire."

Speaking upon the 1917 Lumber Strike, Vanderveer told how the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. had struck side by side for the eight-hour day; how he had gone in person to Governor Lister of Washington, and how that official had tried vainly to get the lumber barons to compromise on a nine-hour day.

Coming to Butte and the industrial tyranny exerted by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, he said, "For years there have existed in Butte conditions which have kept that camp in continual turmoil. The Butte operators have what is known as the 'rustling card' system, an institution of which you have never heard and may have some hesitation about believing. You may be the best miner in the world yet if you went to Butte you couldn't get a job if you were a union man. You have to go to a central bureau and go through an examination; you

are told to come back after they look up your record. If your record shows you are a good slave you get a white card which entitles you—not to a job—but to permission to hunt a job up on the hill. This company has elected every senator, every governor and everybody else. It has elected mine inspectors to investigate safety conditions—after somebody is killed.

“That is how things are run—and there had been a strike—and they had their little machine guns out on the hill; and they had cowed and beaten and compelled Labor until it stood it just as long as a human being can stand that kind of a thing and still call itself human.” (Vanderveer’s voice, vibrant with the passion of his cause, proceeded.) “On the 8th of June, there was a fire, known as the Speculator fire, and if you have never seen a mine fire, with all that it means, then I cannot picture it to you. No man can picture it to you. It is a thing that simply surpasses description. The people who went to this mine found the gates locked and the property barred. Wives and children could not go there to see whether or not their husbands and fathers were burned to death.” Pausing in a futile effort to repress emotion, the voice went on in trembling earnestness. “The women went up on that hill with all the horrors in their hearts that previous experiences had taught all miners’ wives; crying and weeping; and finally the bodies came out; and with the bodies came the men who found them! and with the men who had found them came the damnable story of how it happened. Then these poor people went down to the morgue. They saw the bodies lined up there, 175 of them; 68 of them burned so black they were never identified—burned to a crisp. They were told that underground, in order to prevent spread of fire which might do some damage to property, they had built concrete bulkheads without a manhole. When the fire occurred, the men sought shelter in underground exits into other mines, but they encountered

these bulkheads and there the bodies were found, literally piled in one charred heap, sacrifices to the greed for gold. They say the I. W. W. started a strike, but I tell you the men in that camp, driven to frenzy by that thing, went out on the hill on the 11th of June and organized that union.

"Then there was another strike down in Arizona. On the 12th of July, in Bisbee, 1186 men were taken at the point of machine guns—mind you, I say machine guns, mounted on automobiles, and taken down to the ball park, and there loaded into filthy cattle cars that were six inches deep in manure; hauled out through a blistering Arizona desert to a place called Hermanas, shuffled back and forth between there and Columbus, New Mexico, where they finally were taken in charge by U. S. troops. Something like one-third of those men held Liberty Bonds, hundreds more were registered for the draft. But there was somebody in Bisbee who was better than they, who said, 'They are disloyal.' But a curious thing happened on that 12th day of July; every man approached was asked, 'Will you go to work or be deported?' Did you ever know of such a method of making men sell their labor at the other fellow's price? While all this was going on, wives and children were left at home to starve—without money—without food—without anything in the world."

Nearing conclusion, Vanderveer said, "If patriotism means to wave flags from the housetops and then profiteer, then the I. W. W. is unpatriotic. If patriotism means that one must believe in war as the best way of settling things—in wholesale slaughter of innocent people—is right, then again, I say the I. W. W. for years has been in that sense unpatriotic; because the I. W. W. has not believed and does not believe in war."

Upon hampering war production, Vanderveer explained that if a conspiracy really had existed many more industries would have been shut down by the I. W. W. "Secretary of Labor Wilson's report

for 1917 shows thousands of strikes," he said, "yet the only ones the I. W. W. had anything to do with were those I have talked to you about and for those there existed ample aggravation and ample cause, the Lord knows:

"Finally," said Vanderveer, "I am going to show you these men, because when you decide if they have been guilty of crime or not, you are deciding whether or not they are criminals—and the final test of that is the test of their manhood, and you are going to see them under cross-examination by the most astute counsel the government could get. I want you to adopt as a guiding principle the ideal expressed in a book by William E. Stead, a British writer who visited Chicago some years ago and afterwards wrote a book called, 'If Christ came to Chicago.' I want you to consider what Christ, if he came to Chicago and looked upon these men and the things they have done and the motives that have moved them, would say; whether he would condemn or whether he would approve; and when you have considered that, I want you to write that answer in your verdict."

The voice died away. Upon the city's canyons arose the forgotten war of the tides of commerce. Out across the Dearborn Street chasm in the windows of a sixth-floor sweat-shop the bent forms of women kept up their monotonous motions; hour after hour they sit there, sewing, sewing, sewing. . . .

A moment's pause—and Vanderveer raised his voice. "Call James P. Thompson." The I. W. W. had begun its countercharge against Capitalism.

Defense Opens.

JAMES P. Thompson—"the rough-neck Isaiah" of the American proletariat, took the stand as the first witness for the defense and for two days the marble walls of a federal court echoed with the most passionately terrible denunciation of capitalism ever heard in such dignified surroundings.

Vanderveer's questions passed swiftly over Thompson's career as a worker from the time when he became a marine fireman on the Great Lakes at the age of 15 until 1905, when he left the I. L. A. which he helped organize on the Chicago waterfront, to begin his long career as a lecturer for the I.W.W.

Landis sustained the government's objection to the introduction of the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, but in Thompson's denial of making seditious speeches, he was allowed under the rules to show what his speeches really were, and in reproducing them on the stand he read copiously from the report the parts taken as texts for his lectures given to audiences throughout the country. In this fashion the industrial background of the case leaped into view and Thompson laid the philosophical and economic basis for the I. W. W.'s attack upon the whole capitalist regime. Logical in the facts and figures cited to prove his contention of the class struggle and the unequal distribution of wealth; tragic in his vivid portrayal of the sufferings and brutalities borne by the workers and their desperate and bloody struggles on the battlefields of industry. Thompson broke down and tears coursed down his cheeks as he told of the strike of hop-pickers on the Durst ranch at Wheatland, California, in 1913. "Some day" he said, "when Labor's age-long fight for life and freedom is ended, then will there

be a monument raised over the graves of the Wheatland martyrs—and it will show the little water-carrier boy and his tin pail lying there on the ground mingling his blood with the water that he carried, and over him, in a posture of defense, the brave Porto-Rican with the gun he had torn from the cowardly hands of the murderers who had fired upon a crowd of women and children.” Lawrence, Ludlow, Everett—the whole story was told, with a gaunt and terrible coloration of how the workers live, labor and die to feed the fortunes of great industrial kings. Scornfully turning to the prosecution he continued:

“The very people who are abusing the I. W. W. today, if they had lived in the days of our forefathers would have been licking the boots of King George. They would have said of the boys fighting barefooted in the snow at Valley Forge, ‘Look at them! They haven’t got a shoe to their feet and they are talking about Liberty!’ The people who are knocking the I. W. W. are the same type who dragged William Lloyd Garrison through the streets of Boston with a halter; who killed Lovejoy and threw his printing press into the Mississippi River; it is the same type who murdered Frank Little!”

Nebeker rose to object, to be met with a hot rejoinder, “I do not mean to be personal,” said Thompson. “This is what I said in my lectures, but if the shoe fits—wear it.”

“The status of women as wage workers,” said Thompson, “is most important; not only as they are used by employers to scab upon the male workers, but because their low wages threaten the very vitals of society with the cancer of prostitution.”

Reading from the report of the Illinois Vice Commission, he cited statistics showing that two-thirds to three-fourths of women wage workers receive less than \$8.00 a week, nearly one-half get \$6.00 per week; while Marshall Field, who employs women and girls at these figures, receives an income from

their labor at the rate of **\$700.00 an hour**. Thompson told of the sordid lives of these girls, who forsake one necessity for another necessity in trying to live a life of normal decency until that hour when virtue seems a light price to pay for just a little relief from the miseries of barren existence—for only an hour in the sunshine to these little “flowers that grow in the shade.”

Citing the vast fortunes supposed to be the reward of men with “mighty brains,” Thompson pilloried an anti-social morality which justifies the use of mental ability in exploiting labor. “If your brain is good you are rich already,” he said, “but you are a mental prostitute when you use it as an instrument of plunder.” He quoted Supreme Court Justice Brandies as saying that “America has an hereditary aristocracy of wealth which is foreign to American ideals and is menacing to the nation as a democracy.” “Justice is denied, the whole machinery of government is in the hands of employers and there is one law for the rich and another for the poor,” said Thompson, and quoted from a speech of William H. Taft wherein the ex-President said: “We must keep the Law and Justice a little closer together in order to justify the Law.” Commenting upon such conditions, Thompson cited the words of warning uttered by Judge Cullen of New York: “There is danger,” said Judge Cullen, “real danger, that the people will see with one sweeping glance how we lawyers in the pay of predatory wealth corrupt law at its fountain-head; that the furies may then break loose and all Hell will ride on their wings.”

Thompson then elaborated upon the theory of Industrial Unionism as a method used in purging the social order of the evils of oligarchy and freeing the political state from the corruption of absolutism. “As an end,” he said, “we want Industrial Democracy; the industries should be owned by the people, operated by the people, for the people. Scientifically organized labor is the only logical and effi-

cient force making for social progress; that is why we I. W. W. organize Industrial Unions into One Big Union—that is why we say we are ‘building the New Society within the shell of the old.’ ”

It was laughable to see Nebeker upon cross-examination. Almost the first question asked was, “Does your organization advocate ‘free love?’ ” Thompson replied, “No; for the same reason that most everybody does, we get married in the same way and try to be happy in the same way.”

Q. Do you regard courts as being capitalistic institutions?

A. Well, they are the courts of the dominant class, yes. But no narrow interpretation; the laws are made to reflect the interests of the dominant class.

Q. Do you believe in violating laws that seem to you and your organization to be bad?

A. I do not believe in violating any law—unless it is an extreme case. As a rule, we ought to obey the laws and take steps to correct sentiment against them.

Q. Now, what sort of interference with machinery do you say would be sabotage? Take for example a steam engine.

A. Yes, take a steam engine. If you could take the drive wheels off of it and lay them over on a fence, they would not be able to go ahead until they put them back on; but if you broke the wheels off, that would not be sabotage.

Q. Suppose you left a nut loose on a machine and it came off?

A. If it leads to destruction, you are destroying; the act must not result in rendering it defective.

Q. Now, note this and see if you remember this—(reading from Pouget’s Sabotage) “These instruments of production being our own property, we can do with them whatever we best please. We can run them for our own good, as we surely will, but if we so choose, we can also smash them to pieces.”

A. Yes, I remember reading that. He does not say that is sabotage, though.

Q. Your conception is, is it not, that over here on one side are all of the wage workers of the United States; over on the other side are all the cohorts of Capitalism?

A. That is very vague—there is a large working class and an employing class whose interests are diametrically opposite.

Q. Now, the purpose of your organization, I assume, is to prevent anybody from the one side, that is to say from the wage working side, getting over into the other side, into the capitalist side?

A. No, not at all.

Q. Has your organization ever assisted any young men in becoming independent and getting over in to the capitalist class?

A. Oh, yes, many times. We always tell them that if they want to be independent they have to get high wages and get them by joining the union and taking them.

Q. And if your organization was successful in getting all these men over into that class, the organization would commit suicide, wouldn't it?

A. If we got them all over in that class, we would all have to go to work, and then we would have what we want.

Q. If you got them all into the capitalistic class—

A. Impossible.

Q. —and if they ceased to be wage workers and became employers, they would cease to be members of your organization?

A. They would have to employ themselves, then.

Q. What about churches in general? Do you regard them as capitalistic institutions?

A. Well, churches existed long before capitalism existed, so that would be absurd.

Q. You do not care how unequally wealth is distributed amongst the capitalist class?

A. We look at it as all one great company—one class.

Q. So that whether 2 per cent of the capitalists have 60 per cent of the wealth of the capitalists, from your standpoint, is not any worse than if 60 per cent of the wealth was distributed uniformly among the capitalist class?

A. A very great difference. It shows the tendency to center the whole earth in the hands of a few industrial kings.

Q. If a member of the capitalist class loses his property and becomes a wage worker he becomes a member of your organization, doesn't he?

A. Eligible to membership, yes.

Q. And in that way he strengthens your organization?

A. His interest becomes ours, he may not strengthen our organization.

Q. It becomes a matter of interest to you to have just as many of the capitalist class deprived of their property as possible?

A. That is not a logical conclusion under conditions today. Every man crushed out from business comes into the labor market in competition with us.

Q. Where does the money come from that is used to pay this array of defendants here?

A. It comes out of the pockets of the boss. If the union becomes strong enough, we make the boss pay for it.

To poke fun at Nebeker's silly questions on "free love," Vanderveer opened re-direct of Thompson as follows:

Q. Mr. Thompson, does your organization believe in marrying old millionaires to young actresses?

A. (Smiling) Certainly not.

Q. Does it believe in marrying young girls to debauched members of European nobility?

A. It does not.

Q. Does it believe in marrying the Astor fortune to the Vanderbilt fortune?

A. That is a good union for the capitalists, from a financial standpoint, but we do not believe in the economic reason for marriage. We believe in happy marriage—a normal, natural life.

Vanderveer followed the testimony of Thompson with extracts from literature printed or sold by the I. W. W., reading at length from Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics," to bring out the Marxian theory of Value and the analysis of value, price and profit. Reading also from Austin Lewis' "Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois" and Vincent St. John's "Industrial Unionism," Vanderveer set forth the dominance of the unskilled and the I. W. W. idea of union structure.

On Friday, June 28th, the courtroom grew curious when a large easel and cloth blackboard were set up in place of the witness chair. Christensen called defendant J. T. (Red) Doran as witness, and "Red" launched into a long and brilliant illustrated address upon the social structure, showing conclusively how it was based upon robbery and degradation of the many for the benefit of the few. Doran remained on the stand for cross-examination the next morning. Nebeker, more angry than wise, could only exhibit his personal spleen by such questions as "Did you ever sell patent medicine on street corners?" and "How long since you did any manual labor?" On re-direct, Christensen sarcastically inquired of Doran if he knew "how long since Sammy Gompers did any manual labor?" which question was, of course, "immaterial and irrelevant" to Mr. Nebeker and His Honor.

Doran was followed by defendant Charles Ashleigh, whose fine appearance and clear cut explanation of the relative attributes and comparative values of political and industrial democracy attracted marked attention from the jury. Nebeker on cross-examination tried to make a stand for labor legisla-

tion as against "direct action." On re-direct regarding this supposed efficacy of laws, Ashleigh stated that "labor laws are almost always but a ratification of action already taken by organized labor on the job," and cited the case of the Welsh coal miners and how the English Parliament had to bow to union rules. During Ashleigh's testimony Judge Landis ruled against Vanderveer introducing Charles Edward Russell's pamphlet "Playing the Game," which shows how "labor politics" failed miserably in Australia. However, by some legal "hocus-pocus" Vanderveer was reading this material to the jury five minutes later.

Out from a group of defendants came Charles R. Griffin of the Lumber Workers I. U., No. 500, a huge bulk of a man in a blue shirt open at the collar, who gave his home address as the Cook County Jail and his vocation as a "lumber-jack or a pine-cat." Griffin, somewhat droll in manner of expression and his lumber-jack vernacular, excited the interest of all his auditors. He went into the details of life in the northwest woods and told in simple language of the miserable life of the men who furnish the world with lumber. "Some camps" he said "have muzzle-loading bunks where the loggers have to crawl into pigeon-hole box beds over the end board, these muzzle-loaders being built three tiers high." Landis lent a curious ear when Griffin told of how strikers had encountered "hard-boiled gunmen." "What?" asked Landis of Griffin, "what is a 'hard-boiled gunman'?" Griffin replied, "That's a gunman who beats up on strikers without provocation," adding apologetically, "I'm talking with the only language I know, your Honor." "That's all right," said Landis, smiling, "I precipitated it; you didn't."

The first witness not a defendant then appeared, and gave his name as W. H. Margason of Aberdeen, Washington. He was on the Strike Committee at that place in the summer of 1917 and told about con-

ditions in the camps and how the I. W. W. had improved them by the strike.

VANDERVEER: What percentage of camps had bathing facilities before the strike?

A. About one-tenth of one per cent.

Margason said that when men are scarce the food becomes good. "Thirty-five per cent. of the entire force employed in the lumber industry are I. W. W.," he said, "and ninety-five per cent. of the I. W. W. membership also belong to the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen."

Sam Scarlett, defendant, took the stand next. Sketching his life's history briefly, he told of his birth in Scotland 33 years ago, of how he had served his six years apprenticeship as a machinist and after working for a time in Great Britain emigrating to Canada and thence to the United States. He struck with the International Association of Machinists when called out in the great Harriman Line Strike in 1911, joining the I. W. W. that year after seeing the failure of craft unionism illustrated in that strike and after listening to James P. Thompson explain industrial unionism on a street corner at Rosevale, California. With graphic and biting sarcasm Scarlett explained how the strike was lost after three tragic years of struggle by other crafts scabbing on the shopmen and the latter even scabbing on themselves by repairing Harriman Line cars in the shops of a supposedly competing company. "Throughout those years of suffering for the shopmen these desperate men with starving families fought on, encouraged now and again by a wire from Samuel Gompers, the little English-Jew who still thinks America is a British province; and who had the gall to keep saying "stick together, boys" while nourishing his fat paunch with a salary of \$720.00 a month, at Washington, D. C.

Nebeker spent little time on Scarlett; something as follows:

Q. Where is your home?

A. Cook County Jail.

Q. Before that?

A. County Jail, Cleveland, Ohio.

Q. Before that?

A. City Jail, Akron, Ohio.

Q. Are you a citizen?

A. No, sir.

Q. How long have you been in this country?

A. 14 years.

"That's all," said Nebeker, evidently having hopes of deportation under the new law regarding aliens who are "revolutionary."

Edward Hamilton, defendant, the next on the stand, on July 2nd, was a living testimonial to the failure of capitalist society.

"I do not know who was my mother or who was my father. I was adopted out of an orphan asylum when four or five years old by people who treated me with such extreme cruelty that I ran away when eleven years old to drift about and find my way into jails where I came in contact with the foulest sexual perverts"—is a sentence that should burn with shame upon the consciousness of those who raise the banner of apology for such a putrescent and systematic debauchery of little children. The I. W. W. came into his life, Hamilton indicated, as a purifying and elevating force and the only means whereby the disinherited could seek and find some measure of social justice.

John M. Foss, defendant, came to the stand next and told in his simple, quiet way, the story of his life as a worker. Low wages in civil life caused him to be attracted to the regular army, he said, where he served six years and was honorably discharged, there being eight battles credited to his record in the Phillippine campaigns. Foss told of going to Butte after the Speculator fire. Over the objection of Nebeker, Foss answered Vanderveer's question as to whether or not he had visited the Butte morgue. "Yes, sir," he said, "when I first came into Butte,

I walked up from the depot to the main part of town. Going up one of the main streets, I noticed a big crowd standing in front of a lighted-up establishment and I asked some of the people passing by—"what is going on over there?" "Why," they says, "that is an undertaking establishment; there are a lot of dead miners laying in there." I says, "Are you allowed to go in?" They says, "Yes, anybody can go in, the friends are allowed to go in to see if they can identify one another"—and I went in."

"Now, outside were a lot of men, miners, a lot of women and children, lots of them were crying as I walked in. I should judge 50 dead miners were laying in there, and I don't think there was a man over 35 years old among those dead miners. I went through there and I looked. There was one body covered with a white sheet; the man in charge was showing this body to two other people and I took advantage of the situation. It made me sick to look at it. From the upper jaw down through the neck was all blown away; and the eyeballs were laying out on the cheek. That is the reason they kept him covered. Over on the other side of the place there were about twenty other miners, young fellows, all burned and charred; some of them had little black specks on them like there was an explosion of some kind. There were three bodies there not covered up. The hands of these three miners **were worn down to the second knuckle** on their fingers, the bone sticking out; and they stated to me that those men were found at the bulkheads in the mine, where they fought after being trapped and they had clawed at these bulkheads of concrete and had worn their fingers down until only the second joint was left. And when I had looked around there I walked out—and when I walked out—I cried."

Foss finished his testimony on July 2nd, and was followed by E. F. Doree, defendant, who told of the peonage of the southern lumber states—of "mill towns and free towns"—of the brutal oppression of

both "poor whites" and the poorer "blacks" in long detail.

W. T. Nef, defendant, took the stand to testify. Nef's chiefly important statement was that as secretary of the Marine Transport Workers I. U., No. 100 he knew that 12 miles of docks in Philadelphia were controlled by the I. W. W.; besides over a thousand members who worked in the U. S. Navy Yard, there, handling chiefly munitions of war. Also he stated that there were close to 5,000 seamen and marine firemen members of the I. W. W. plying out of Atlantic ports. Nef was followed by Archie Sinclair, defendant, who drolly described how he had been deported by a mob of business men from his home at Bemidji, Minnesota, early last year.

On July 2nd, John Avila, defendant, a naturalized Portuguese, who came to America when 14 years old to go to work in the eastern textile mills for \$2.45 a week, told of his near-murder at Franklin, New Jersey, last August. While working in a barber shop at this town, which is owned by a mining company, he had casually spoken to some of the miners who wished to organize about the I. W. W. He was ordered out of town, but while on the way to the station with his suitcase, he was picked up by the chief of police in an automobile. The chief drove to some of the business houses, picked up a few of the "best citizens" and then, in broad daylight, drove to the edge of town, put a noose about his neck, threw the rope's end over the limb of a tree and pulled him clear of the ground. As he dangled, choking and fighting for his life, with hands shackled, one of the officers of the law kicked him in the testicles and he lost consciousness. Evidently acting upon a tardy fear of punishment, the brutes let him down and he came to his senses a few hours later in a cell. Almost dying with agony, and covered with blood that had gushed from his ears and mouth while strangled by the noose, he was taken before a police judge who is paymaster for the mining company and

sentenced to 90 days at hard labor. He was held incommunicado but smuggled a note out and was later released on appeal to the Superior Court at Paterson, New Jersey. Avila also exhibited to the jury the broken arm received from the Massachusetts militia in the Lawrence Strike in 1912. As Avila had done no work for the union during the period covered by indictment, it seems clear that the only reason he is on trial is that he escaped being murdered.

Next came John Edenstrom, an outside witness, now chairman of the Organization Committee of I. U. No. 400. He told of the union in the harvest fields and how the commercial clique had created all the hostility between the workers and the farmers. The prosecution started a small tempest when Porter asked Edenstrom if he ever got mail under another name. Vanderveer shot Porter a question, "Have you been opening his mail?" Landis criticized Vanderveer for the "improper remark" to be met with—"Well, your Honor, it is a question prompted by bitter experience." "Have you any evidence of this—have you any such letters?" asked Landis with some heat. "Hundreds of them," said Vanderveer, "that I can bring before you." His Honor quieted down.

Morris Levine of the Lumber Workers and James Phillips of the Marine Transport Workers, both defendants, followed Edenstrom on the stand.

A. S. Embree, present secretary of Metal Mine Workers I. U., No. 800 appeared to tell the story of the Arizona deportations. Court adjourned until after the Fourth of July, the boys in jail celebrating National Independence Day by being locked in their cells all that sweltering summer's day. Embree resumed on the 5th of July. The law of Arizona was but the plaything of the Copper Trust, he said, in giving a long and explicit account of how he and 1185 other men were deported from Bisbee by gunmen under direction of Sheriff Harry Wheeler and

company officials. Embree was examined by Attorney W. B. Cleary, himself a deportee, and his story of that memorable 12th of July, 1917, when all law was set aside in the interest of industrial autocracy, was backed by many photographs of the deportees and their deporters. On the morning of that day five men with rifles came out of the office of Postmaster Bailey, and more guns came from the Y. M. C. A., Embree stated.

Of those deported, 40 per cent. were members of the I. W. W., 25 per cent. were members of the A. F. of L. and 35 per cent. were unorganized workers or business and professional men. Fred Brown, state organizer of the A. F. of L., was deported. Several grocery men were deported; also the proprietors of two restaurants with all their employees. Registered men, 400 of them, were sent away and forbidden to return, even for draft examination; many holders of Liberty Bonds, one a cash purchaser of \$15,000 of these bonds—everyone who would not bow to gunman rule and Copper Trust law—400 married men with families dragged from homes and sent into the desert—

Vanderveer read to the jury a letter sent by Embree to President Wilson from the deportee's camp at Columbus, New Mexico. It set forth the facts and cited several sections of the United States Constitution violated by the Copper Trust and Arizona officials. Embree asked for legal redress. The reply he got was dated from Washington, D. C., September 29, 1917, and was signed by William C. Fitts, Assistant United States Attorney General. It said that the Department of Justice had looked into the matter and could not see where there was any law broken! An official O. K. to the Prussianization of industry. Nebeker did not trifle much with Embree.

Joseph Akin, an I. W. W. witness for defense, gave a clear statement of what the union was worth to migratory workers. Akin was one of the many beaten up at Aberdeen, South Dakota. He was fol-

lowed by Meyer Friedkin, defendant. All the prosecution has against Meyer is that he gathered subscriptions for Solidarity during July, 1917.

An important witness was Frank Rogers, a Butte miner, appearing on July 5th. He told of conditions in the mines, of the "rustling card" blacklist system, of the strike and the independent miners' union he helped to organize following the Speculator Fire. An anti-draft circular charged to the I. W. W. was issued by the Pearse-Connolly Club, he said, which also had planned the parade on June 5th to protest against war and conscription.

Rogers spoke of Frank Little's funeral and told how the funeral procession was five miles in length. He referred to one man whose name was called as "one of the men who killed Little." He had seen Frank Little's body at the undertaker's.

VANDERVEER: Do you know a man who has one hand cut off, **and a hook where his hand ought to be?**

A. Yes, that is the **famous gunman** of the A. C. M. Company.

Q. What is his name?

A. **Billy Oates.**

Q. What kind of hook is this on his arm?

A. Well his arm is cut off about here (indicating) **and it is just like a baling hook** that you use in lifting bales of hay; nothing but the wrist and a hook on the end.

Q. Did you see the back of Frank Little's neck? What did you see there?

A. There was a bruise there as though this hook had been stuck in there.

Q. A bruise or a hole?

A. A sort of hole.

Nebeker here made an objection as "immaterial, etc." The day's session was adjourned just then and Rogers took the stand the next morning—the 6th of July. He proceeded over Nebeker's objection and told how he had seen **Billy Oates** attack a miner's

wife and threaten her with his terrible hook-hand. Judge Landis here got interested and took up the witness—"Did you see this personally?" Rogers answered, "Yes, sir." Landis turning to the Clerk of the Court said—"Issue forthwith subpoena for William Oates of Butte, Montana."

A. L. Sugarman testified that he went to Haywood last summer to try to get some circulars criticizing the Draft Act printed. Haywood had refused, he stated.

On July 6th, the defense scored heavily when it convicted the prosecution of concealing papers that were seized because they were those favorable to the defense. The concealing was proved, but of course, the intent to deceive was denied.



CHAPTER VII.

THE second week of July was marked with a rush of defense testimony which practically carried away the edifice built up by the prosecution, placing the Department of Justice on the defensive and setting Nebeker and Porter apologizing for capitalism.

On July 6th, however, the inevitable turn-coat, a shining something always present in labor cases, came forth in the form of Peter Dailey, once Secretary at Kansas City and for a short time chairman of the Organization Committee of I. U. No. 400 at Minneapolis. Whether from a brain sick with Syphilis or from a soul naturally craven, for several months Dailey had gone about among his co-defendants with a hang-dog air and shifty eyes. He had sent in his card to Landis and asked to be allowed to join the army. Twice he had created a scene in court, once throwing himself prone on the floor until hauled out, once at roll call rising to announce that his name was not Peter Dailey but Ralph Dwyer—in all these ways seeming to convince the prosecution that he would be willing timber for a frame-up. There being nothing he could truthfully “confess,” his co-defendants pitied rather than condemned him, as there is some question as to his sanity. On Saturday as the boys filed out of court, Dailey approached Murdock, an assistant to Nebeker, and by pre-arrangement was taken to the prosecutor’s office. Vanderveer stopped them at the door and spoke to Dailey. “I don’t care what you do, Dailey,” he said, “only don’t plead guilty.” Evidently Vanderveer did not fear that the poor, degenerated simpleton could harm the case by any admission of fact, but, to all who have observed Vanderveer, he was proud of “the boys”—his boys in a sense, and he was

pained at the sight of a weakling among them. Never in the history of American labor has such a group shown a more unbroken fighting front to its foes than here in Chicago; no recrimination, no treachery.

When Dailey was brought back to the jail, he was segregated from the others, but the rumor got about that he had signed a "confession" of fourteen typewritten pages. What that will amount to has yet to be seen when the rebuttal begins.

However, the week that followed compensated for the finding of any fly in the ointment. It opened with the reading of the bulletins put out by the independent miners' union of Butte, which union had pulled the Butte strike charged by the prosecution to the I. W. W. These bulletins, which had been concealed by the government and their existence denied, stated that the independent union was not formed by the I. W. W.; also they scored some heavy raps at the Copper Trust and they gave the story of how Senator Myers of Montana was a confessed bribe-taker, how Butte was over-run by gunmen from the "6th floor" and how Frank Little came to be murdered. Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin was forbidden to speak in Butte.

Jacob Margolis, a Pittsburgh attorney, appeared to testify as to the character of Scarlett's speeches there and to Andreytchine's remarks against the use of violence.

John F. Dooley, the next witness, brought into court the story of his life as a migratory worker. It shall speak for itself.

Defense Attorney Otto Christensen: How old are you?

A. 33 years old.

Q. Are you a member of the I. W. W.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long?

A. Since a year ago last January.

Q. What is your line of work?

A. Well, as a general rule I am a sailor, but I work ashore once in a while.

Q. Ashore you are what is known as a migratory?

A. A migratory worker, yes, sir.

Q. And will you explain what you mean by that?

A. Well, my understanding of it is a man that goes from one job to another and conditions are so bad he cannot stay on any one job any length of time.

Q. How long have you been doing that kind of migratory work?

A. Why, I had to go to work when I was 13 years old.

Q. Why?

A. Well, my father had seven of us to bring up and he was getting pretty small wages, and we had to get out and help rustle bread and butter for the rest—and my mother had to take in washing to help.

Q. Is your father alive now?

A. No.

Q. What happened to him?

A. He died, getting up to go to work one morning in 1906.

Q. Why did you join the I. W. W., Mr. Dooley?

A. I was looking for a way to better my conditions in life, and naturally I looked into them and figured out it was about the best thing I could do.

Q. How did it happen you didn't join with them before?

A. Well, I was brought up a Catholic and I had a religious prejudice against them for a while—also I understood, according to the newspapers, before I looked into it, that they favored destruction of property.

Q. When you did join them and became acquainted with them, what did you find out about those things?

A. Well, I found out they were not anti-religious and did not believe in the destruction of property.

Q. Do you know what is meant by sabotage?

A. I know what I mean by it.

Q. Yes, what do you mean by it?

A. Well, I mean something like the Italian; when they cut his pay, he cut an inch off his shovel—he withheld the product of his labor power to beat the boss at his own game.

Q. Now, during the summer of 1917, what were you doing?

A. Well, I worked at construction work out of Great Falls, Montana, for a while, and then we went out fighting fire out of Elbow Lake.

Q. What do you mean by “we went out?”

A. There were 185 went out of Great Falls together, and of that 185 there were 20 that were not I. W. W.’s, the rest were.

Q. There were 20 who were not I. W. W.’s. How about after the fire was over?

A. They came down and took out cards.

Q. Do you know who it was sent the call in for the government; what man was in charge of that district?

A. Well, Jim Gerard is Forestry Supervisor. I think he sent the call in.

Q. Now, how was that gang of 185 men organized for fire fighting purposes?

A. Why, they were organized through 5 I. W. W. foremen and one fellow who was not an I. W. W.

Q. Who was in charge from the Forestry Service?

A. A fellow named Norman, an ex-army captain.

Q. How long were you fighting that fire?

A. We were out eleven days altogether.

Q. What hours were you working?

A. Sometimes we left camp at 5 o’clock in the morning and got back anywhere from 8 to 10 P. M.

Q. Was there any complaint on the part of the men about the hours?

A. No complaint at all.

Q. Have you made any trips with cargoes of supplies from the Pacific to the Atlantic ports?

A. I just finished up one 32-day trip the 4th day of June.

Q. From what port to what port?

A. From Seattle, Washington, to Newport News, Virginia.

Q. What boat were you on?

A. The steamer Bremerton.

Q. What kind of cargo?

A. Flour.

Q. Any other members of the I. W. W. on the crew?

A. There were six of us in the fireroom. I don't know how many were on deck.

Q. Now, did you pass through any submarine zone?

A. We passed through them but were not bothered.

Q. Was that about the time the submarines were on the Atlantic coast?

A. It was at that time.

Q. Did you have watches out for them?

A. Yes, we had watches out for them. We couldn't do anything else only douse all the lights at night.

Q. Do you know, of your own knowledge, about other members of the I. W. W. who were in that service during the past month?

A. Well, the Andalusia was an old German steamer that was commandeered by the government; she had pretty near a full order of I. W. W.'s.

Q. How did you know that?

A. I sent in their names to you when you sent a call for names of I. W. W.'s.

Q. What others?

A. The Seneca, she had a bunch of I. W. W. in her—I don't know just how many. The Westfield, she had a bunch of I. W. W. in her; and the Satchem,

the one that was sunk last June this side of France, she had a bunch of I. W. W. in her.

Q. Sunk how?

A. Torpedoed.

Dooley stated he had never heard of any conspiracy being in existence among the I. W. W.

Q. What would have been your attitude if you had?

A. After the war I think I would have battled.

Q. What?

A. I think I would have fought, because I have relatives over in France myself.

Q. What relatives?

A. Three young brothers, and I don't know how many of my young cousins—all in the draft age.

Dooley was followed on the stand by Forest Edwards, defendant, the 1917 Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. No. 400. As head of the Agricultural Workers, Edwards testified that that union was formed in 1915 and grew rapidly. Contradicting the witnesses for the government previously brought from eastern Washington, Edwards stated that in 1914, when all the threshing machines were claimed to have been burned, there were scarcely 200 I. W. W. in eastern Washington where in 1917, when no fires were charged, there were thousands of I. W. W. in that section. Edwards told of the tentative agreement made with the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota which nearly created the unusual situation where "both workers and the farmers have to have a card in North Dakota; one in a farmers' organization and the other in the I. W. W." There had been trouble in South Dakota, he said, but not with the farmers. The Commercial Club of Aberdeen, S. D., lead by the Chief of Police and the Attorney, had formed a Vigilante Committee, which had come between farmers and workers and taken many of the latter to the edge of town and beaten them unmercifully with heavy clubs. To stop the outrage the I. W. W. had thrown a picket line around the state and

started the slogan, "Let the Vigilantes do the work," a program calculated to impress the farmers with the necessity of calling a halt to the Vigilantes—that is, of the business men in the towns.

On July 9th, following Edwards, William Graunat, a migratory worker, told of how these Vigilantes had beaten him and nine others at Mellette, South Dakota, 20 miles from Aberdeen last July. Attorney Christensen questioned him as follows:

Q. How was it done?

A. Why, they held us flat on the ground with hands out and feet out and fellows there with big clubs hit you over the back with them. Then there was a fellow grabbed me by the head, while my face was down towards the ground, and I received a mark here (indicating) from a stone there.

Q. Scars there now, are there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did this beating do to your back?

A. I came into Fargo, North Dakota, three days afterwards. My back was black and blue—marks as big as my arm on there.

Q. Now, what had you done to invite this?

A. Why, we didn't do nothing. We came up there to go to work in the harvest fields.

Q. Have you ever been convicted of any crime?

A. No, sir.

Q. And you say you are supporting your mother?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. While your younger brother is in the service?

A. Yes, sir.

Nebeker's questions of Graunat indicated that Nebeker thought Graunat should have appealed to officers of the law (who helped to beat him) for protection and redress!

Almost pathetic, as symbolizing the tragedy of labor under wage slavery, was the story of William Casebolt, 25 years of age, a poorly dressed worker, timid and visibly embarrassed by the courtroom atmosphere. Casebolt was born on a Kansas farm.

Q. How long did you live on the farm?

A. Until I was about ten years old.

Q. What did you do then?

A. I started to work for a living.

Q. What was the reason?

A. My people couldn't support me; a big family.

Casebolt said he got little chance to go to school as a boy.

Q. Tell the jury how the crops of this country are harvested.

A. I generally always started in Kansas and Oklahoma.

Q. Because the grain ripens there first?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they follow the grain as it ripens, do they?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you sleep when you are following the harvest?

A. Sleep on the ground mostly; sometimes in the barn on a blanket.

Q. What hours have you been accustomed to work?

A. Anywhere from 10 to 15 and 20.

Q. Provide you with beds? Sheets and blankets and things?

A. You carry your own blankets when you are threshing, if you want them; if you don't, you sleep in the strawstack.

Q. In that respect a horse is better off than you are?

A. Far better off than a human being is in the harvest fields.

Q. What hours do you work in the woods?

A. Well, you work 10 hours and some more. Sometimes you work 12 or 14 hours.

Q. How do you wash your clothes?

A. In a tin can behind the bunkhouse.

Q. When do you do that?

A. On Sunday.

Q. Did you ever see a camp with a bathtub in it?

A. Never did.

Q. Or a shower bath?

A. Never saw a shower bath either. Speaking of bunkhouses: maybe you will come in today and go to work and somebody left yesterday. You sleep in the same blankets and sleep in the same bed. Now, at night, when you come in from work, after working in the snow all day, you hang your socks and clothes that are wet up by the stove right in front of your bunk—no ventilation whatever, you breathe all the foul air you can get.

Q. What do you sleep on?

A. They have straw; have wooden bunks with straw in them.

Q. What wages were you getting in the woods in northern Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, 3 to 5 years ago?

A. I was getting \$35 a month five years ago.

Q. What are they getting up there now?

A. Anywhere from \$40 to \$60, depending on the camp and the work too.

Q. Where do you eat?

A. In the cook shack.

Q. What kind of table utensils do you have?

A. You have tin plates mostly; tin cups and tin saucers and tin spoons.

Q. What kind of grub do you get?

A. It is very poor.

Q. When did you join the I. W. W.?

A. I joined the I. W. W. on July 18th, 1917.

Q. Now, Casebolt; you registered for military service?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you claim exemption?

A. No, sir.

Q. Were you inducted in the service?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Whereabouts?

A. Camp Grant.

Q. I will ask you whether previously you had volunteered for service in the army?

A. Yes, sir. I tried to get in, but they wouldn't take me.

Q. Where?

A. In Duluth, Minnesota.

Q. What was the trouble?

A. I had a bad foot.

Q. How did you hurt the foot?

A. I had a horse fall on it.

Casebolt here produced his discharge paper.

Q. What has the I. W. W. ever done for you, Casebolt?

A. The I. W. W. has helped me in several ways.

Q. Do you carry credentials (as delegate-organizer)?

A. I carried credentials until I was drafted into the army and then I turned them in.

Q. Are you going to carry them again?

A. I am going to carry them as quick as I get back into the woods.

On cross-examination prosecutor Porter insisted on magnifying the fact that the wages paid in the woods were "in addition to the lodging and food furnished." Vanderveer opened re-direct with some sarcasm:

Q. They feed you in the camps, do they?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just the same as they do the horses?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they bed you, do they?

A. They bed you just exactly the same as they do the horses.

Q. And when you get sick like a horse, do they call a doctor for you?

A. Sometimes you got to stay in a bunk two or three days and then they send you to a hospital; they never call a doctor without you are dying.

Casebolt was followed by Roy A. Brown of the Lumber Workers I. U., Charles McWhirt of the

Construction Workers I. U. and Alton E. Soper, joint secretary at Astoria, Oregon, last year—all defendants. Their testimony merely substantiated the fact that the strike in the woods and mills last year was for industrial demands and had no bearing upon the war.

There was no court on July 10th, owing to the temporary sickness of Ben Fletcher, the only negro defendant, who, it was reported by an investigating bailiff, had defied the food administration and the natural laws of alimentation by partaking overfreely of numerous heavy..... for breakfast.

Soper finished his testimony on the morning of July 11th, and was followed by the first I. W. W. soldier witness to be in the army service, now a cook at the Reserve Officers' Training Camp at Fort Sheridan. Clark had joined the I. W. W. as a worker in the stockyards at Sioux City, Iowa, in 1916. He testified that he was at Augusta, Kansas, in 1917, when Phineas Eastman, then the secretary there, had been taken to task and relieved from duty as official by the membership because of strong anti-war talk. As a member at Augusta he denied any knowledge of the anti-conscription resolution alleged in the indictment as an "overt act" and supposed to have been sanctioned by the local membership. Clark was frank and open in expression and Nebeker could not shake him or impeach his sincerity. On re-direct Vanderveer asked:

Q. Now, do you think you know what the I. W. W. stands for?

A. Well, I know how I came to the I. W. W. to better the condition of the workingmen, as well as myself.

Q. And since you have been in it, have you found it to be a workingman's organization?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you believe in it, son?

A. Yes, sir; I believe in the organization.

Q. When you come out of the army, are you going to be a member again?

A. I am going to be a member again if I come out all right; if I don't get killed over in France.

Allan Brooks, a witness, who owns two large ranches in the state of Washington, testified that there was no trouble in the Yakima Valley last year when troops were sent in and abrogated all the powers of civil government, closed I. W. W. halls, threw men into bull-pens and denied them access to attorney and even refused to honor a writ of habeas corpus—although not acting under any declaration of martial law.

Defendant Don Sheridan followed Brooks and substantiated all his statements in detail. Here it was that Nebeker's sneering reference to Joe Hill as a "murderer" struck fire from Vanderveer, who proceeded to bring out Hill's noble nature by reading his songs, also proving that Hill was legally murdered by the state of Utah over the protests of President Wilson and of the Swedish government, both asking in vain for a fair trial.

James Rowan, defendant, occupied the witness chair for the greater part of two days—July 11th and 12th. Rowan was Secretary of the Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500 during the 1917 strike, also he was secretary for the Spokane District of both the Agricultural and Construction Workers' Industrial Unions. Rowan was the one upon whom the prosecution laid the charge of calling a general strike in the two industries last named, in order to cause the release of members from jails and bull-pens in the Northwest.

Rowan conceded the correctness of this charge, but showed, with the testimony of those preceding him, how the strike call was justified. The civil government had broken down, he said, and there was no legal means of redress, as all constitutional guarantees were denied by the militia acting without any authority except that of the bayonet. Halls were

raided and turned into recruiting offices, while the members were even taken off jobs and sent to pens. The District Organization Committee had been out in the trouble zone, and, though a vote of the membership was impossible owing to the interference, they reported that sentiment called for a district general strike as a last resort to obtain law enforcement, and, on the night of August 10th, ordered Rowan to issue the strike call to take effect on August 20th unless prisoners held illegally were released by that date. This had its desired effect, Rowan stated, but it also had the effect of causing his offices in Spokane to be seized by the soldiery on August 19th, 1917, and Sheridan and himself jailed without warrant or charge, until the indictment at Chicago was returned September 28th when they were sent east to answer it in the present trial.

Rowan is 39 years old, born in Ireland—a face immobile and a spirit irreconcilable. In measured tones and with that dry humor peculiar to the Irish race, he stood his ground on cross-examination. He **would** be heard fully—not shut off with half answers—and often it appeared that Nebeker and not Rowan was on the defensive. Nebeker, in referring to a speech on sabotage made by Rowan, said: “And you told this to a lot of irresponsible men?” “I did not,” snapped Rowan, his eyes flashing and his index finger pointing at the prosecutor—“those men were workmen and they are no more irresponsible than you are.”

From Rowan's correspondence it appeared that he had received many inquiries from members asking what to do about registration for military service. Always he replied that the organization had taken no stand and that it was an “individual matter.” On May 23rd, 1917, he wrote to Haywood, asking if this was correct. On May 29th Haywood had replied—“Your position is correct. No union has taken any action and most everybody thinks as you do.” It was shown that when Rowan and Sheridan were jailed

by the soldiers on August 19th, 1917, and the Spokane papers were crying for suppression of the I. W. W., the Spokane District Council of the A. F. of L. had adopted a resolution asking the entire A. F. of L. in the United States to join in a national general strike until such time as constitutional rights were restored and the I. W. W. given a square deal.

Rowan was recalled to the stand again on July 13, after some intervening testimony, to deny authorship and knowledge of a certain suspicious letter. This was a body blow at the prosecution as the letter in question had been both introduced in evidence and printed in the indictment as an "overt act", only—and this is the important feature—the letter as introduced was signed **in typewriting, "Strike Committee," and dated Seattle, Washington, August 2nd, 1917**, while in the indictment it is charged as "Overt Act" No. 12—"Said **James Rowan** on August 2nd, 1917, sent the following letter **from Seattle, Washington, to Chicago**. It was established beyond doubt that Rowan **was not in Seattle** during the strike of 1917. Vanderveer surprised the prosecution by calling Nebeker's office assistant, Mr. Howe, to the stand. Howe said no duplicate of this letter had been found in the Chicago headquarters or in Rowan's Spokane office files. The letter as introduced had previously been charged to have been seized on September 5th, 1917, in Room 25, Union Block, Seattle, which was the editorial office of the "Industrial Worker."

This letter, which was obviously written by some other person than Rowan and possibly upon the typewriter seized by government agents in Seattle **after** it was so seized, is given below in full. Its phraseology shows it to be purely a "frame-up." The information it conveys of there having "been considerable agitation in Seattle," was, on August 2nd, 1917, **no news** to Haywood; while the whole tenor of the letter is suspicious and the phrase, "it is reported that Government agents here are active." is laugh-

ably transparent. Remember, the indictment charges **James Rowan** sent this—James Rowan who was all the while in Spokane. The letter is as follows:

Seattle, Wash., August 2 1917.

William D. Haywood,
General Secy Treasurer,
Chicago, Illinois.

Fellow Worker:

There has been considerable agitation in Seattle among the lumber mills, ship yards and other industries and the old bugaboo of "patriotism" is being preached on all sides. The Government has been asked to interfere and it is reported that Government agents here are active.

We have the good will of the German people here and we feel sure that they are in sympathy with our cause. We do not call them Germans however, but refer to them the same as others, as Fellow Workers.

We are going to carry our points if we have to stop every industry on the Pacific Coast. We did not declare war and we have not consented to the workingman giving up his liberties and being drafted.

Yours for industrial freedom,

THE STRIKE COMMITTEE.

In further comment on this letter, the writer states as a fact of common knowledge that "German people" are scarce in Seattle and even more scarce in the I. W. W. Also, the I. W. W. when on strike have DEMANDS, not "points" to "carry"—while the crowning joke is that an I. W. W. should think so little of "industrial freedom" that he would fail to begin those words with capital letters.

Mike Grace, a shift boss from a Butte copper mine, testified on the 12th of July regarding mine dangers and the general custom of bulkheading between mines. Some days before the Mine Inspector visits a mine, Grace said, he as shift boss was notified in order to clean up and make the workings "look pretty." Mike, the regulation Butte Irishman, said

he saw some of the rescue work at the Speculator Fire; however, Grace was plainly reluctant at unburdening his soul, having an eye, doubtless, to the fact that his job in Butte is at the mercy of the Copper Trust and, as a man with a family, duly impressed with the presence of an attorney known as a Copper Trust lawyer, at the government's table.

The Reverend Walter M. Short, now mayor of Sioux City, Iowa, appeared to tell the story of what had happened during the Free Speech Fight there during the winter and spring of 1914-15. Short is evidently a man of liberal mind and his social standing and personal appearance won attention from even the tired jurors. There was no ordinance against street speaking, he said, nor had the I. W. W. speakers advocated violence or otherwise conducted themselves in a manner not in accord with his sense of decency and good citizenship. The Chamber of Commerce of Sioux City had caused the trouble and the same body had later used chicanery to oust the I. W. W. from the hall they had leased. Despite his political enemies using the I. W. W. as an issue in elections, Short stated he was elected mayor by a large majority. This took prosecutor Porter aback as he—Porter—had announced himself as candidate for governor of Iowa and aims to win votes by tout-ing himself as an I. W. W. hater. Porter undertook cross-examination, but did little except elicit the information that Short was opposed to the puritanical methods of the Prohibition movement. An element of humor came to light a day or so after Short returned to Iowa when Porter received a wire saying that Short had announced his candidacy for governorship in opposition to Porter.

The defense landed several heavy blows on Saturday, July 13th, many material witnesses appearing and giving stories that could not be shaken. The first was Ed Maloney, a farmer owning 640 acres of land in North Dakota. Most of this is wheat land and he had employed many I. W. W. harvest and

threshing workers who all gave "pretty good service." Maloney said he had threshing machines burn up—one in 1905 and another in 1910, before the I. W. W. existed; fires catch either from sparks generated by gearings or from sparks from the straw burning engines, he said. The first I. W. W. he saw was in the 1915 season; more appeared in 1916, and in 1917 nearly all workers were I. W. W. As the union gained control, Maloney said hours had been shortened and the pay increased. He said he had paid \$4.00 for 10 hours in 1917.

"Why did you pay \$4.00" asked Vanderveer.

"I had to," replied the witness.

Nebeker thought he could impeach Maloney by asking him if he was a member of the "alleged-to-be-disloyal" Non-Partisan League, but Maloney was not a League member, nor had he ever been.

Next witness, Elmer Engebrietz, a logger from Spokane, and an I. W. W. member, told his story. He was born in Norway, 33 years ago, came to America in 1907 and took up a homestead, which he lost for lack of money to make the required improvements upon. He had worked as a logger and had suffered a broken leg in the woods, which put him in the hospital for 18 months; had a damage suit fought against the company, but never got a cent. Elmer joined the I. W. W. in 1912 for economic reasons obvious to himself. He was in Spokane on registration day and saw William Moran, defendant, guide many members to registration offices. Elmer had walked 80 miles from Spokane with an I. W. W. crew of fire-fighters, of which he was foreman, to the Selzer Reservation and had saved the timber belonging to the Potlatch Lumber Company and was paid by the government for the work. He was a member, also, of the "Four L."

Next came a fine, clean-cut worker, Paul Hoabb by name, from St. Maries, Idaho. Hoabb is an experienced logger and "river driver" and gave in detail a technical description of the industry; how

men are frequently killed while "breaking roll-way" and driving logs through "white water" rapids. Hoabb had registered and been drafted and had been four months at Camp Lewis when an old axe wound to his foot showed up under strain of training for service and he had been discharged. Hoabb was asked for his discharge papers—he had them, also some Liberty Bonds and a membership card in the "Four L's." Vanderveer found something else—something new and curious to American eyes—to-wit a passport.

VANDERVEER: Now, I see another paper here among your belongings?

A. That is a passport.

Q. What is a passport? Why do you have that?

A. So I could get by in the northern part of Idaho.

Q. So you can get by?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And who has those passports?

A. Why, Benewah County.

Q. I mean whom are they issued to, working people, or whom?

A. The working people.

Q. All working people have them?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why is this necessary?

A. Why, to keep track of the men whenever they want to pinch a bunch, I suppose, they just look up those passports.

Hoabb had worked as "fire patrol" in the forests during the summer of 1917.

VANDERVEER: Who were you working for in the fire patrol?

A. William J. Ross.

Q. Who was he?

A. Fire warden for the Coeur d'Alene Timber Protective League.

Q. That is an association of timber owners, is it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was your duty on patrol?

A. Fire chaser stationed on the look-out looking for fires in the forest.

Q. Anybody supervising your work?

A. No, sir.

Q. And were there any fires in that strike district?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know about a fire that occurred in what is known as "Fourth of July Canyon"?

A. I heard about it.

Q. Do you know any of the men who went up to fight it?

A. Yes, sir; there was about 25 men out of Fernwood, out of the picket camp, volunteered to go.

Q. Members of the I. W. W.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see any of the men afterwards?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you see them?

A. St. Maries, Idaho.

Q. Well, where were they?

A. **In the bull-pen.**

A great reward, truly, for loyal service in fighting forest fires; to risk their lives in hard and dangerous labor and to return from such duty to be thrown in vile bull-pens and held at the lawless pleasure of soldiery!

Butte again! William F. Dunn of Butte, Executive Board Member of both Loc. No. 65, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Silver Bow Metal Trades Council. As an A. F. of L. official, Dunn said he was not especially friendly to the I. W. W., uttering the mild criticism that he thought "their hearts better than their heads." Dunn is a man of strong personality and has an appearance of manly dignity. Yet when Butte is in the court-room, there is an all-pervading sense of something smothered—every witness from Butte wears upon his face that taciturn and reserved expression which speaks so

eloquently of the terrorism with which the very air of the big copper camp is permeated. Dunn was a valuable witness. He told of how the Employers' Association, headed by Mr. Rohn of the North Butte Mining Company, had started the "rustling card" system to blacklist socialists and run them out of Butte and out of Butte city political control. After the Speculator Fire his Union, the I. B. E. W. No. 65, had joined the strike with the new miners' union. A committee from the A. F. of L. had investigated this new union and found it had no connection with the I. W. W., he said. He had heard Frank Little make an "organization speech" on July 19th; he also saw Little's body at the undertaker's on August 2nd. Vanderveer asked Dunn, "Did you see the card that was found pinned to Frank Little's body—the so-called 'Vigilante warning' signed '3-7-77' "? Dunn replied, "Yes, I got one myself." He produced it and Vanderveer attempted to introduce it in evidence but Nebeker objected. The card was received by Dunn through the mail, he said, in answer to Judge Landis, who here started a vigorous inquiry. The card resembles the one found on Little's body, the letters "L. D. S. S. W." being printed by hand; a circle enclosed the letter "L" and underneath the "D" on Dunn's card was a cross and the date "12 noon August 25th," the date Dunn was marked for assassination. For thirty minutes Landis stormed Dunn, who refused to reveal the name of a detective who had told him the name of the man who had sent out these death warnings. Dunn was visibly under tension; who could say that he was not carrying a man's life on the end of his tongue? Nebeker, the Copper Trust Attorney sat before him—Nebeker, with a face gone pale as a corpse and nervously striving to conceal his agitation. Dunn said he was told one **J. Taylor** sent the cards of death out—but he would **not** tell who the detective was that told him. Nebeker sat stabbing viciously at a paper with a pencil. What does Nebeker know? Landis raves at the close-mouthed

witness. If Dunn would speak, what would the wires carry to Butte? What would happen to the man who was trusting his life to the man in the witness chair at Chicago?

Landis finally agreed to allow Dunn to conceal the detective's name from public utterance; then, turning to his clerk said, "Issue a forthwith subpoena for J. Taylor, Butte, Montana."

"What luck did you have with the other forthwith subpoena?" asked Vanderveer, referring to "Billy Oates."

"It has been served," said Landis, nodding sagely. "The gentleman is available for whatever purpose necessary."



CHAPTER VIII.

IT has been mentioned in a previous chapter that the prosecution was placed on the defensive. The third week of July put it on the run, and, in spite of several obviously biased rulings on the part of Judge Landis, Vanderveer was driving home the issue and clinching it upon the other side. Before the week's session ended on July 20th—on that day in fact, Nebeker wilted in the face of the unimpeachable evidence produced and admitted that the I. W. W. had nothing to do with the strike in Butte—was not responsible for it. His admission was put in the record and stood as a reversal of his opening contention.

William F. Dunn, A. F. of L. official from Butte, continued his testimony on Monday morning, July 15th. He finished by telling of the exorbitant cost of living in Butte over other cities—35%—and, also, remarked that when the Government sent Mr. Rogers from Washington to adjust the strike, this worthy gentleman confined his activities to hob-nobbing with the A. C. M. political ring.

Dunn gave place to defendant C. H. Rice, who told of the brutalities which led up to the massacre at Everett, Washington, on November 5th, 1916. Rice was one of forty-one I. W. W.'s who were made to "run the gauntlet" at Beverly Park by the Everett "Vigilantes." He had his shoulder broken by these semi-official sluggers of the Lumber Trust.

Rice had spent 1917 in organizing ship-builders and did not function in the lumber strike. Rice was on a local committee of Seattle which sent out a circular asking for an "expression of opinion" upon calling a national general strike to protest against the wholesale jailing and persecution of members. Nebeker made much over this, but revealed nothing

except that the committee never received a reply from anyone that Rice knew of.

Next upon the stand came a stalwart, broad-shouldered man, a pleasant-mannered Irish miner from Butte, who told in that nonchalant way usual to those whose every hour of labor is an hour of peril how he and a few other miners had fought their way through that hell of flame and smoke which swept the Speculator Mine in June, 1917, and left its sacrifice to greed in the form of 174 burned and mangled men. The story of this man, who walked out of the jaws of death into the Chicago courtroom is worth perusal.

VANDERVEER: Where were you employed before the Speculator Fire?

A. In the Never-Sweat Mine.

Q. Why do they call it that?

A. Because it is so hot, I guess.

Q. You were working in the Speculator on the 8th of June?

A. 1917, yes.

Q. Do you know when the fire broke out?

A. About 11 o'clock at night, June 8, 1917.

Q. What shift were you working on?

A. The night shift—went to work at six o'clock.

Q. What level were you on when the fire broke out?

A. The 2600.

Q. That means 2600 feet underground?

A. Yes.

Q. How far apart are the levels?

A. 200 feet.

Q. Are the levels in adjoining mines connected?

A. No.

Q. Well, do the workings connect?

A. Some places they do.

Q. How many men were working on the 2600 level with you?

A. About a hundred men.

Q. How many were working "on the breasts" or whatever you call it, where you were?

A. About forty.

Q. What were you doing that particular night?

A. Running a machine.

Q. What kind of a machine?

A. It is called a "Buzzy" machine.

Q. "Buzzy" machine?

A. In other words, we called them in Butte, Montana, "widow makers."

Q. Why do you call them that?

A. Because it is run by one man. It is not very safe for one man to be working in those mines alone.

Q. It is a drill, is it?

A. Drill, yes.

Q. Is it dusty working around this machine?

A. Pretty dusty. You have to wear a muzzle to keep the dust out.

Q. Were there other men working around you?

A. Yes, two more.

Q. How far away?

A. About 80 feet.

Q. I want you to tell the jury how you first noticed the fire. They don't know anything about it. They never heard of it.

A. Well, gentlemen, I noticed smoke in the stope some time around 12 o'clock I guess. I found an awful taste in my mouth, so thought I would go and get a drink of water and get some powder. So I met the leader from the drift—

Q. You met whom?

A. The leader, and Dugan the "nipper."

Q. What is the "nipper's" job?

A. He is the man who packs the tools around to the miners.

Q. Where do you get the powder?

A. Well, there is a magazine down in the mine.

Q. Now, you tasted this unusual taste in your mouth?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you notice the other men who were there?

A. Well, I couldn't see them for the smoke. It was getting so thick.

Q. What did you think this smoke was at first?

A. I thought it was powder smoke first.

Q. Thought somebody was shooting?

A. Yes. Then I got suspicious. So I went down to the drift and I met this man **Dugan, this "nipper."** He lost his life. So he told me there was a fire in the shaft.

Q. Fire in the shaft?

A. Yes, and we climbed up to the 2400.

Q. That is, 200 feet?

A. 200 feet.

Q. How did you climb up?

A. Just the "man-way," up a ladder.

Q. How big a hole is this man-way?

A. Well, enough space for a man to get through.

Q. What kind of a ladder?

A. Just an ordinary ladder.

Q. Did you take your dinner pail with you?

A. Yes, I threw my dinner pail away in the man-way.

Q. Why did you throw it away?

A. I knew I had to fight for my life, then.

Q. How many men went up with you?

A. Fifteen.

Q. When you got up to the 2400, what did you do?

A. We met fourteen more men up in the 2400.

Q. That made 29 of you?

A. 29 of us. They were also running back from the fire.

Q. The fire was down at the shaft, you say.

A. Yes.

Q. How far were you from the shaft?

A. 300 feet.

Q. What did you and these other men do?

A. Well, we went in a drift, and **we stayed there for 36 hours.**

Q. What is a drift? How wide is it?

A. About six feet wide.

Q. And how high?

A. About eight feet high.

Q. What did you do in that drift?

A. We put up a partition to keep out the gas.

Q. What did you use to build it with?

A. Timber and our clothes; clay and everything.

Q. Everything to pack it up tight?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any air in this place you bulk-headed out?

A. No air at all.

Q. **What became of the rest of the hundred men down on the 2600 foot level?**

A. **They died.**

Q. There were 29 of you in there?

A. 29 of us in there. Fifteen were able to walk to the station.

Q. You had no air and water?

A. No.

Q. Is there a water pipe through the mine?

A. No, there is not.

Q. **After you had been in there 36 hours, what did you do?**

A. Well, we had to get out. We couldn't stand the suffering any more.

Q. Did you know anything about how the fire was?

A. Well, we knew the shaft was on fire.

Q. I mean when you went out?

A. No, we didn't know; just took a chance on our life.

Q. Just took a chance on your life and tore down the bulkhead?

A. Yes.

Q. You could not stay there any longer?

A. No, we would die if we stayed inside.

Q. When you tore it down and got out, what did you do?

A. We rang for the cage in the old shaft.

Q. Did the cage come down?

A. Yes, after half an hour's time.

Q. When you got up on top, what did you do?

A. Well, some went to the hospital.

Q. How long were you there?

A. I was there for eight hours. I went down there two days later.

Q. Why did you go down there two days later?

A. Well, the effect of the gas was in my brain.

Q. You don't know of your own knowledge how this fire started, do you?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. Do you know of any **other men on the 2400 foot level** that were not in behind the bulkhead?

A. Yes, there were several that were not there

Q. **And what happened to them?**

A. **They died.**

Q. Did you see the bodies of any of the men who were burned?

A. I saw some of them in the undertaker's.

Q. How many?

A. Three.

Q. Just three?

A. They were the bodies that were taken out of the mine before we got out.

Q. Did you see any that were taken out afterwards anywhere?

A. No, I couldn't stand the pressure. I was upset.

Q. You couldn't stand what?

A. I couldn't stand to see it. My nerves were all upset.

Q. You are a pretty strong fellow, aren't you?

A. Yes, pretty strong.

Q. Now, Mr. Shea, how long was it after that before the strike was declared?

A. Two days later.

Q. Who conducted the strike; I mean what union?

A. Butte Metal Mine Workers Union.

Q. Did the I. W. W. have anything to do with it?

A. No.

Q. Did they have any union there at that time?

A. No, I don't know of any.

Q. What was the strike about?

A. Well, **the rustling card** and **better conditions** in the mines.

Q. About how long altogether have you worked underground?

A. About seven years.

Q. How many times have you seen a mine inspector underground?

A. Oh, a couple of times.

Q. A couple of times in seven years? Would you know beforehand that he was coming down?

A. Yes.

Q. What would you do then?

A. Oh, get cleaned up; get ready for him.

Prosecutor Porter tried to make it appear that the mines of Butte couldn't be so bad as Shea always remained there. Mr. Porter asked, "Yet, every time you go away for a month or two, you always come back to Butte, to these mines, don't you?" Mr. Shea: "Yes."

Here Vanderveer resumed on redirect and raised a laugh that swept the court, to vanish in the tragedy of the witness' last replies.

VANDERVEER: You are a miner, aren't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What else do you know besides mining?

A. Mining and common labor; that's all.

Q. What is your nationality?

A. Irish.

Q. What kind of a camp is Butte?

A. Butte is a pretty hot camp.

Q. Well, lots of Irish there?

A. Lots of Irish, yes. More widows in Butte than in any other town of its size in the United States.

Q. More widows. Is that the reason you go back there?

A. I guess so.

Q. Is that the reason you are single?

A. Well, I mean—the mines have made all these widows.

Q. Why have you never married, Marty?

A. Because I would never live to be an old man in Butte.

Q. What is the matter?

A. Well, the miner's consumption gets you when you are about 37.

Q. Is that prevalent around there?

A. That is common; yes, sir.

Q. What causes it?

A. Oh, the hot mines and the copper dust.

Another Butte miner, John Musevich, a Croatian, followed Shea upon the witness stand. Frankly and simply, this bent, rough-handed man poured forth a torrent of broken English, a pent-up story of Labor's side of the class war. John has a large family in Butte, where he has lived for 14 years. Because of his activity with the short-lived union of 1914, this man had been blacklisted, and every day for over a year he had called at the "rustling card" office seeking in vain to get a chance to ask for work. Finally, when the A. C. M. thought he had "learned his lesson" he was allowed to go to work at the Speculator Mine. Only a glimpse of Musevich's testimony can here be given. Asked by Vanderveer if the mine was dusty, he replied, "Dusty? I should say it is!"

Q. What kind of dust?

A. It is a copper dust, and now it is a damned sight worse. When you get into this zinc ore or lead ore, it is dry, hard ground; it makes fine stuff like flour and it goes right into your lungs.

Q. Is that good for you?

A. I don't think it is for nobody good.

Q. I understand that (Speculator) shaft is timbered on all sides?

A. Yes, the shaft is timbered with 12x12's.

Q. Does that timber get dry?

A. That shaft was dry as a bone, because that shaft was downcast; the air going down.

Q. Was there any water in there to take care of fire? **Any fire hose, or nozzles down there for the miners to put out a fire with?**

A. No, there wasn't any at all.

Musevich had come to the Speculator to go on shift at midnight on June 8th. The fire being on he could not get a cage to go down and after discovering the reason he and other men acting under orders of the "Super" had tried to check the blaze in the shaft by playing a hose down the shaft mouth and only succeeded in driving the smoke downward to the lowest levels. Then two heroes—two who are nameless in history because they wear no livery of an empire and sought to save human life instead of destroying it—two men seeing the ore skips were still running, threw some old cars in the bottom of a skip, converting it into an emergency cage; and then, in a desperate attempt to rescue their fellow workers trapped half a mile in the mountain's belly below, they—"catch the first cage and they went down and they ring the bell to 22."

Q. That means the 2200 foot level?

A. Rang the bell for 2200 foot level, tried to save the men from there first, but when they came down (witness pauses), they (at the top) move the cage after about half an hour's time.

Evidently these two men were overcome before they had a chance to leave the cage in their heroic efforts to save the men at the 2200 station.

Q. Were you there when the cage came up?

A. Yes, sir. Somebody went into the engine room and told the engineer to hoist the cage up, that them fellows is burned all through. So he pulled it up,

and when the cage come up it was red hot. So they turned the hose on that cage to cool them fellows off, and left that cage there for about a half an hour to cool it off. Then it was about 3 o'clock, I believe, and they lowered the cage down to the platform, and we opened the cage and was trying to get them fellows out, and so—them fellows was both of them crossed his arm, one on each other and got their heads together; so when we tried to pull it out, I was just on the side to get one man from the right arm; and I kept the arm in my hand, and the hand it was loose.

Q. The arm pulled off?

A. Yes, so then I grabbed the whole body and throwed it off on the platform and covered it up with a canvas. The arm was burned off and the foot was burned just down to the bone sticking out; that's all it was with them two fellows. You could see where the nose was and the eyes, and that's all. They were as black as anything.

These two men went to their death when they "rang the bell to 22." Musevich is speaking now of rescue work later when he went down to take out the dead.

Q. Now, did you find any bodies underground?

A. I found at the 2200 station. There was six of them there.

Q. Where were they?

A. They was right on a pile of rock; the station was burned and the ground was caved right on top of them.

Q. Do you know anything about the bulkheads under there?

A. There was bulkheads some place; on the 28 there was one, and on the 24 and 26.

Q. Where were the bulkheads?

A. To the east side, going to the High Ore Mine.

Q. Did the levels go through from the Speculator to the High Ore?

A. Yes, they was open.

Q. How were they on this night of the fire?

A. Well, because the fire—was open about three weeks before. Then they put some bulkheads in some of them places where gas was coming from the Murdock Mine.

Q. What kind of bulkheading?

A. Cement, about six inches thick.

Q. Any doors in them?

A. No, I broke one on the 1800, and there wasn't any door. The door was from the other side; wooden doors. Then in the middle they put boards and **eight inch cement.**

Q. Could you open it from the Speculator side?

A. **No.**

Q. You broke it? How did you break it?

A. I was breaking with the machine, blasting. But them fellows, when they ran to the bulkhead on 26, they found them in a bunch, 19 of them.

Q. Dead?

A. All dead, yes.

Q. How were they found?

A. Well, them men—**nobody could look at that.** And they was bare; and there was nothing but drawers on them and shoes. They took their jumper and overalls and shirt and what they have and tried to bulkhead themselves with it, but **they couldn't stop the gas, you know. It was too much gas. They fell. They worked with their hands. It was in the dark,** and when a man is in the dark, about six or seven feet room between the timber and the level, **you can't do much. The rock is all over.**

Q. How far were they from the bulkhead?

A. They was right there in the bulkhead.

Q. But if it had been open, the men could have got through?

A. Oh, yes, if that was open the men could go through the High Ore.

Q. **And saved their lives?**

A. **Sure.**

Q. Did you notice the fingers of any of those men?

A. Oh, yes, they was all wore out, working to save themselves.

Q. They were what?

A. They was wore out. **It was terrible to see it. It was bad to look at it.**

Q. Do you know what caused the strike?

A. Well, the people was scared because two shafts was burned that way; and they talking—"Let us go on strike to get better conditions and get our own control through the mines."

Q. Do you know when President Taft went through the mines?

A. (Laughing) Oh, yes. (In 1914)

Q. Do you know where they took him?

A. They took him down in the Leonard Mine.

Q. Did you ever see the drift he was in?

A. He was in the 1200 drift, the station. A foreman, Tom Mitchell, he had that drift just limed as it could be, and whitewashed, you know.

Q. Whitewashed?

A. Yes, station and everything. It is as clear as street is here today—that drift for about a thousand feet or so the surveyors find out there ain't any ore on there, and they put the miners in there and set up the machines, and so when President Taft was coming in, the miners working on the machines and he took the crank and he say "All right, golly, the miners have snap in Butte." But the truth is the other places is terribly hot.

Q. Do you belong to the I. W. W.?

A. No, sir.

Q. Ever belong to it?

A. No.

Q. You belong to the Butte Metal Mine Workers, do you?

A. Yes, sir.

The next witness was one George Taylor, who was employed as deputy sheriff during the lumber

strike. Taylor said he was discharged because there was no violence; the I. W. W. were law-abiding.

When the next witness, Joe Kennedy, organizer of the Butte Metal Mine Workers' Union, began to testify, Nebeker was forced to make retreat. The prosecution had to swallow its first contention that the Butte union was "only the I. W. W. camouflaged." Kennedy corroborated others in regard to the causes of the strike, told how he had organized the independent union, and, also, he told of how that union's hall had been raided on September 5th, 1917, and the membership list taken, as was done at the I. W. W. hall the same day. Strangely enough, after the government officers laid hands on the list of members, many of these were suddenly discharged by the A. C. M. although miners were badly needed in production.

Glenn Roberts, defendant, was called as witness on July 16th. He stated that he was 30 years old and had registered. Then Roberts produced his registration card; also a discharge from army doctors who had recently examined him and declared him physically unfit on account of tuberculosis developed in the Cook County Jail. Roberts is also a defendant on the Fresno, California, indictment of similar character and returned by federal grand jury there after Roberts was removed to Chicago last year. When the Fresno hall was raided on September 5th, 1917, Roberts had just received a new desk, which was empty when the raiders went through it, so he stated in contradiction to the yarn told by Fresno's "official finder" previously mentioned in this book. The first time Roberts saw the "copper nails and emery dust" was in the Chicago courtroom, he said; these things had not appeared at the preliminary hearing given him at Fresno, upon which order of removal to Chicago was given. Evidently these exhibits were the result of a happy after-thought on the part of Fresno's "official finder."

Ira E. Worley, a Montana rancher, said he had

farmed in the wheat belt of Washington from 1900 to 1912 and in Montana from 1912 to the present time. In both states he had hired I. W. W. threshing crews and found they gave as good service as other workers. Worley also said threshing machines burned up before the I. W. W. appeared, from various causes, usually from smut fired by sparks from gearing.

There was considerable reading from **Solidarity** on both the 16th and 17th of July, a very tedious proceeding during the hot weather prevailing; but on the 17th interest was aroused when a colored man in Khaki took the stand for the defense. With genial grins and the inimitable Dixie dialect he told his story. His name, Fred Williams, of a stevedore regiment lately returned from a year's service in France.

"Are you a member of the I. W. W.?" Vanderveer asked.

"I sho is," Williams replied, wagging his head in a positive way, "and so is mah wife too."

"I see you wear your I. W. W. button on your uniform. Do you always wear it?"

"Deed I do; I wore it ovah in France, too."

"See many I. W. W. over there in France?"

"Yes, suh; lots of 'em!"

Williams was in charge of a company of men who chose him as boss of the company and dubbed him "Sergeant."

VANDERVEER: How many men in your company, Fred?

A. Sebenty-foah.

Q. And how many I. W. W. are there?

A. Sebenty-foah!

Williams testified on the morning of July 17th. In the afternoon, after Bert Bassnett left the stand, Williams was recalled by the prosecution, which tried to impeach his testimony by sheer intimidation. Williams has a volunteer contract with the quartermaster department specifying his duties and soldier

garb off duty, and blue jean garb while on duty. Nebeker tried to scare him into saying that khaki was not his legal dress. But the contract spoke for itself and Nebeker failed in spite of the fact that an army major, large and florid-faced, sat waving a Prussian swagger-stick at the government table in an effort to overawe the I. W. W. negro in khaki. There have been many moments when the prominent presence of this gentleman and others of his kind made the I. W. W. defendants wonder if this were a civil trial or a court-martial. This was decidedly one of those moments. Vanderveer's ire was aroused. He turned to the witness:

Q. How long before you got on the stand did I see you, Williams?

A. A few hours.

Q. Ever see you before?

A. No.

Q. Now, how long after you left the stand this morning before an intelligence man from the U. S. Army collared you out here in the hall-way?

A. 'Bout five minutes.

Q. Didn't the major here (indicating the person in olive drab at the prosecution table) take you to a room in this building and detain you there for three or four hours, ask you all kinds of questions and copy all your papers?

A. Yes, sah.

Q. Do you think you did anything wrong by coming here to testify in this case.

A. I doan see as I did, sah.

Williams left the stand and the Major and another army officer rushed out of the room after him. Vanderveer turned to Landis and said, "I wish your Honor would see that this witness is not punished in any way for coming here to testify." Landis only nodded.

Bert Bassnett, alluded to above, was an I. W. W. from Seattle, where he served last summer as chairman of the "Seattle Strike Committee." The head-

quarters of this committee were at the local hall, 208½ So. Second Avenue and not at the Union Block, where the now famous "German people" letter was alleged to have been found. Bassnett laughed at the suggestion that he would write such an insane and disloyal letter, and proceeded to exhibit a batch of official papers. Two of these were discharges from the U. S. Army, showing Phillippine Island service with many battles during the two terms. The other two were also army papers, showing his appointment in service, first as corporal and then as sergeant. He was recompensed for service to his country by being bedded in a pig-pen. Describing the bunkhouse, he said:

"The foreman showed me a big long shack and said, 'You go in there and find a bed.' I came back and told him I couldn't find any bed. So he came back and showed me. It was divided up into little stalls with an alley-way between. There was hay in the bunks, upon two-inch boards. There were hogs beneath us as it was built on a bank. The front end was level with the ground and the back end was on a bank. Underneath was where all the old clothes and wash water and stuff was thrown and the hogs slept under there. The fleas and bed-bugs were something awful. I couldn't sleep at all. They would crawl up and drop right in your face. It was practically impossible to sleep. And the grub was poor—very poor."

A glimpse of what may be called "High Finance" was revealed on July 17th, when Landis suspended the I. W. W. cases for an hour or two, the defendants and the jury remaining in the room, while he listened to a petition in bankruptcy brought by numerous people who had bought stock in a mail-order corporation after reading its circular headed, "Making Brains Produce Profits." The action developed against the Riley Schubert Grossman Company and three other interlocking "blue-sky" concerns. The judge made a drive on this corporation which had

capitalized for \$1,250,000 without paying in a dollar, and raised a laugh among the spectators when he inquired of Mr. Grossman, the \$15,000 president of the company, who "Riley" was and learned that "Riley" was a dog!—Schubert's and Grossman's canine "pardner."

There followed much reading from **Solidarity** regarding the Bisbee deportation; how farmers were refusing to raise wheat at the price set by the government; a resolution opposing the draft and demanding a general strike in the coal mines, passed by the U. M. W. of A. Local No. 1962, last year; also Chaplin's "Fable of Spiders and Flies," which told how the "Agitator Fly" had objected to his kind being eaten by spiders, saying, "What is there in common between Spiders and Flies, anyway? Why not overthrow all Spiders and abolish the Web?" Also excerpts from Justus Ebert's book, "The New Society," with its story of the Lawrence Strike and how the babies of the textile workers were starving in the mothers' wombs—born dead—while a certain employer took his bride on a honeymoon with two Pullman cars for her pet dogs, which were fed upon choice steaks and kept in suites in Chicago's best hotels.

This was followed by the testimony of Joseph Davis, a government labor agent in the Forestry Service, who told of employing about 600 I. W. W.'s to fight forest fires in Montana. These men he hired out of an I. W. W. hall, and Davis said they gave good service—"The best I have ever seen"—and then he added—"If it had not been for the I. W. W. last year, the forests of Montana and northern Idaho wouldn't be there now."

On cross-examination Nebeker tried to get Davis to recant by slyly intimating that his government job was in danger. Davis didn't scare and held to his story. It is noticeable that the prosecution strikes a snag in nearly every witness and can only put up a

bluff at cross-examination—idle questions which reveal nothing.

Ralph Chaplin, defendant, artist-poet, and editor of "Solidarity" during 1917, took the stand on the morning of July 19th, 1918, and gave an account of how his life's events had influenced his conclusions upon industrial and political questions. Born in Kansas thirty years ago, he had studied art at night-school while working during the day-time in the darkroom, "spot-knocking" photographs. Later, another boss, knowing he was a "scissor-bill," had him pledge \$10 a week out of a \$16 wage to invest \$500 in the boss' business. When that was paid in, the boss told him to go to hell and got another victim. This \$500 was recovered because Chaplin was a minor when the contract was made; so he took this and started into business for himself with the ambition to be "independent." But—he found a trust controlled all supplies and he was unable to buy anywhere and had to quit. So he went back to the easel, working for wages. He then went to Mexico for one year and noted the extreme poverty of the peon class under the Diaz regime. Coming back, he had worked for the Chicago Portrait Company until the artists struck against conditions there. When that strike was lost he went to West Virginia, where he did artist work in the coal mining region. For several years previous he had been an enthusiastic member of the Socialist Party, "soap-boxing" and writing articles. In West Virginia he did much work on the "Socialist and Labor Star" at Charleston, which paper became the spokesman for the U. M. W. of A. coal miners' strike at Paint Creek and Cabin Creek. During this strike Chaplin acquired his hatred of the labor-crushing militia. He described to the jury the "Bull Moose Special," an armored train, built by union machinists in the C. & O. shops, loop-holed for machine guns and rifles; a train that was manned by Baldwin-Felts detectives and commanded by Quinn Morton, a company superintendent, and in the

darkness run through the strikers' colony at Holly Grove, belching death to men, women and children. Chaplin came out of that strike zone with undying hate for industrial tyranny. He had written many poems about that strike and Vanderveer read them to the jury: "What Happened in the Hollow," "The Mine Guard," "When the Leaves Come Out," and "Too Rotten Rank for Hell." The latter Vanderveer asked about. "Does it express your contempt for the prostitute newspaper men?" "Well," said Chaplin, "a part of it."

Chaplin told how the Socialists in West Virginia had won all the local elections during the strike, but were kept out of office by bayonets. He explained the I. W. W. attitude on violence and that sabotage was neither violence nor destruction, but the "black cat" an emblem of bad luck for the boss.

"Those who never work," Chaplin said, glancing quickly at Nebeker, "do not know there is a class struggle."

Referring to Nebeker's allusion to sabotage as a "secret doctrine" Chaplin said; "Secrecy is not necessary; we want the whole world to know."

In regard to the charge of "disloyalty," etc., Vanderveer questioned Chaplin at some length.

VANDERVEER: You remember when militarism was first discussed here before we entered the war?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Campaigning for it all over the country?

A. Yes.

Q. Did that arouse any special apprehension in your mind?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. Of what nature?

A. That the militaristic system would be built up in these United States by the powers of invisible government, similar to the militarism of Germany. In other words, that the American people, in spite of their spirit of freedom, would reach the stage here in these states and cities where a civilian would be

brushed off the sidewalk by an officer in uniform and where the civilian population would have to kowtow to military rule all the time, and where military means would be used to keep the workers cowed and subjugated beneath the rule of the master class always. I saw that coming, or felt it coming.

Q. Did anything occur during the year of 1917 to confirm your fears?

A. Yes, indeed, a great many things.

Q. Where?

A. Well, the arrest of our boys by the militia. It was right in keeping with the things that have been hammered into me ever since I had the power to observe anything.

Q. Do you still believe that that use will be made of troops, for breaking strikes in this country?

A. I don't see any reason why they should change now, unless there is some governmental power strong enough and clean enough to take hold. Wall Street wants it that way.

Q. What are your sentiments about the flag, Ralph?

A. Like everybody else, every American boy, at least, I was taught that the flag was the symbol of freedom. It was the symbol of things that my forefathers had lived for, fought for and died for; that the flag stood for American freedom; that this American freedom was different from the freedom in other countries and that the flag stood for it all.

Chaplin said he had seen the flag used for other purposes—at Lawrence, Lowell—

Q. How about the Lumber Strike; the cry of patriotism throughout that? How did that affect you?

A. Well, it is the same thing. To my mind, the flag has been stolen from me by the people who have stolen the whole of the United States from the American people; these men of Big Business, of invisible government, they have taken my land away from me; they have taken my flag away from me. It is

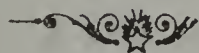
my flag as much as it is theirs; but they have arrogated this unto themselves. They say that the man who does not do as they want him to do is a traitor. But it is the ideas back of the flag that I particularly stand for. I say that this country now—I cannot see where this country now is the same, or has the same spirit it had back in 1776. In other words, I see this country now ruled by a profiteering gang. These men who say—"We are the government; we are the country; this is our flag,"—they will make you kiss it on the slightest provocation, assuming you are a traitor at heart, or that you are disloyal, when they themselves are coining their so-called patriotism into billions and billions of dollars.

On Saturday, July 20th, George Ricker, a Montana lumber-jack, member of the I. W. W., told why he had joined the union, how great a change the union had wrought in hours, wages and conditions; also, he told how he had, with other I. W. W.'s fought forest fires last summer. As a "blanket stiff" he had carried his bed on his back for 22 years. "But that is over now;" he said, "the I. W. W. 'jacks' burned their rolls of blankets on May 1st, 1918, and made the bosses furnish decent bedding."

"Red" Bresnan, of I. U. No. 400 told how the I. W. W. had improved conditions in the harvest fields and had had no strike in 1917 outside of the retaliation strike directed at Aberdeen, South Dakota, Vigilantes. "Red" also told how the Minnesota "home guard" militia had shot up the I. W. W. hall last year in Minneapolis.

John Doran, now a shipyard worker at Seattle, but formerly a Butte miner, appeared to testify about Butte. He lived there for thirty years and was County Clerk under the Socialist regime before the Socialists were blacklisted out of Butte. Doran had a hand in the 1914 independent union and last year had taken a leading part in forming the Metal Mine Workers' Union which called the strike. When he mentioned Billy Oates, the hook-handed gunman,

Nebeker paled, as he always does at the mention of his name, and, turning to Vanderveer said he would concede that the I. W. W. had not caused the Butte Strike. This ended the week's session.



CHAPTER IX.

THE twelfth week of evidence—the Class War in court—and defendant after defendant taking the stand to hurl defiance in the face of industrial tyranny; staunch and unshakable in adherence to the principles of the One Big Union and every word bearing the deep sincerity of “men who do.” These, with many outside corroborative witnesses, made a lively and interesting week.

The first witness on July 22nd, Christ Sauser, had taken the stand just previous to Saturday's adjournment. Sauser, a man 55 years of age, was born in Germany, but is now a citizen of the United States, having lived here for 37 years. Sauser joined the I. W. W. in July, 1917, at Seattle and had worked his way east to see his boy in Chicago, who was drafted, and to testify “for the boys here.” He found very few Germans in the I. W. W., he said, while telling of his experiences in the lumber strike region. As a member of the U. M. W. of A. he had worked for years in coal mines, but said that the I. W. W. was the better form of unionism.

R. J. Whittaker of Missoula, Montana, an ex-sheriff and owner of a 640-acre ranch, testified that the lumber strike was very peaceable and that the I. W. W., whom he had hired on his threshing crews, were good workmen. During the strike the I. W. W. secretary had solicited his assistance in an effort to close the saloons. The witness tried to do this but was blocked by the lumber companies and a preacher named Gadsben who said, “Let the loggers go broke and they will have to go back to work.” The witness stated that he was now on the State Executive Board of the Non-Partisan League, which led Nebeker to hint at that organization's “alleged disloyalty.” Vanderveer then proceeded to “brand this lie right on

the nose" as coming from the Grain Trust. Whitaker had two sons in the army and owned Liberty Bonds galore.

VANDERVEER: Do you do your own threshing?

A. Yes, and my neighbors' as well.

Q. Have you and your neighbors employed I. W. W.'s?

A. Why, yes; we employed them the same as anyone else.

Q. Did they ever throw pitchforks through your machine, or iron or rocks?

A. No.

Q. Did they ever destroy property or raise hell?

A. Not that I ever heard of, except in the newspapers. The newspapers were always full of it.

John J. Keenan, a defendant, dismissed since the trial began, took the stand. An erect and vigorous man, though 64 years of age, he told his story. Known as "The Sergeant" among the I. W. W. members because of his 12 years service in the British Army, Keenan was a living witness to the stupidity of the Department of Justice. Keenan was on the Executive Board of the old Amalgamated Iron Workers and took part in the Homestead strike in Pennsylvania in 1892. He told in detail of the battle there between 300 Pinkerton scabs, sent in by Henry C. Frick, and the strikers. Blacklisted everywhere, he had since been a migratory worker, going back to England to serve as a soldier. Keenan has a son with the army in France.

VANDERVEER: From your experience as a soldier, how have you come to regard war in general?

A. I hate it.

Q. Did you ever conspire to stab your boy in the back?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did these other boys over here (indicating the defendants) do anything of that sort?

A. Never.

Tom Bell, a lumberjack, and for one year an I. W. W. member, told of the lumber strike and how it was caused by conditions. "Only a fool would advocate driving spikes in logs," said Bell in contradiction to the charge of the prosecution. Nebeker again began admitting points of contention here. Bell was asked about the I. W. W. attitude on booze. Nebeker said, "We will admit the organization's attitude against liquor."

"I thought you said that was just some of our camouflage," said Vanderveer. Grinning at Nebeker's discomfiture, he continued—"How about the stand against violence? Do you admit that?"

"No, we don't" snapped Nebeker.

"Well, anyhow," replied Vanderveer, turning to resume examination, "We will make you admit that."

Bell then began to tell how the I. W. W. fire fighters had saved the forests of the Northwest last year. Nebeker again interrupted with an admission by the Government. "We will have no rebuttal on the fire-fighting," he said.

Arthur Boose, defendant, told the story of his life as only Arthur Boose himself can tell it—how and why he became an I. W. W. Joe Graber, defendant, followed Boose upon the stand. Graber was born in Russian Poland where, early in his youth, he joined the Russian Social Democratic Party. After being persecuted for revolutionary activity, he fled Russia to work in the mines of Germany. But the Kaiser liked him not, and as the Kaiser and the Tsar conspired to make Europe unpleasant for him, he came to America in 1910. Here he found a larger measure of political liberty but found as well an industrial tyranny which caused him to join the I. W. W. Graber was one of the 262 I. W. W.'s arrested by the "Black Cossacks" under the direction of Sheriff Phillips at Old Forge, Pennsylvania, in 1916, during a strike in the coal mines. Graber contradicted some of the statements made by Sheriff Buss, witness

for the prosecution, which worthy had arrested Prashner, Baldazzi and Graber in June, 1917. In July, 1917, Graber was arrested at Scranton as a "German Spy" and has been in jail ever since, being practically interned without charges until indicted at Chicago on September 28th, 1917.

George Hardy, defendant, was born in Yorkshire, England, he said, upon taking the witness chair. For three years under colors for England, he had served in the Boer War. Of his six brothers who had all volunteered in the present war, two were killed in action, one other has been gassed, and another is now in a hospital, wounded. During 1915 Hardy worked on the docks at Hull, England, and later as seaman on the transports carrying troops and munitions from Britain to Belgium, dodging submarines. In 1916 he came to the United States and joined the I. W. W. because its form of organization resembled the British Transport Workers Federation . . . "It took in everybody, and I saw the I. W. W. was the same." After working on a British transport plying between Europe and America, he took service on the U. S. Transport Crook, carrying horses and supplies between Anchorage, Alaska, and Seattle. Most of the crew on the "Crook" were I. W. W., he said. Hardy said European labor knows all about sabotage, and he laughed at the prosecution's endeavor to make sabotage appear mysterious and sinister by fussing over the "black cat."

Richard Brazier, defendant, member of the General Executive Board, testified to the fact that the I. W. W. had never taken an official stand for or against the war, although urged to do so by many members, including Frank Little and himself. There was a hopeless disagreement among the members of the G. E. B. and the matter had been dropped after hot discussion at the G. E. B. regular meeting at Chicago in July, 1917.

Bert Lorton, defendant, said he was born in Birmingham, England, 41 years ago, and under cross-

examination admitted that he actually was secretary of a local Recruiting Union, that his office at Chicago was in the same building as Haywood's office, and further, that he persisted in remaining a member when he knew that the union was growing. Porter got all "het up" because Lorton had not become a citizen. So Lorton explained:

"The reason I did not become a citizen, in the first place, in the west where I lived at that time, there was a great objection to a man that belonged to any radical organization becoming a citizen of the United States. It was fought out in the courts by a man named Leonard Olson. I am not looking for notoriety—I do not care to fight it out in any court. Now, another reason is this; to be a citizen you have got to stay in one place and have your home there, and it is not possible for lots of men doing that kind of work to have a home of any kind. Another reason is that I think I am as good a citizen as any man; I am an industrial citizen; I work in the industries and I have helped to produce the wealth of this country, and the only way I could get a vote was to vote in the union to which I belonged; that is the only way a worker can get a vote in this country for the betterment, not only of his condition, but the country's condition."

S. I. Phillips, now an employee of the Calumet and Arizona Mining Company, (the C. & A.) of Bisbee, Arizona, and a deputy sheriff under Harry Wheeler at the time of the deportation, July 12th, 1917, told of the conditions in the mines which brought on the strike and how the strike was "very orderly **on the part of the strikers.**" Phillips had other duties and was not called upon to help deport the strikers, but he had talked with them when they were loaded into cattle cars for deportation. He heard Sheriff Wheeler tell John Greenway, manager of the C. & A. Company, to pick out all men who would consent to go back to work and stand them to one side. Few men would consent, despite the

rumors that the deported men were to be sent to France. The men said they would "rather go to France than work in Bisbee mines, anyhow."

Loyalty Leaguers were armed with the regulation rifle supplied to soldiers by the U. S.; also they were furnished with machine guns, and Phillips said he was told by Loyalty Leaguers that day that—"the government is behind it." Afterward Phillips was in the police court when a deported miner who had dared to return was "tried" for "vagrancy" before Judge Frank Thomas. The miner said he had "constitutional rights and money in his pocket." Judge Thomas told him, "Money in your pocket and constitutional right means 'Guilty.' Get out of town or 90 days on the road." The Judge then turned to Phillips and said privately that he "did wrong but was forced to do it."

CLEARY: Did he say who forced him to do it?

A. He said he was forced by the Loyalty League.

Q. Did he say what the League would do to him if he didn't do it?

A. He said he would lose his job.

Q. How does he hold his office?

A. By appointment, by the City Council.

Both Greenway and Wheeler later received commissions as officers in the U. S. Army, said Phillips.

Walter Smith, defendant, told in detail of the how, the when and the where of the Northwest Lumber Strike. The I. W. W. he said, had elevated the standard of living and had helped the loggers to "become more like men than dogs." Smith became angry at Porter's idea of "leaders in the I. W. W." when Porter insisted that James Rowan "was the head of I. U. No. 500."

"Rowan ain't the head of No. 500" snapped Smith, "the head of No. 500 is the rank and file of No. 500."

The A. F. of L. had struck for the 8-hour day last summer and closed down all the sawmills in western Washington, so the government couldn't

get any lumber, just as the I. W. W. struck in the camps, yet Smith hadn't heard of Gompers being jailed for it.

VANDERVEER: Was there any thought in connection with the strike in the woods last year of interfering with the government operations, Walter?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. If your 8-hour day had been granted and decent conditions established in the camps, would you have gone back to work?

A. There would not have been any strike.

C. W. Davis, defendant, also testified about the lumber strike which was really started by the action of the International Union of Timber Workers in calling a strike of A. F. of L. millmen—the I. W. W. on the coast had struck after the A. F. of L. had already decided a date for strike. Davis was on the only strike committee in Seattle and as it was a local committee with an office at the local hall, 208½ South Second Avenue, it was called the "Seattle Strike Committee" and had never signed itself "The Strike Committee" as those words appear in the now notorious "German people" letter.

VANDERVEER: When you wrote letters, did you send them out?

A. Certainly.

Q. Do you have any idea how a letter addressed to Haywood who was in Chicago and written at 208½ South Second Avenue in Seattle, should get into the Union Block in Seattle, seven blocks away?

A. No.

G. J. Bourg, defendant, told of the raids by militiamen upon the I. W. W. Hall at Kansas City, Missouri, early in 1917, when these worthies, led by an officer who was a city detective, and protected by the police, repeatedly came into the hall, drunk, and wrecked the furniture and beat up the I. W. W. members. When the victims complained the City Attorney said that the militia "had his consent to raid the I. W. W. hall any time they wished to."

Later Bourg had been secretary at Aberdeen, South Dakota, where he was jailed one night at 1:30 A. M. He was taken in an automobile by the Chief of Police of Aberdeen to the edge of town where a band of Vigilantes appeared and held him down while one of their number beat him unmercifully with a heavy club. He was threatened with death if he returned, but went back the next day. He tried to get redress with a lawyer—failed—and left Aberdeen disabled when the I. W. W. threw a picket line around that section and said—"Let the Vigilantes do the work."

Charles Plahn, defendant, testified. About the only serious charge against Plahn was that he had been beaten up by Steel Trust gunmen at Bessemer, Michigan, last summer. He had survived the beating, had read Solidarity and had paid his dues. Therefore, these being crimes, he was indicted.

Another defendant, equally a malefactor, was Sigfried Stenberg, who was bookkeeper for the Swedish paper "Allarm" last year. He worked for the boss daytime to support his wife and baby girl and at night he had voluntarily contributed an hour or so to post a ledger. Despite his youth and soft-voiced bashfulness, Sigfried was evidently a desperate character, as he, too, had been indicted and in jail for ten months, while his wife and babe relied upon the I. W. W. for support, and, by the way, had received it in spite of the efforts of the Department of Justice to strangle the I. W. W. defense and relief fund by seizure of the organization's mail in transit.

Likewise, Frank Westerlund, defendant, was a bad guy, a "real bad guy," who had taken subscriptions for the Finnish I. W. W. paper "Industrialisti" while talking with other Finlanders around Duluth, Minnesota, streets. Then, last summer, he had gone west on an excursion trip and had talked with some Finlanders in their boarding-houses. Ha! Nebeker thought to make a point:

NEBEKER: These Finnish people you talked to were working people, were they?

A. Sure; I never saw any millionaires living in a miner's boarding-house.

On July 24th, John Martin, defendant and former secretary of the Seattle District of Lumber Workers' I. U. No. 500, took the stand. Martin had his office in Room 40, Union Block, Seattle, on the floor above Room 25, editorial office of the "Industrial Worker" where the "German people" letter was alleged to have "been found in a tin box."

Martin had co-operated with Dr. Carleton Parker who tried to settle the Lumber Strike in the interest of the War Department. The Lumbermen's Association had refused both the national and state government's requests to grant the 8-hour day to the I. W. W. and to the Industrial Union of Timberworkers of the A. F. of L. which struck simultaneously with the I. W. W. Martin denied knowledge of the "German people" letter and said that the stationery it was written on had been discarded when the Seattle District got letterheads of its own. Vanderveer called Nebeker's two assistants, who were in charge of seized correspondence, to the stand, where both admitted that no other letter signed "The Strike Committee" had been found in any file. Some of the methods used by the government raiders were shown by Martin's testimony.

VANDERVEER: Where were you at the time of the government raids September 5th?

A. I was at the office in the Union Block.

Q. And the government came in there with search warrants and went through your stuff?

A. Well, they came in—two or three government officers and five or six uniformed police.

Q. What did they do?

A. Just started in—there were a good many cards hanging on the wall of members of the I. U. T. that had transferred into the I. W. W. Those cards were red, just like our own, and I suppose that

caught their eye, and they started in and tore them down. So I walked over towards them and asked them what they were doing and what authority they had, so one produced a search warrant and let me look it over.

Q. What did they take from the office?

A. They took everything, even my laundry.

Q. Did they take any of the fixtures?

A. They took all our papers; all our filing cabinets; waste paper baskets. They did overlook the spittoons, though. They took everything there was in the office, typewriters and adding machines. They handled it very rough.

Q. Did you ever get any of them back?

A. No, sir.

Q. Have you tried to get them back?

A. Yes, sir. I also tried to get an inventory of what they took, but I haven't got any.

Q. Were those typewriters guilty of anything, or were the adding machines guilty of anything?

A. Not that I know of. The typewriters might have misspelled a word now and then.

Martin, though indicted last September, was not arrested until just previous to the trial. He told why he would not surrender.

"I did not have any desire to become a victim of syphilis or consumption like some of the boys have become over in the Cook County Jail. We heard about those things; how they were being treated."

VANDERVEER: Do you know how many of these boys here have become tubercular there?

A. A good many.

Nebeker seemed worked up over "that German, Karl Marx," and questioned Martin closely upon what books were in the I. W. W. hall at Seattle.

NEBEKER: Karl Marx has been referred to as a sort of foster-father of this organization, hasn't he?

A. The lumber barons and the industrial kings are the foster-fathers of this organization.

Vanderveer called defendant C. H. Rice to name

over from memory a long list of classified and scientific books kept at the Seattle hall. There followed some humor on cross-examination.

NEBEKER: Were there any books written by an I. W. W. other than read in evidence here?

A. I don't know whether Victor Hugo was an I. W. W. or not; I have never seen him around the hall there.

Q. Oh, you have not?

A. No; Karl Marx might have been, though.

George Andreytchine, defendant, who was editor of the Bulgarian language paper for the I. W. W. during 1917, took the witness chair to tell how it was that the paper had such a strong anti-militaristic character. It developed that Andreytchine's hostility to militarism was not directed by any thought of opposing the United States in the prosecution of this war, but an inherent dislike for war in general and the poison of Prussian militarism in particular.

Andreytchine's experiences as a soldier in Bulgaria were brought out to show that those who taste the horrors of war have reason to abhor it.

VANDERVEER: How long were you in the military service of Bulgaria?

A. Eleven months.

Q. Did you see any active duty?

A. Yes, almost every single day of military service was in the trenches.

Q. In what war?

A. In both the first and second Balkan wars.

Andreytchine told of the terrible atrocities practiced by both sides and of the brutality of the officers to the common soldiers—"The rations allowed to us were cut down to make some of the regimental officers profit, and during the war some of our men, who were acting as censors, got letters from officers to their wives telling them that the longer the war lasted the better for them, because they are in soft and will fill their pockets, while we, the dogs, are dying for them. And I also remember when we took

Adrianople, a big fortress, and we lost 11,000 dead in three days and nights; the next day marching through the streets, we found thousands of merchants coming from Bulgaria all ready to start business there and exploit the poor, ignorant people that are found in all communities. We found over 180,000 Turkish soldiers there, dying from starvation and cholera. Our officers were always behind us; they commanded from behind with telephones; only the non-commissioned officers who were from the ranks were in the trenches."

Q. Then, during the second war in which you were aligned against Greece, did you see active service?

A. Yes, our regiment was still in the thick of the fight and we were put near Saloniki at a town called Kilkesh, and we fought the Greek Army, which was superior in numbers, for over eight days. Many a day we had no food and there was no water in that field. On the 21st of June our positions were broken; the Greeks, reinforced by Serbian troops, took our front trenches and drove us back. Their machine guns annihilated whole regiments. Our loss was about 8,000.

Q. On your side?

A. On our side, and I was wounded that day by shrapnel in the right foot and bayonet in the back.

Q. What year was this, George?

A. 1913.

Q. Did your experiences in that army lend any color to your ideas?

A. Yes, the experiences in the army taught me to abhor war and everything that is connected with it—militarism and preparedness and patriotism.

Q. Had you ever witnessed or heard of brutalities visited upon women of your country?

A. Yes, sir. It was done by all armies; first, when I was a little boy, it was done by the Turkish army. Many of the women who were outraged died.

Then afterwards it was done by our own army in Turkey.

Then, when we were driven back by the Turks, Greeks and Serbians, it was done upon those same women by the invading armies, and I have seen with my own eyes atrocities committed upon women by Bulgarian soldiers and that made me hate all armies, any army, Bulgarian included.

It was apparent that Andreytchine's experiences had had something to do with his policy as an editor, which policy, it was shown, met with opposition at a meeting of the I. W. W. editors held in May, 1917. There he had quarreled with Chaplin and others who, so he said, had determined to keep to industrial programs and to avoid all comment upon war or conscription. In fact, the "conspirators," far from having a "meeting of minds," had disagreed upon matters of policy and cursed each other roundly.

Andreytchine had lived in France and stated that the French Confederation General Du Travail, in common with all European unions, is revolutionary in aim, and differs widely from the conservative spirit of the A. F. of L.

He also told of being involved in the Iron Miners' Strike on the Mesaba Range in Minnesota in 1916, when 20,000 unorganized miners struck against the feudalistic control of the Steel Trust and how thousands of gunmen had been deputized to intimidate the strikers; how John Allar had been murdered on the picket line, and of the arrest of strike leaders upon a murder charge growing out of a shooting affray between deputies and miners at the home of Joseph Masonovich, a striker.

Andreytchine had opposed Germany and German socialism and had pilloried Scheidemann and Sudekim, as "traitors to internationalism." Nebeker asked if Karl Marx was not born in Germany and the witness said, "Yes, but he was exiled from Germany and his books were 'verboten' by Bismarck."

Nebeker's questions upon philosophy elicited the following from Andreytchine:

"Nothing that is is 'radical.'" All things that exist are natural. The anarchists would destroy the state; socialists would control the state—the latter being the most superficial program of applied sociology."

John I. Turner, defendant, told of the strike of "river-hogs" on the Fortine River in Montana, which was the beginning of the big Lumber Strike of 1917. When troops were called in an officer told Turner that he was "surprised at the strike being so peaceable."

It happened that Turner had acted as attorney for the strikers who were arrested and tried before a Justice of Peace at Eureka, Montana.

"Are you a lawyer?" asked Vanderveer, smiling.

"No-o-o," drawled Turner, a southerner by birth.

"Well," said Vanderveer, "did you win the case?"

"We sure did!" said Turner—and everybody laughed.

Peter R. Green, defendant, also testified about the Lumber Strike. Like Turner, he stated that an anti-conscription resolution passed by the Lumber Workers' Convention before the war had been forgotten and had nothing to do with the strike of 1917. It appeared that the Seattle A. F. of L. and numerous other bodies of labor had also passed resolutions. Peter Green told also of his arrest at Klamath Falls, Oregon, on some absurd charge because a flour mill had burned. The lumber company had incited such hostility against the I. W. W. that a lawyer, coming from Portland to defend him, had been run out of town and threatened with lynching.

Olin B. Anderson, defendant, testified that he had joined the I. W. W. in March, 1917, and had spent most of the time since in jail. The apparent reason was that he had written articles for SOLIDARITY—

news articles showing the progress of the Lumber Strike.

On July 26th, W. E. Hall, a witness from Grays Harbor, Washington, rather confounded the prosecution by declaring that the A. F. of L. precipitated the lumber strike in western Washington. Hall, who was then Vice-President of the International Union of Timberworkers, said that union decided, at a convention held in June, 1917, to strike on July 15th, 1917, for the 8-hour day. The I. W. W. had finally decided, early in July, to strike in the Western, or Seattle District, and both Unions struck simultaneously; the A. F. of L. controlling mainly the mills and the I. W. W. controlling chiefly the logging camps. The first camp that struck was half I. W. W. and half I. U. T., said Hall, who added that Gompers had endorsed the strike by an open letter to the strikers.

VANDERVEER: After the strike was declared, what were your duties and where did they take you?

A. I was organizer for the International Union of Timberworkers. I was in Seattle, Tacoma, Port Angeles, Everett, Bellingham, Enumclaw, Rainier, Centralia, Olympia, Aberdeen and Hoquiam.

Q. What percentage of the lumber section does that represent?

A. Almost all in western Washington.

Q. Did you ever observe or hear of any violence or destruction or lawlessness started by the strikers in any of those places.

A. There was absolutely none.

Hall said that he, acting for the I. U. T., had pulled the Aloha Lumber Company's men on strike and contradicted in that statement the testimony of Frank Milward, who had testified for the prosecution that the "I. W. W. did it."

VANDERVEER: Did you pull any other camps before you returned to Aberdeen?

A. No, sir.

Q. When you returned to Aberdeen, what occurred?

A. Mr. Dole, the manager, had a warrant for me.

Q. Were you arrested?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. On what charge?

A. Charged with being an enemy of the government; interfering with production of spruce, and it went on for about a whole page—I don't know what it was.

Q. Were you tried?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What happened at the trial?

A. The prosecutor of Grays Harbor County said there was no statute to cover the indictment. I was turned loose.

Q. What, if anything, had you done to hinder the production of spruce?

A. Called the men on strike.

Q. Was that after your action had been approved by Mr. Marsh, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor and member of the State Council of Defense?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Hall, after the Secretary of War had requested the concession by the mill owners of the 8-hour day and that request had been rejected by them, do you know of any of **their** officials who were arrested as you were for interfering with production of spruce?

A. **No sir.**

Q. You are now a member of the I. W. W., are you not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When and where did you join?

A. Last Christmas, at Seattle.

Q. Why did you join?

A. I joined after about two years investigation of the I. W. W.

Q. Had any special reason been furnished you?

A. Well, my reason for thinking that the A. F. of L. is not organized in the proper manner is because they put the craft before the organization. What I mean is the Shingle Weavers with 3,000 members, thinks his dinky little union is of more importance than the welfare of the whole organization. They have no transfer card system and among us men who work at almost unskilled work, it is necessary to have a universal transfer card. To explain the matter: The A. F. of L. has a union called the Cooks and Waiters of America. It has another called the Marine Cooks and Stewards. Now between these two unions a man that cooks on the water—he cannot cook on the land, unless he pays a new initiation fee and takes out a new card and becomes a new union man. Another reason, I found out that signing contracts with employers, that there is no way to make them observe contracts unless you have economic power to enforce them. The Timberworkers signed contracts during 1917, direct with various employers; the employers repudiated all contracts and came out for the open shop. So there isn't anything in forming a contract in my estimation.

Q. Did you observe anything about the conduct of the I. W. W. in their strike which in any manner influenced you in becoming a member?

A. Yes, sir. It was the most peaceable strike I think I ever saw conducted on the Pacific Coast.

Following Hall, A. V. Azuara, defendant, editor of the Spanish language paper, took the stand. He was born in Spain and told how the liberals of Spain had opposed the monarchy by holding up the republics of Mexico and the United States as havens of refuge. Azuara had thought to better his conditions by going to Mexico; but, much to his surprise, had found in the Mexican republic a horrible system of peonage, of barbarous exploitation under the regime of President Diaz, who had conspired with invading capital and established virtual slavery under his military dictatorship. Azuara told of the horrors

suffered by peons in the fields of Yucatan, of the massacre by soldiers of the textile strikers at Rio Blanco; of the "ley de fuga" and how Standard Oil, Guggenheim, Hearst and others had corrupted that republic as they had this one. Mexican papers in opposition to Diaz had cited the U. S. as what a republic should be, had spoken of how free the workers of the U. S. were; therefore, Azuara emigrated here only to taste of such freedom as was offered his class at Ludlow, at the Durst hop-ranch in California, and in the salmon canneries of Alaska, where he had worked. He had joined the I. W. W. because experience had shown him that Woodrow Wilson's book "The New Freedom" was correct in stating that the industrial kings of America controlled the government. On cross-examination prosecutor Porter demanded in a voice of pathetic indignation—"If you don't like this country, then why don't you go back where you came from—answer that?" "Because," retorted Azuara, "the low wages paid here prevented me from ever accumulating enough to pay my return passage."

It will be recalled that earlier in the trial the prosecutor had sought to prove that some Finlanders in Minnesota had not registered because they were I. W. W. members. Now, the defense brought witnesses to prove that this was a Finnish matter, and **not** an I. W. W. matter, as the Finns were subjects of Russia and had been exempted from all military service by order of Tsar Nicholas. Whether I. W. W. or not, they had mistakenly supposed themselves exempt from operation of the Registration Act, even the attorney for the Russian Consul at Chicago having so advised them. Hundreds of these Finnish men had been arrested as a result. E. L. Kimball, a lawyer from Duluth, Minnesota, testified that he was hired by a Finnish co-operative society—not by the I. W. W.—to straighten out the affair. Kimball had been accompanied by defendants Laukki and Jaakkola in visiting Finns held in various

jails for not registering. Through them, acting as interpreters, he had explained the law and the Finns had registered. Kimball added that the Minnesota State Council of Defense had advised the Department of Justice that the Finns were not to blame and should not be prosecuted. Several witnesses, Finlanders, were called to support the contention of the defense. Some of these testified that many Finns had written and spoken very bitterly against defendant Leo Laukki because he had, as editor of the Finnish paper, written an article specifically advising registration. The article was read to the jury.

The last witness of the week on the stand was Corporal Hugh P. Reynolds, 342nd Infantry, stationed at Camp Grant. The prosecution gets panic-stricken when it sees an I. W. W. in uniform—and here was a corporal!

VANDERVEER: When did you join the I.W.W.?

A. In February, 1912.

Q. Why did you join it, Corporal?

A. On account of economic conditions. Because it is a labor organization to better the conditions of the working class.

Q. Do you understand what is meant in the Preamble when it says that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the foundation for that belief?

A. My own observation and experience.

Q. Have you ever before been in the service of the United States?

A. Yes, sir. Three years in the Navy.

Q. Did you seek exemption when you registered?

A. No, sir; although I held a sickness discharge from the Navy.

Q. Did you at any time in your travels and in your contact with members of the I. W. W. and your visits to their halls ever hear anybody advocate disloyalty or insubordination?

A. I have not.

Q. Do you mean to become a member when you get back here?

A. I mean to become a member of the I. W. W. or some other organization that may be progressive along industrial lines.

Q. Do you still have occasion to go around the I. W. W. halls occasionally?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In uniform?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Any difference in the reception that you get there now and what you got before?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you see other soldiers around the halls?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Other soldiers out at Camp Grant—who are members I mean?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Ever hear any insulting remark around an I. W. W. hall or among the I. W. W.'s anywhere about your uniform or your service?

A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Reynolds, have you been a member of any A. F. of L. union?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you now?

A. Yes, sir. The Hotel and Restaurant International.

Q. Been through, or seen some strikes in both organizations?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you think of this question of violence as the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. practice it?

A. I have been through two I. W. W. strikes and I have seen no violence.

Q. Have you seen violence in A. F. of L. strikes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think you understand the reason for the difference?

Page One Hundred Fifty

A. Yes, sir. The cause of violence is because one class of workers are allowed to stay on the job while the other class of workers are out on strike, and it causes hard feelings between them.

(Here court adjourned—4 P. M. July 27th.)



CHAPTER X.

“IS there a class war?” The Preamble of the I. W. W. asserts the affirmative. For publishing that affirmative the organization’s officials were indicted. That great Magna Charta of Labor—the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, is on trial, an issue, an important issue, in this great battle which, in a legal way, the author has alluded to as “A Second Runnymede.” With few exceptions every witness for the defense is asked if he or she believes in the first clause of the Preamble, if “The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.”

The first witness on July 29 was Charles Thompson, in khaki, of the 43rd Depot Brigade, stationed at Camp Grant, Ill. Born to poverty on an Iowa farm, Thompson has been a wage worker away from home since the age of fourteen, and had joined the I. W. W. at Sioux City, Iowa, in 1915.

VANDERVEER: Why did you join the I. W. W.?

A. Because I thought that such an organization was necessary and I knew of no other like it.

Q. Do you believe in it now that you are in uniform and no longer working in industry as you did before?

A. I believe in it just as strong, and I want to see the boys at home here build it up by the time we get back from wherever we are fighting. I want to see an organization here ready to receive us and help us carry on what we have been trying to carry on.

Q. Are you acquainted with the Preamble of the I. W. W.?

A. I know it almost by heart.

Q. It is stated there, among other things, that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common; do you believe that?

A. I believe that and I have realized that since I was fourteen years old; I believe that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common—absolutely nothing.

Nebeker evidently could scarcely believe his ears at the words which came out of Thompson's uniform. Cross-examination ran along something like this:

NEBEKER: Did you read what "Solidarity" and "Industrial Worker" had to say about this war by the United States, during 1917?

A. No, sir; I never read anything about the war in "Solidarity;" I had too much other stuff to think about; the big war, the Class War.

Q. The Class War?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. This war between the United States and Germany did not impress you as of as much importance as this class war, is that the idea?

A. That is it actually; that is the idea.

Vanderveer drew out of the witness why he thought the class war so fundamental.

VANDERVEER: What are the results of this poverty which you say exists among the hardest working people?

A. Well, they die at a young age.

Q. What is the result upon their education?

A. They have hardly any education; they have no opportunity to get it—the same as myself.

Q. What is the effect upon the morals of some working women and girls, as you see it?

A. Why, a lot of them get run down, in poor health, and out of a job and become prostitutes.

Q. Do you think that is because they want to be?

A. I think that is because they have to be.

Q. Now when you go overseas, you will want to be fed, won't you?

A. Yes, I want to be fed.

Q. Have you ever heard of any conspiracy among your fellow workers to deprive you of the foodstuffs

and other things necessary to the army—things that you yourself will want over there?

A. No, I never have.

Roy E. Carter, private in the 161st Depot Brigade at Camp Grant, told much the same story and said that he agreed with the first clause of the Preamble. "Their interests are not identical in any way because the interest of the employing class is profit," he said.

VANDERVEER: You do not think the employers pay much attention as to whether you are sick or well or tired or weak?

A. No, sir.

Q. Or whether your women are moral or forced to be immoral, or whether your babies live or die?

A. I don't believe they do.

Carter joined the I. W. W. in 1915 as a logger and told how the union had raised the wages in the Minnesota woods from about \$26 a month to from \$50 to \$70.

Private Otto Stolp, a volunteer in the Engineers' Corps stationed at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind., generated some lively cross-fire between himself, Vanderveer and Nebeker.

NEBEKER: Your heart and soul is in this war?

WITNESS: Yes, sir.

NEBEKER: And you are fighting loyally for your country, are you?

WITNESS: Yes, sir.

VANDERVEER: And your heart and soul is in the I. W. W.?

WITNESS: Yes, sir.

VANDERVEER: And you are fighting loyally for that?

WITNESS: Yes, sir; fighting for both.

NEBEKER: You don't know much about the I. W. W., do you; you have never read much about them?

A. I did not have time to read, sir, before we got the eight-hour day. I was working all the time.

Vanderveer then resumed—Q. Do you know what the Preamble says—"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common?"

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You know that it is the corner-stone of the I. W. W.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you believe that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What makes you believe it?

A. The way I have been driven around through the country.

Q. Do you believe in the kind of patriotism that profiteers while you are abroad?

A. No, sir.

Q. The kind of patriotism that feeds you embalmed beef when you are abroad?

A. No, sir.

Q. How do you feel about it when people like that say you are not patriotic?

A. Why, I think the only way they can show it is to get a uniform on and come right along with us.

Q. Ever have an employer worry about your condition of health or your morals?

A. No, sir; never did.

Q. Ever know them to worry about how the women of your working people get along?

A. They don't seem to care.

Q. Whether your babies die or live?

A. They don't care, no.

Q. Whether you are educated or not?

A. They never care.

A. Are those the things that you refer to as the "Class War," the war for the betterment of those conditions?

A. Yes, sir; that is what we want to do.

Q. Now do you think it is loyal to this country to try to remedy those things?

A. Yes, sir; it is.

Leo Laukki, editor during part of 1917 of the

Finnish language I. W. W. paper "Industrialisti," published daily at Duluth, Minn., recounted Finland's history in its relation to the anti-military sentiment prevalent among Finnish people in this country. In 1902 the entire population of Finland had gone on strike against the attempt by Nicholas the Second to force military service upon Finland and the Finns were finally exempted. Laukki knows what war and militarism is from his experience as lieutenant of Russian cavalry. He had taken part in the Viborg Revolt when the Duma, dissolved by the Tsar, had fled to Viborg, Finland, and called upon the army to support it by armed rebellion. He had first been deeply affected by the power of economic action when the prophecy made by Grand Duke Nikolai, that "Petrograd would run knee deep to his horse in the blood of the Revolution," was defeated by the General Strike in Russia. This feeling had grown upon him since coming to America in 1907, and he was convinced that Industrial Unionism is "in its social effect, constructive; while Political Socialism may carry armed revolt and destruction in its train." He cited an article written by a well-known socialist, "Back Your Ballots with Bullets," to which he had written in opposition. "Subject classes never advocate violence," he said, "while the employing class provoke violence and then shout against its use." In speaking of war Laukki gave to the jury the slogan of the revolutionaire—"In time of peace, no bourgeois war; in time of war, no bourgeois peace." Although "Industrialisti" had carried the Universal Label of the I. W. W. it had also carried the label of the A. F. of L.

On the morning of July 30, Chas. Thompson and Corporal Reynolds were recalled by Vanderveer. They told the jury that when leaving the court room the day before they had been arrested and detained by Department of Justice men in the office of Hinton G. Clabaugh. Over Nebeker's strenuous objection they told of this attempt to intimidate defense wit-

nesses and said that other soldier witnesses might be fearful of coming to testify. It was rumored about the court that Judge Landis had told Nebeker privately that if another soldier witness would be treated that way he would dismiss the case by a directed verdict. Following this, three Finnish witnesses were called in support of Laukki's story that the registration trouble in Minnesota was a Finnish issue solely.

Fred Jaakkola, also an editor of "Industrialisti," and a defendant, contradicted a government witness by proving by a church certificate that he was not a "slacker," having been born in 1885. Nebeker in a nasty-mannered examination of the big, stolid Finn, thought to get an acknowledgement that Finlanders called a "slacker" a martyr or a hero. "Slacker" had been mentioned and Nebeker said, "You know what I mean by a 'slacker,' don't you?" "Yes," said Jaakkola. "By the way," said Nebeker, "what do you Finns call a 'slacker?'" "We call it 'Vitkastelija,'" replied Jaakkola, and everybody laughed. And that was all the answer Nebeker got.

Jaakkola had been a miner in Butte and told of some evasions used by miners to get a job in spite of the blacklist.

VANDERVEER: What trick did the socialists there in Butte resort to in order to get "rustling cards?"

A. A good many tricks. One fellow there named Pinople, he said when he asked for work he used to be one of the Sullivans.

Q. One of what?

A. One of the Sullivans. He took the rustling card under the name of Sullivan, and go get work from the mine owners.

Q. Who was Sullivan?

A. Well, in Butte there are several hundred Sullivans and the mining officials don't know who is who.

Q. Any place else they take names?

A. Well, the foreign workers went to the cemetery and looked up the accidents or some way; those names recorded that way. Then we pick up the dead man's name and we ask for a rustling card under the dead man's name.

Q. You would get a job on the dead man's record?

A. Yes.

It took John J. Walsh, defendant longshoreman from the Atlantic Coast, to keep the courtroom in an undignified state of continual laughter with his references to "Fellow Worker Nebeker" and other Irish pleasantries. Defense Attorney Otto Christensen examined Walsh.

CHRISTENSEN: Was there anything in your experience with craft organization that led you to believe industrial organization was the better way of coping with the labor situation?

A. Yes, sir. In 1907 in New York harbor 60,000 longshoremen were out on strike. It was nothing new to see union teamsters riding up and down the docks with cargo for scabs to handle, with a big union button in their hats; also, to see union sailors sometimes going so far that they were not satisfied with doing their work on deck, but came on the docks and down into the holds of the ships, doing the work of the longshoremen. The Marine Cooks and Stewards did the same; also, the members of the Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders' Union.

Walsh had worked at Hog Island shipyards in 1917 and told of conditions there. "The job was so rotten no man could stay any length of time. Then you went up to the pay window on Saturday night and you had to throw three aces on two deuces to get your money."

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. You had to go to thirty-eight assistant timekeepers and forty-six assistant superintendents. You see, a fellow, he would have a letter from some Congressman, and they would put him on the job for a

timekeeper. He couldn't keep time in a Chinese laundry.

Q. You say you drew only one week's pay from the I. W. W. during 1917?

A. It was from the Marine Transport Workers' about April, I believe.

Q. You have not drawn any since?

A. No, sir. I am living under government ownership.

Q. At Philadelphia—do all the munitions and things that are shipped over to Europe, are they handled by dock workers that are I. W. W.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there any accidents at all?

A. No. No accidents to the cargo, but plenty to the longshoremen. It is quite a dangerous job. Of course, that don't count. Men are cheap.

Q. How many men are working on the docks at Philadelphia?

A. There are about 5,000 members of the I. W. W.

Q. How many of those are I. W. W. that transport munitions and supplies of war over to the other side?

A. Well, there is not a ship on the Atlantic Coast that has not got I. W. W. men in the fireroom or on deck or even in the galley. You will always find a few; sometimes you will find the whole crew I. W. W., it is nothing unusual. One example I will give you, I was on a ship in December, fixed up their I. W. W. cards for them, shook hands with the crew, and the next day I read in the paper that the ship went down.

Q. What ship was that?

A.; The steamship Maryland. There were twenty-six members of the I. W. W. on it; they all went down. She was loaded up by I. W. W. longshoremen at Pier No. 16, Philadelphia.

Q. Do you know of any other members that have lost their lives in transporting war materials?

A. Quite a few ships. There was the steamer Healdon, the Antilles, the Joe Nancy. You could get more in detail from the different secretaries.

Following Walsh upon the stand was a young man who stood two crutches beside the witness chair. His name was Harry Golden and the crutches which served in lieu of one missing leg were mute witnesses to the Class War. Here before the eyes of the jury was one of Labor's wounded soldiers, here was one whose life blood dyed the decks of the steamer Verona at Everett, Washington, on November 5, 1916. He told the story of how it happened in soft-voiced replies to Vanderveer's questions; how an open meeting had been advertised to take place in Everett that Sunday; how the hundreds on the Verona approached the Everett docks singing and totally unaware of the volley of lead and steel that poured from the rifles of the hidden murderers gathered by the Everett Commercial Club and led by a drunken ruffian who wore the title of sheriff. Golden had lost his leg that day at the time five more I. W. W. boys lost their lives. The lumber trust shot his leg off; now, his missing leg disqualifies Golden from service in the armed forces of the nation. Golden said that the I. W. W. had been supporting him, paying him \$15.00 a week until recently, when he had asked that it be cut to \$10 to allow the union that much more to carry it through the crisis of the big trial.

Fred Nelson, defendant, told the history of the Rockford demonstration against the draft. A parade had been organized and started from the Socialist Party hall. Only about fifteen of the one hundred and thirty-eight arrested at Rockford were members of the I. W. W., others were socialists, some were members of the A. F. of L. and many were only members of the Good Templars. Nelson was arrested once before upon this Rockford matter and charged with "conspiracy," but had later been discharged by Judge Carpenter as there was "no evi-

dence." Yet here in Chicago he was practically being held again for the same supposed offense. The main fault that Nebeker found with Nelson was that Nelson had tried to save the life of Joe Hill, as was shown by some seized correspondence. ;

John Somonson, a witness from Rockford, supported Nelson in his assertion that the meeting at Rockford which gave birth to the demonstration was at the Socialist hall and that the I. W. W. had no connection with the meeting or the parade. An I. W. W. had talked at the meeting but had merely used the floor to ask workers to join the union and had then gone away and taken no part in the parade.

Norval G. Marlatt, defendant, once secretary of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600 during his idle hours, occupied the stand July 30 and continued again on the 31st. Marlatt had been a railroad man all his life, having worked for only three roads during the period of twenty-one years. He was taken to jail last year while working as an engineer, hauling much-needed war supplies. The prosecution could find nothing to attack Marlatt upon except that he actually could not believe in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Very often during the trial the prosecutors spoke as though disagreement with the A. F. of L. were treason itself. Vanderveer elicited the further fact that Marlatt did believe in the Declaration of Independence.

Joseph Laukis, a defendant, who was discharged at the close of the prosecution's side, took the stand. He had edited the I. W. W. paper published in the Lithuanian language. The paper was published at the General Headquarters. Laukis knew Haywood well and was on friendly terms with him and others, yet neither Haywood nor anyone else had ever asked him to publish articles opposing the war; in fact, he was sure if there was any "conspiracy" he would have known of it; but there wasn't any.

Benjamin Schraeger, defendant editor of the I.

W. W. paper published in the Polish language, took the stand in his own defense. Schraeger, a fine appearing man of 32 years, has an exceptionally good command of languages. He told graphically of the causes that had moved him to volunteer his spare hours to act as editor of an I. W. W. paper. When asked what his motive was, he replied: "The motive was to bring the Polish people to what they should be. I realized the conditions under which Polish immigrants have been living in this country; that they were a detriment to the welfare of my own people and of everyone else, because they were used as a catspaw to lower wages and the standard of life of everyone else. Living conditions in the stockyards here are abominable, absolutely indescribable. I have visited them and I have always been repelled at the sight of the way they lived. In shacks, in rooms only 10 by 14 feet, and they would be living there, families of three and four, and having boarders besides. They would sleep in shifts, because the wages they were getting were never sufficient to pay the board for even a single man. Their morality is away below any human standard.

"It was my own experience during the panic of 1907 and 1908, that the first child born to us died only a few weeks after its birth, due to malnutrition of his mother when I was not in a position to earn sufficient to keep her up in proper nutriment. The children of these Polish immigrants have suffered the same fate—death—the first few weeks or months of their lives, all due to slow starvation while still in their mothers' womb. I have seen the reasons. The Steel Trust has been sending agents all through the Slavic countries of Europe heralding what wonderful wages workers were receiving in the steel companies here; how independent they got; they were distributing posters showing pictures of beautiful residential streets, with beautiful electric lights, claiming that those were the homes of the workers for the steel companies in Gary. Showing on one

side of the street a factory and on the other side of the street a beautiful bank, and a long stream of workers coming out from those factories with bags of money in their hands and going into the bank and depositing it. They have been luring these men to sell their last little bit of property to pay their trip across in steerage, and when they got here have nothing, not enough to get around, and nothing to get back."

George P. Nichols, the employer of Schraeger, told of how Schraeger at the time of his arrest, and since going out on bond furnished by Nichols himself, had been engaged as draughtsman upon railway and other equipment necessary to war work. He said Schraeger was a good workman and friend. This bore out Schraeger's statement that the individual employer may have personal friendship for the individual employe, "but as a class it is different." It was brought out that the Polish paper had never mentioned the war; that the prosecution had been able to find nothing that spoke of war or of anything related to war and they had read nothing from the paper to the jury. Yet the paper was published at the Chicago Headquarters and Schraeger was on friendly terms with Haywood and many others that are supposed to have started some kind of a conspiracy to put the "war on the blink."

John A. McDonald, editor of the "Industrial Worker," occupied the chair for some length of time. He told of the origin of his ideas and how his experiences in the southern timber strike had made an I. W. W. of him. "The experience of all thinkers in the past," he said, "is that free speech is necessary to social change and to maintain freedom." He denied that destruction and sabotage meant the same; only the employers used destruction, and he cited the California shipyard that was burned because it had adopted the "closed shop"; he then called attention to editorials in "The Worker" which he had written to offset the million lies

about the I. W. W. "driving spikes in logs," etc. Such things may kill workers and "the primary object of the I. W. W. is not to kill anyone, even the capitalist, but to help the workers." A reprinted article from the Des Moines, Iowa, Tribune was read, which illustrated the fact testified to by many witnesses, that an I. W. W. was denied citizenship by many judges, the Des Moines judge being Judge O'Boyle, who said, on May 4, 1916, "No I. W. W. can get citizenship papers in my court."

To show that others agree with the I. W. W. in its ideas of a social readjustment, McDonald read for two hours from Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom." The opening paragraphs of the book are here given as read: "There is one great basic fact which underlies all the questions that are discussed on the political platform at the present moment. That singular fact is that nothing is done in this country as it was done twenty years ago. We are in the presence of a new organization of society. Our life has broken away from the past. We have changed our economic conditions absolutely, from top to bottom; and, with our economic society, the organization of our life. Old political formulas do not fit present problems; they read now like documents taken out of a forgotten age. In most parts of our country, men work, not for themselves, not as partners in the old way in which they used to work, but generally as employes—in a higher or lower grade—of great corporations. If the corporation is doing things it ought not to do, you really have no voice in the matter and must obey orders, and you have often times with deep mortification to co-operate in the doing of things which you know are against public interest."

"There was no tin box," said McDonald, "in my office for that 'German People letter' to be found in," in contradiction of a government witness.

CHAPTER XI.

AT 9 A. M. on August 1 every defendant appeared, wearing upon his breast two strips of silk ribbon, red and black, attached to a small button bearing the picture of Frank H. Little, and upon which were inscribed the words, "Remember August 1, 1917." This anniversary tribute to the memory of our murdered fellow worker aroused no small comment among the deputies and court attaches.

The first witness on that day was C. O. Carlson of Minot, North Dakota, who had hired I. W. W. threshing crews season after season without having anything horrible happen to either himself or the machinery. Charles W. Westphal of Outlook, Montana, who followed him, told much the same story. Westphal farms 1,400 acres of land in co-operation with three brothers. When asked how ranchers' crops would get along without migratory workers, he said, "I don't know; that's a question I couldn't answer." Westphal said he always hired all the organized men he could get.

"How do you know they are organized in the I. W. W.?" asked Porter.

"Because I always demand their red cards," was the reply.

"Now, you have found that this country has given you an opportunity," challenged Porter. "You have a ranch, haven't you?"

"Yes," replied Westphal, "I have a ranch, but if I was to sell out, I doubt if I'd come out as well as I went in."

Defense Attorney W. B. Cleary examined the next witness, Fred Brown of Bisbee, Arizona. Brown is a pleasant-mannered young man, 30 years old, according to his statement.

Cleary: Are you an I. W. W.?

A. I am not.

Q. Have you ever been called an I. W. W.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you belong to any union?

A. American Federation of Labor.

Q. Hold any position in the A. F. of L.?

A. I am District Organizer for the Warren District.

Q. Is that where Bisbee is located?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In Cochise County, Arizona?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What craft union do you belong to?

A. Retail Clerks' Protective Association.

Q. What office do you hold in that union?

A. President.

Q. Had you been active in organizing the clerks in the Warren mining district?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the A. F. of L. unions have any district organization?

A. The Warren District Trades Assembly.

Q. And did you hold any official position in that body?

A. Recording Secretary.

Q. So you held three positions in the A. F. of L.?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many unions were there in Bisbee, of miners?

A. The Western Federation and the I. W. W.

Q. Did the I. W. W. have any representation on the Warren District Trades Assembly?

A. It did not.

Q. Do you remember whether or not the Warren District Trades Assembly endorsed the strike in the mines?

A. I remember it did.

Q. So that it was not altogether a strike of the I. W. W., but of the Trades Assembly, of the A. F. of

L. unions as well, that worked in the mines?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you have anything to do with the calling of that strike?

A. Nothing whatever.

Q. Were you in Bisbee on the 12th of July 1917?

A. I was.

Q. What happened to you?

A. I was deported.

Q. Who deported you?

A. Members of the Loyalty League, composed of business men and mining company officials.

Q. When did you come back?

A. On the 31st day of August.

Q. What happened to you?

A. I was arrested and kept in a little house out of town about ten miles all night.

Q. Did you inform them that you had come back to be examined for the draft?

A. I showed them my call.

Q. Did that save you from arrest?

A. It did not.

Q. What position did you hold in the deportation camp at Columbus, New Mexico?

A. I looked after the mail.

Q. Do you know the number of men who were deported that were I. W. W.?

A. Four hundred and twenty-six.

Q. How many belonged to the A. F. of L. unions?

A. Three hundred and eighty-one.

Q. How many belonged to no unions at all?

A. Three hundred and sixty-one.

Q. Was there a charge filed against you when you returned?

A. Charged with being a vagrant on or about July 11.

Q. On July 11 what was your occupation, if any?

A. I was business agent for the Carpenters and Painters.

Q. You were on salary from the A. F. of L.?

A. I was.

Q. Did you know any of the I. W. W. members who had registered under the draft law?

A. At least fifty.

Q. Did you know any of them that came back to Bisbee to be examined under the registration law?

A. I know a few, yes.

Q. And what was done to them?

A. Some of them were kept in jail a few days; some for a few hours, and eventually chased out of town. One man I know of came in there and they kept him five days and then gave him sentence on the county road for ninety days for vagrancy.

Q. Do you recall his name?

A. Peter Kandrak.

Q. Did Peter Kandrak serve his time?

A. He did; he served one day over.

Q. What happened to your case?

A. They kept postponing the trial and then finally dismissed it.

Brown told what he knew of the murder of James Brew. Brew had been killed by gunmen who accompanied Deputy Oscar McRae when McRae was killed by Brew while breaking down the door of Brew's room where he and his wife were sleeping, the intention of the gunmen being to drag Brew from his home for deportation on the 12th of July.

Jack Gillett of Jerome, Arizona, told of the deportation of about seventy men from that town on the 10th of July, 1917, two days before the Bisbee outrage.

E. J. McCosham, defendant, whose name on the indictment was given as Herbert McCutcheon, said McCutcheon was another fellow and not an alias of his own. McCosham, once an officer of the W. F. of M., is a miner of long experience and a possessor of a technical education. As he sat in the witness chair he reeled off with amazing ease, from memory, a list of facts, figures and statistics in regard to the mining industry, causing even the prosecutors to sit

in wide-eyed astonishment at the erudition of this "hobo miner" who spoke with such ease and polish.

Speaking of the production of copper, McCosham, who testified on August 2, said: "Now then, 217½ pounds of copper per man per day, selling at 27½ cents brings in the neighborhood of fifty odd dollars. As by-products in silver and gold, they produced a million two hundred and some odd thousand ounces of silver, and somewhere in the neighborhood of 29,100 ounces of gold. That brought the total value of the product up to \$63 per man per day.

"Now the cost of production amounted to, per man, per day, in the neighborhood of \$14. Deducting the \$14 from the \$63, you have a net profit of \$49 per man per day.

"Now, these were the profits they were making, and the men, on the other hand, had been receiving, pre-war, in the neighborhood of \$3.50. All the cost of living, clothing and shelter had gone up about 80 or 85 per cent. Naturally, the men wished to receive a wage sufficient to cover the increased cost of living. So they demanded what? Six dollars. Six dollars would not quite cover it, but they would be satisfied. We said here: 'These people are making this enormous profit; they are using the war to enrich themselves, and yet they are saying we are anti-patriotic; that they are patriots.' So the men said: 'Well, if they wish to buy our labor power, we will sell this labor power on these conditions: Buy this labor power from us if you want to; if you don't want to, then don't blame us for closing down the mines. We are not closing them down. You are the fellows who are going to close them up.' "

Speaking of company control in Arizona, McCosham said: "They hold complete power practically over life and death. There is no liberty. Liberty does not exist down there. The best proof in the world is that **federal officers**, men holding office today, are men who have taken part in these de-

portations. They determined who the officers shall be, federal officers and local officers.

"They have the right to go ahead and make 300 or 400 per cent profit; we have not any right to live. We must eat what they tell us to eat; work the hours they tell us to work. The mine owners closed the mines; the men remained on strike. They did not use any violence. But the mine owners immediately got their private army together, their private, paid army. Can you beat that? In a free country, an army of men, remember, owned and controlled by a few individuals, having the right of life and death over other men! And they will shoot when told to do so. Didn't they shoot? I assure you they did: in the first strike killing one, and wounding two others. No man was arrested for that murder. Was any man arrested in these different camps when men were shot down in cold blood? No! Nobody was arrested, and nobody will ever be arrested. The only weapon the workers have is the industrial weapon; the only thing they can do is simply to strike."

Continuing, McCosham told of how he and other miners were deported from Jerome, Arizona. "On the morning of the 10th of July, Mike Mutich, a man who spent seven years in Folsom penitentiary, approached my bed with two guns and a sap; alongside him two other individuals, in my room, and told me to get up. I was led down to the street. There was an army of some fifty or sixty on either side of the street, and I was marched up to the jail. I remained in jail until the number added reached 135 or 150. We were taken from the jail to the office of the United Verde Copper Company. Some officials of the company, the mayor of the town, picked out a few and we were marched onto this train of stock cars. Under guard of thirty-five or forty individuals armed with Winchesters, we proceeded to the railway junction. At the junction we detrained and waited the coming of the passenger train. When

the train arrived we were forced in, and then a guard of twelve to fifteen was put over us. **The one in charge of this guard was H. Carlson, who was a Deputy U. S. Marshal,** and Robertson, an undersheriff of Yavapai County. Carlson, apparently, was the one in charge, and Robertson was second in command. We were taken then to Needles, California."

Not allowed to detrain in California by authorities, who forced them back across the Arizona line, the little group of exiles, who were neither fed nor given water for two days while traveling back and forth in the blazing heat of the desert, finally broke up at Kingman, Arizona.

Charles Rothfisher, defendant editor of the Hungarian I. W. W. paper, together with some supporting witness, gave some important and interesting testimony. Rothfisher had translated many of Marx' writings into English and used them in the paper and Vanderveer sought to reveal the fact that Marx was **persona non grata** with Germany's rulers. Nebeker, of course, objected, and Landis asked of Vanderveer: "Just what is the materiality of Karl Marx' philosophy?"

"I don't know," said Vanderveer. "Your Honor could learn better from counsel. It was he who dragged Karl Marx into the case; it was he who suggested that he was a German; and it was he who called him a cesspool of political and economic thought; and it was he who said we had our roots in Karl Marx; and it was he who has time and again suggested by inuendo that we were borrowing pro-German philosophy from Karl Marx."

He continued: "Now, this case has involved what the organization, apart from the individual, stands for; and the one way of finding out is to deal directly with the source of its inspiration—Karl Marx. We do not deny that."

"Well," spoke the judge, "for whatever it is worth in this case, you may assume as a fact in this case—I am not holding that it is material or that

it amounts to anything—that Karl Marx was not acceptable to the ruling, dominating classes in Germany; would not be today, if that satisfies you.”

Vanderveer, turning to the prosecutor, demanded: “Does that satisfy you, Mr. Nebeker?”

With a sick look on his face, which belied his acceptance, Nebeker said, “Entirely so.”

“Then it satisfies me,” said Vanderveer, smiling, as he resumed examination.

At great length Rothfisher told of how the I. W. W. Hungarian paper was the first publication in America to expose the plottings of the Austrian ambassador, Dumba, to incite strikes of Austro-Hungarian workers in war industries in the United States previous to 1917. Rothfisher had been sent out on a lecture tour by the I. W. W. early in the war to oppose the sale of Austrian war bonds and the calling home of Austrian reservists by agents of Ambassador Dumba. Before 1917, Rothfisher had written in the paper, copies of which were introduced, that: “Blame rests upon the German people, too, as well as upon the Junkers, for their slavish minds.” Also: “The common enemy is the militaristic system of Prussia.”

In attacking Ambassador Dumba, Rothfisher had written one article headed: “His Excellency, the Strike Leader.” All this opposition to Austrian plots had led to clashes between those who intrigued with corrupt officialdom at Washington and the Hungarian I. W. W. paper, which was suppressed at the instance of the intriguers. One of these was the notorious William Wurms, and another **named Baracs, who, though an Austrian spy agent, was, and is an employee of the United States Department of Justice.**

Vanderveer: Did the I. W. W. one time have a controversy with some manufacturer in Toledo, was it, or Cleveland?

A. Yes, he was a man that was several times in Cleveland with the Theodore Koontz factory.

Q. Who was the secretary of this Theodore Koontz?

A. A man named Baracs.

Q. Did he have any connection with this matter (of inciting strikes)?

A. Well, Baracs is secretary of Theodore Koontz, "the father of the American Hungarians," as the Minister of Interior calls him in Hungary.

Q. So that in this propaganda which you were carrying on and lectures you delivered opposing the return of reservists to Hungary you were opposed by this man?

A. You bet!

Q. What was his connection with the Department of Justice of the United States?

A. As far as I know, he was a secret service man.

But for the silence of the kept press upon this testimony of Rothfisher, these men, who play the dual role of Austro-German spy and patriotic American officials of the U. S. Department of Justice, would suffer the expose Rothfisher predicted in 1917 for those who "stand close to the trustees of the Kaiser in the United States and persecute the I. W. W. to make themselves secure." Rothfisher's testimony was corroborated by Louis Tarcai and another Hungarian witness.

The next witness, a defendant, William Moran, a big taciturn lumberjack whose sole offense was that he held a job as secretary of branch unions at Spokane, told of his birth in Australia and his life as a worker. Moran exposed the nasty work of Nebeker, who, during the presentation of its side, had read a resolution from the records of a Spokane business meeting which in the record said it was "moved and seconded that we abolish the word 'Wobblie' in the United States," but which Nebeker had twisted into the laughable ambiguity "that we abolish the United States."

James Elliott, defendant, and previous secretary

at Fresno, California, occupied the stand on August 3, and was followed by defendant Pietro Nigra, an Italian organizer for the I. W. W., who is also a member of the U. M. W. of A. Nigra, when arrested in the previous September, had been placed in a cell against his protest with an insane man who had attacked him and broken some facial bones which later, in the absence of medical attention, rotted away toward his brain and nearly caused his death before the defense could force Nigra's liberation and give him surgical care.

While the next witness, Dan Krieh, a Bisbee miner, was on the stand, Nebeker, wishing to head off further exposes of Copper Trust brutality, said the government would admit the fact of deportation, thus heading off the proof of it by the defense.

Joseph A. Oates, defendant, told of the mine conditions in Arizona and how the W. F. of M. and the I. W. W. had struck simultaneously on the 1st of July, 1917. About the only thing Oates was guilty of was being a secretary for ten days at Miami, Arizona, before being arrested.

Ragnar Johanson, a defendant, told a story of his life and his life's work. Born in Sweden, he had joined the union of the Building Trades there when a boy of 13 years. On coming to America, he had transferred to the Painters' Union, of which he is still a member. He had joined the I. W. W. in 1916, and had been lecturing and organizing for it ever since—and that was only three days after he had landed on the shores of America. Johanson had been in Butte with Frank Little during the strike there, but had left for the lumber district just previous to Little's murder. He and Little had planned to change fields with each other and it was only by chance, a chance which Johansen regretted in a letter written to Haywood at the time, that Frank H. Little and not Johansen was the object of Copper Trust murder. Like Frank Little, Johansen had received a "3-7-77" warning, but had left Butte and

been so guarded by his friends that the murderers could not carry out their threats. Upon the subject of violence Johanson said in a newspaper article published in the strike zone in 1917: "The I. W. W. is consistent with strength, not weakness; and violence in industrial disputes is a sign of weakness. Therefore, the I. W. W. cannot countenance violence in strikes."

The first witness to take the stand on Monday, August 5, was Francis P. Miller, defendant and member of the General Executive Board. Miller was born in France in the region known as the Département of the Seine, where the great textile mills were before the war. He came to America in 1892, and has worked continuously in the textile mills of the east, and at the time of his arrest was employed by the American Woolen Company as inspector on government goods.

Testifying upon conditions in the textile mills of New England, Miller said: "The development in the textile industry has been both a development of machinery and the process of 'speeding up.' In the cotton industry the looms and other machinery have been improved so that the worker produces 300 or 400 per cent more than he did a generation ago. In the woolen mills the machinery has not been improved to any great extent, but the workers usually have to run two machines where they ran one twenty years ago. The pay has increased a little, but not in keeping with the cost of living at all. Factory owners and trade papers say that production has increased one thousandfold, that is, over hand production. It has certainly increased 300 or 400 per cent in the last twenty-five years."

Vanderveer: Of each individual operator, you mean?

A. Yes.

Q. To what extent have wages increased?

A. Since I went to work, twenty-five years ago, perhaps 60 per cent.

Upon Nebeker's objection, Landis ruled against the introduction of the Report by New York State's Factory Commission, headed by Samuel Gompers, so Miller proceeded to tell of the effect of wage slavery upon the textile workers: "The government reports show that the mortality rate in certain textile districts is three times as great as in other sections of the country. They show that in cities like Fall River the mortality rate of children under the age of 5 years is three times as great as in the city of San Francisco or Chicago; five times as great as in the city of Seattle. They show that female operatives die all the way from two to five times as fast from tuberculosis as women in the same cities not engaged in factory work."

Q. What is there about the industry that develops tuberculosis?

A. Dust and high speed work; dust from the fabrics and process of manufacture. I have seen charts from the Bureau of Labor where children going to work have been measured with children from the same neighborhood who have not gone into the textile mills. They show that when they leave school the average development is about the same. After a year's work the chest development of children outside runs two to three inches higher than the chest development of children working in the mills. The thirteenth census shows wages ranging from \$380 to \$420 a year. That includes the wages of superintendents, managers and office help.

Q. What percentage of the fathers, the heads of families, are able to support their families on their own individual wage?

A. Practically none. It is the rule for the wife of the textile worker to work, whether they have children or not.

Miller continued: "Most of the large mills in the industry have been built up out of their profits, besides the dividends declared. I recall in 1913 the Pacific Mills in Lawrence declared a stock dividend

and a cash dividend of \$1,800,000, and they have built up their plant from a \$1,000,000 corporation to a corporation that is capitalized today at least at \$15,000,000."

The next witness was Attorney E. F. Blaine of Seattle, for the last two years chairman of Washington State Public Service Commission. He testified that in 1917 Governor Lister had ordered him and sixteen investigators under him to examine into conditions surrounding migratory labor and other supposed causes of the strike in the lumber camps of Eastern Washington. All construction camps were foul and vermin-infested, he said, and many of the lumber camps no better. There was no trouble in the Yakima Valley except that caused by the furore raised by the local press and incited by Oregon troops who were brought in at the request of the Fruit Growers' Association.

"As an official, I found that the I. W. W. were not destroying property, and although the civil powers were in peace and operating these troops brought in without declaration of martial law seized jails and used them as 'bull pens' for I. W. W. men who were thrown in without charges and never tried, but held."

Blaine had interviewed hundreds of these men in jails and bull pens and said they spoke to him openly, frankly and without hesitation of their program as union men to better conditions as workers and to gain industrial freedom. He and others accompanying him could not but feel their manliness and sincerity and could not escape the conclusion that they were being unjustly treated.

On the morning of August 6, Vincent St. John took the stand. He said he was 42 years old, born in Newport, Kentucky, and had been a miner in the West and Southwest for twenty-three years, beginning in the Bisbee mines. Since 1895 he was a union man and was the first president of the Local Telluride and president of the District Council of the

W. F. of M. for the San Juan district in Colorado in 1903, at the time of the bitterly fought strikes under the Peabody regime. Also, St. John had taken active part in organizing Goldfield, Nevada, when eight hours was a day's work for every worker in Goldfield from chambermaid to miner. This was his first connection with the I. W. W. The last was in 1915, when he left the office of General Secretary-Treasurer, which he had held for five years, to work on his own mining property at Jicarilla, New Mexico, where he had been arrested on the Chicago indictment.

St. John told of the Cripple Creek strike and of how the militia was brought in after two detectives had loosened a rail on a railroad, as was proven, and charged it to strikers' violence.

Vanderveer: After the militia had been brought into the Cripple Creek District, do you know of any arrests and deportation of the miners?

A. They arrested the Executive Committee of the Cripple Creek District, held them in custody in spite of the orders of the District Court to release them, and finally rounded up some 700 union miners, loaded them in box cars and shipped them to different points.

Q. An attempt was made to secure writs of habeas corpus for the Executive Committee. Do you know the history of that?

A. The writ was made out before Judge Seeds of Cripple Creek. And they brought the bodies of the petitioners into court under military guard; the buildings surrounding the court were loaded with soldiers on the roofs, and machine guns were trained on the courtroom. Judge Seeds was unable to get any action at all. The only submission the militia made to the court was that they took off their hats when court opened. Judge Seeds heard the petition and ordered the release from custody of this Executive Committee, but the militiamen took them back to the bull pen.

Of the changes in the I. W. W., Vanderveer asked: "When the I. W. W. was organized, was there a political clause in its Preamble?"

A. There was a sentence in the Preamble referring to the political field.

Q. Tell the jury how the Preamble came to be amended in respect to that matter.

A. There were possibly two main causes. First, among the elements composing the organization were adherents of different political parties, some of them claiming to be revolutionary or to have a revolutionary end in view. They interpreted this clause to mean that nobody was eligible or had any business being a member of the I. W. W. unless he swallowed their particular brand of political belief. The second reason was that the experience of the organization and the membership was that they had no business setting up any doctrines, promulgating any ideas outside the field which the organization was formed to operate in, that is, the industrial field; that was a matter of political action; that was a matter which could be safely left to the membership to decide for themselves. If they knew their interest inside of the industry they could be trusted to follow that interest in any other line of activity in which they decided to take part.

From the beginning of the trial the prosecution harped upon that sentence in St. John's "History and Structure of the I. W. W.," which says: "The question of 'right' or 'wrong' does not concern us."

Q. Why did you put those words in quotation marks?

A. For the reason that in every struggle the wage earners have made during my experience, no matter what they have done, the exponents of the employing class, the press, platform, politicians of all degrees and stripes, have always told them that no matter what they were after, that it was not 'right'; something they did was 'wrong.' The only time a strike is 'right' with them is when you have

no chance to win it; when they want you to strike; when they want to wipe out whatever vestige of organization you have, then the strike is 'right,' that is, a good time to strike. The Lawrence strike was not entirely a question of getting better wages for those mill operatives, but it was a question that involved the very life and death not only of the men, women and children who were on strike, but also of unborn generations of these same operatives. The death rate in that section among children is 400 out of every 1,000 before they are 1 year of age. When they were striking in Lawrence they were striking not only for an immediate proposition, but they were striking to save the lives of those 400 unborn children, if you please. They were striking to maintain the human race in that part of the country—and all over—because the interest of wage workers the world over is bound together. When one section of workers goes ahead, it makes it possible for some other section to forge ahead also. So we say that in a case of that kind, regardless of what public sentiment is, regardless of what the press and other exponents of the ruling element in society may say that it is not right to strike, it is not right to picket, that it is intimidation, or anything else, we are not concerned in it. The right of these men, women and children, the right of these unborn children is superior to any rights that any other element or interest may have in the question."

Following are some high spots from St. John's testimony on cross-examination:

Nebeker: Suppose that the I. W. W. could really accomplish this great thing that you have in mind by open revolution, open warfare against the government; now just supposing that you accomplished that in that way, and that would be the most direct and immediate way of doing it, would it be your conception that that would be justified?

A. If I had any such idea as that I would have

been out organizing a military organization instead of an industrial one.

Nebeker: If the end could be hastened by the use of violence by the organization of violence, then violence would be justified; is that the idea?

A. That is the idea, but it won't do it, that is all.

Q. You entertain the same views about it, or you did at the time you were indicted, that you set forth in this book, "History-Structure"?

A. The indictment has not changed my views a particle.

Vanderveer, inquiring if St. John thought the "working class and the employing class have nothing in common," advanced beyond the question of class.

Q. Do you believe that society as a whole, having regard for the interests of all the people, have anything in common with the employers of industry as now organized?

Nebeker: I object to this.

Vanderveer: We are perfectly willing to go a whole lot further than counsel says is "wrong."

Landis: Just a moment. We will not accomplish anything at this stage of the trial to establish that society as a whole is having its battles fought by these defendants. It is too late in the contest.



CHAPTER XII.

IT was 12:30 p. m., August 9, when Vanderveer called: "Mr. Haywood." Reporters broke for the door to release the word that at last William Dudley Haywood, termed by them "Big Bill," and charged with being "chief conspirator," had taken the stand in defense of himself and of the organization of which he was the General Secretary-Treasurer. In a few minutes the press table was crowded with writers and cartoonists flocking in to "cover" the story of the big man in the chair. For the major part of four hot days the big man sat there, wiping away perspiration, answering questions with that remarkable memory of his; now smiling, now placid, now and again on cross-examination overawing the petty-souled Nebeker, as his heavy voice rose in defiance against the accusers of "The One Big Union." During those four days the spectators' benches were full, among the crowd being faces familiar to labor. There were Scott Nearing, Anton Johanssen, "Mother" Jones, and the loved old battler, 'Gene Debs.

Haywood reviewed his early life, a personal history, which, for lack of space, can be given here only in synopsis. He was born 49 years ago at Salt Lake City, Utah. At less than 9 years of age he went to work in a mine, working underground. He left home at 15 to work, first in the Ohio mine at Willow Creek, Nevada. Until he was 31 years old he lived the average life of the old-time western "hard-rock" man, working underground. He joined the Western Federation of Miners at Silver City, Idaho, and in 1900 was elected to the General Executive Board of that union, later becoming Secretary-Treasurer and holding that office until 1907. His first strike experience was in 1899 in the Coeur d'Alene strike,

which was against a reduction in wages. A day or two after the strike broke the mill of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine was blown up and the operators at once brought gunmen, and then soldiers of the regular army came. About a thousand strikers were thrown into one vile "bull-pen" and held by the militia. Many sickened and died. Miner's wives received notice from army officers insisting that they receive negro soldiers; some of these women, going to ask for their husbands, were violated by soldiers in the presence of their helpless men. The strike wore itself out, but the wages were not cut. It was here that the "rustling card" was born. The next strike of Haywood's experience was at Telluride, Colorado, in 1901, over wages and hours. There the miners were well organized and told the non-union men to "join or leave the camp." No troops interfered there, and the strike was won. The next strike was at Colorado City over the eight hour law. The W. F. of M. had first agitated for an eight hour law after the strike of 1894. A bill applying this to mines was presented to the legislature in 1895, but the Colorado Supreme Court advised the legislature that the mining industry alone would be discriminated against in violation of the constitution. In 1899 such a law was passed, but the State Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. In 1901 an amendment to the state constitution making provision for an eight hour law was put to a referendum and carried by a majority of 46,714 votes. Democrats, Republicans and People's party all pledged themselves to pass the law, but legislature after legislature jockeyed with it, yet never passing an eight hour law. "We got the eight hour day, though, by striking for it," said Haywood.

On July 3, 1903, the great smelter at Denver was "pulled" in strike when the metal was hot, thus "freezing" the furnaces. The great brick chimney of that smelter still stands, the highest stack west of the Mississippi, but no smoke from it has soiled

the sky since July 3, 1903, and it stands as a monument to the power of the now decadent Western Federation of Miners.

Haywood told of the coal miners' strike also, which took place to force the observance of seven state laws, one forbidding "company money" and one providing for check-weighmen. Labor ruled Colorado industrially, but never won anything by legislation.

"Labor generally has but small representation," said Haywood, "except in the eleven 'white states', so-called. Women workers cannot vote; children workers cannot vote; and the negroes of the south are almost wholly disfranchised." Direct industrial action is favored by all labor leaders, as it is favored, also, by employers; and Haywood cited the New York Factory Commission Report wherein Gompers spoke for direct action.

"The first clause of the Preamble is true," said Haywood, "the wage workers are but little, if any, better off than the chattel slave of the Old South. In fact, it seems the chattel slave had some advantage over the negro wage slave of today. His body was owned by his master, but his soul was free, and that free soul gave birth to song. There are no songs today from the negro wage slave of the south, no melody is born in the soul of the negro, no 'Suwanee River,' no 'Old Kentucky Home.' Today the blacks are brought to live in squalor and misery in East St. Louis, into the packing house district of Chicago, and nobody looks after them, or cares how they live except the I. W. W. They are wage slaves now. We know it."

There is no solicitude for workers by employers as such. Haywood cited the Chicago Tribune's editorial in the early nineties when unemployed by thousands asked for bread. "Give them bread," said the Tribune, "and put strychnine in it."

"Do you remember the suffering of that time?" asked Vanderveer.

"Yes," replied Haywood. "I remember it distinctly; I was out of a job myself."

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Look at the sons and daughters of the rich reveling in luxury at Newport, while across the river at Fall River four hundred out of every thousand babies of the textile workers die before they are one year old. At Fall River, misery; over at Newport, monkey dinners for those who are not only unemployed but unemployable."

"I cite an example," Haywood went on, "that I think Mr. Nebeker knows of, as they are friends of his. It was a dog wedding given by the Penrose and McNeil families to a pair of Pekinese pups."

"You are very much mistaken; they are not my friends," Nebeker protested, turning to the Court to seek vainly for a rebuke to the witness.

"It may be that I am mistaken," said Haywood, smiling, "but I supposed that you were friendly with the copper magnates who have employed you." He continued: "We think such people ought to work for what they get. We do not want to take away what they have, but we want to prevent them from taking anything more away from us."

Haywood told of conditions as he found them in the south. In the turpentine camps and in the mill towns among the swamps, the companies furnish negro women with the shacks workers rent, and when a black loses his job, he loses his home and woman together. Also, the companies dispense heroin and other drugs—dope which binds stronger than the chains of chattel slavery.

Asked if he did any violence in the Cripple Creek strike days, Haywood said he had not, but had received some upon his body, the marks of which remain today.

The Western Federation of Miners had issued a poster bearing a U. S. flag on every stripe of which was an inscription: "Habeas Corpus denied in Colorado"; "Free Speech denied in Colorado," etc. Un-

der the flag was a photograph of John Maki, a union miner, chained to a telegraph pole in the snow by militiamen. Over the flag was the caption: "Is Colorado in America?" Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, was arrested at Telluride by militia for "desecrating the flag," and kept in the bull-pen for one hundred and ten days. Haywood was in Denver, under arrest, but paying a deputy \$5 a day to remain out "looking for \$300 bail."

"Couldn't you get \$300 bail?" asked Vanderveer.

"Sure," was the reply, "but as long as I paid that deputy \$5 a day while looking for bail, I would not have to go to Telluride where the militia ruled."

Moyer, guarded by militia, was brought to Denver under habeas corpus and Haywood met him at the depot. As they started to shake hands, Captain Buckley Wells, a mine owner who had violated an agreement with the union and had been rewarded by a militia commission of the troops he called in, came up and pulled Haywood and Moyer apart.

Haywood said: "I turned and struck him. I did not see his uniform, but only saw his eyes. I struck him and the militiamen struck me, one at a time and several at once, rifle barrels and rifle butts. I was pretty badly battered up and forced between two cars. A rifle was aimed point blank at me, but was knocked upwards by an officer. Under arrest, I was taken to a hotel. Hehe, the 'Kingly Kid,' a gunman proper, in uniform, ordered me to sit down. I was getting pretty mad and refused to sit down. So the battle began again. I was finally backed against the wall and the 'Kingly Kid' drove the muzzle of a rifle into my lower breast bone and I went down and out. The union men of Denver sent notice to the militia that they would never let soldiers take me out of that city. I guess they thought the miners meant it, as I was not removed."

"Do you think there is a class war, Mr. Haywood?" asked Vanderveer with a significant smile.

Haywood told how, after ex-Governor Steunenberg was killed in Idaho by some sort of a bomb, Pettibone, Moyer and himself were kidnapped in Denver, taken by militia and sheriff of both Colorado and Idaho to a special train, running at the record-breaking speed of seventy miles an hour, to Idaho, where they were lodged in cells of Murderers' Row at the state penitentiary, under charges of complicity in the murder of the ex-governor. The state asked a change of venue from Canyon to Ada County, but Haywood was acquitted by the jury in spite of Harry Orchard.

"Who is this Harry Orchard?" asked Nebeker on cross-examination.

"He is the man," replied Haywood, "who said he murdered Steunenberg, and is serving a life sentence at the Idaho state penitentiary."

Questioned by Vanderveer, Haywood told of the ovations given him throughout the United States and Europe made on a tour after his acquittal. Sixty-six thousand heard him speak at Riverview Park, Chicago. He had spoken at another Chicago park and Vanderveer asked, "How many were in the audience?" "Well," grinned "Big Bill," "45,000 paid admission and then they tore the fence down." The largest crowd he spoke to was at London Tower while touring England. He received \$50 a night for lecturing from the International Socialist Review, averaging about \$1,000 a month. Ridpath's Lecture Bureau had offered him \$300 a week and other high offers were made him. As official of the Western Federation of Miners he received \$150 per month; from the I. W. W. the highest wage paid him was \$28 a week he said.

On the morning of the 10th of August it was learned that three of the Spanish seamen who had testified the Thursday previous had been arrested by agents of the Department of Justice after leaving the stand, apparently to intimidate and harass witnesses for the defense.

Resuming, Haywood told of his participation in the strikes at Lawrence, Patterson, Akron and elsewhere, and Vanderveer introduced a great many strike photographs over Nebeker's objection. Haywood told how the defense had been hampered and interfered with. He exhibited a bunch of letters that had been opened while in the mails, held for months, and then delivered bearing a stamp, "officially sealed." He stated further: "I have at this time in the safe over at the office at least a dozen or more register receipts of letters mailed as early as last February and never delivered."

Vanderveer: Do you recall a bunch of pamphlets which were gotten out by the Defense Committee and sent by the American Express Company to Butte?

A. I think there were 375 pounds, as I remember it.

Q. What happened to those?

A. They were not delivered; a receipt that I signed when the packages were returned, it said: "These packages were not delivered on account of orders issued by the government."

Haywood continued: "Early last September when raids were made all over the country on the I. W. W., it was determined to organize a Defense Committee. On the 28th of September many arrests were made, not only of the one hundred and sixty-six defendants who were charged in this indictment here, but I think it would be no exaggeration to say that a thousand other men in different towns throughout the country were thrown in jail. They were either charged with some crime or thrown in without any warrant at all. A Defense Committee was organized. Now, you understand that there is no 'German gold' received by this organization, and no means of providing the membership of the organization defense, a proper defense to which every man is entitled, except what comes in the

way of donations, voluntary assessments, and what there may be left in the treasury. This committee organized here in Chicago proceeded to get out bulletins, notices of different kinds to Socialist locals, to unions of the A. F. of L., to the radical press, and to the entire membership of the I. W. W. Now the report comes to us that there were three hundred sacks of mail held here in Chicago. Mail has also been interfered with at its points of destination, and the general result has been that the funds of the organization have been reduced to a minimum, so that at the present time there are scarcely sufficient funds to see this trial through. This has been accomplished before the law was passed that authorized the Postmaster General to inspect any mail that he saw fit.

"The defense offices and the offices of the organization have been closed up, I think it is safe to say, in every town."



CHAPTER XIII.

FOLLOWING Haywood upon the stand was Ed. Robley, a Socialist of Scranton, Pennsylvania, who testified that Defendants Graber and Prashner had spoken at a Socialist meeting in 1917, but had made no such remarks as credited to them by witnesses for the prosecution. He was followed by Defendant Albert Prashner. Then H. F. Kane, whose activity in the Arizona strike at Miami had drawn upon him the wrath of the Copper Trust henchmen, took the stand. Asked what he thought of the testimony of these, he said: "Well, a mine guard who would commit murder for his masters would lie for them, too."

Charles H. McKinnon, defendant, and one of the original founders of the I. W. W., took the stand in the hot afternoon of August 13 and his testimony ran over into the morning of the 14th. Fifty-one years old, a workingman and a union man as well ever since he went to work in a Canadian coal mine at the age of nine, MacKinnon was one of the delegates to the First Convention of the I. W. W. Later he had been in the strike at Goldfield in 1907. He is known throughout the West as one of the best union men of the old Western Federation of Miners. He told of his trips during 1917 into the hostile mining camps of Nevada and, though he told the details and the number of times he had been deported from Nevada camps by company gunmen and lawless authorities, the writer lost count after the story of the third deportation and escape from a company-inspired mob bent upon lynching him.

Another "faked-up" letter introduced by the prosecution was branded for what it was by MacKinnon. This letter was in duplicate and was supposed to have been typewritten by Peter Kerkonen, a Finish miner living at Butte. One copy was said to have been found at Portland addressed to Harry

Lloyd, who never heard of Kerkonen or of the letter, and the other, minus a signature, in the files of Haywood at Chicago. It stated in perfectly good English that the Butte miners had had a demonstration against conscription and were on strike against war. It was dated as written on June 5, 1917, before the parade it referred to, and six days before the strike that followed the Speculator fire. And to cap the climax, MacKinnon swore that Peter Kerkonen couldn't write a letter in English that anyone could read. Kerkonen himself was a defendant, but was discharged before the trial began, as he had been driven hopelessly insane by being tortured by the authorities who first arrested him in Butte last year. Haywood also denied ever receiving such a letter and intimated that the copy "taken" from his file had been "put there" by somebody besides himself or anyone belonging to his office force.

Moritz Hein, witness on August 14, stated that in his official capacity as attorney for the Russian Consul at Chicago, he had investigated the trouble over the registration of Finlanders who were Russian subjects last year in Minnesota. All those not registering were Finlanders who did not understand the law, he said. Also, this fact was recognized by the Public Safety Commission*, John Lind having sent a wire to Attorney-General Gregory asking that they be not prosecuted. The I. W. W. had nothing to do with the matter, said the witness.

Who can picture George Speed upon the witness stand; and, further, who can picture his kindly mind entertaining any thoughts of criminality? Yet there he sat, bowed and grey, with sixty-four years of proletarian life, staunchly defiant in the face of his accusers. He was born in Maryland and at his early trade was a member of the Silk Hat Finishers' craft union. But he read a Marxian leaflet back in 1883 and ever since—well, he became a member of

* See Appendix

the old International Workingmen's Association, and since then he has fought in the front ranks of labor unionism from coast to coast. Blacklisted, beaten, deported, jailed, he still maintains amiability and courage. Speed spoke about the kind of "fair trials" given in the Spokane Free Speech Fight.

"I sat in court mornings and saw thirty or forty men brought up— 'Did you speak?' 'No.' 'You intended to speak?' 'Yes.' 'One hundred days and \$100.' 'Did you speak?' 'Well, I was reading the Declaration of Independence.' 'One hundred days and \$100.' They yanked them in that way as fast as they came up. There was an attorney came from Chicago there to defend the case and he told the judge what he thought of him, gave up the case and came back to Chicago. He said it was folly to talk before that court."

Vanderveer: You were convicted?

A. I was.

Q. Were you ever convicted before of any crime?

A. No.

Q. Or ever since?

A. No.

Q. What was the final adjustment of the difficulty?

A. They settled and we were allowed to speak on the streets again.

Asked about his ideas, Speed said: "My idea of life is this: That the whole history is one of pain and struggle; that there are two classes in society absolutely antagonistic to each other, an employing class and a working class, and that the interest of the employing class is ever to buy labor in the cheapest market. I came to that conviction young, and when I got hold of that Marxian leaflet in 1883, it inspired me with a new life. Before that time I was a little indifferent and a little careless, and after that I tried to devote my whole time to make life better for myself and for my fellows."

Vanderveer: You associated yourself with one union after another?

A. Yes; and every strike that came up any place, if I happened to be where it was, I would go into it, if I could, and help out.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the remedy for all this?

A. The abolition of the profit system.

Q. Explain why that is essential.

A. I hold that the working class produces all wealth and that an idle, parasitical class, doing little or nothing, controls the wealth we create, and by these means: By their economic power they control both the political and economic world to keep the workers in subjection; that we are today a nation of slaves, subject to the dictates and control of men who do nothing but live off labor. Our quarrel is with the men who control the industries of the nation. I am governed in the shop, the mine, the factory, the mill, where I work. My whole life is governed from there. My right to live depends upon them; they control the means by which I live. Political power is a reflex of economic power and those who control the economic power of the state, control the state.

Q. Do you not believe the employers try to educate the workers?

A. They educate them into their views. When I went to school, what was the education I got? 'John Smith bought seven yards of calico at seven cents and sold it at eight and one-half cents. How much profit did he make?' That is the kind of education.

Speed continued: "The more wealth we create, the less we receive in proportion; the greater the amount of improved machinery goes into the factories, the more of us are thrown out of work; the competition between us becomes keener, and the less we get in proportion to our product. I read in consular reports that one of the secretaries of agri-

culture showed that a rice grower in South Carolina got \$1.50 a day, and if he got wages in the same proportion to what the Chinese rice grower gets, he would get \$40 a day."

Speed was secretary at San Francisco and had read SOLIDARITY during 1917. Nebeker revealed those facts on cross-examination, and was satisfied.

The defendants were rather surprised when the next witness turned out to be one of the "conspirators," one that most of us knew absolutely nothing about. In reply to questions he said his name was Charles Krattiger and that he had lived all his life at Paterson, New Jersey, and worked there for years as a silk weaver. In some way he could not understand the indictment named him "Kratzpriger"—a name so foreign to him that he did not know he was indicted until he was arrested at Paterson on January 2, 1918. Another thing he could not account for was that he was never brought to Chicago for trial in this case, although he was bonded to answer the charges in the sum of \$500. Another mysterious thing was that when he arrived in Chicago, subpoenaed to testify for the defense, a man named McDonough, who told him he was from the Department of Justice, came to his room at the Washington Hotel and questioned him about what he was going to do here. When Krattiger told him, McDonough had said: "I suppose you're going to tell a lot of damned lies." Also, McDonough asked Krattiger if he did not know that Pat Quinlan and Joe Ettor were charged with murdering a man at Paterson. McDonough had been accompanied by two other supposed officers and, at the time he was talking with Krattiger, had in custody one of the Spanish witnesses who testified last Thursday.

Krattiger then went ahead with a story of the silk industry and his life as a worker in the silk mills, which began when he was 12 years old. For ten years he had been a weaver and he told how for every single pound of raw silk sent to the company

dye-house, three or four pounds of dyed silk comes back for weaving. This miracle, he explained, was caused by "dynamiting," or loading the silk as it goes through the dyes with tin, lead or other metals.

"No, metals don't do the silk any good; in fact, that makes it fall apart and wear out quickly; but, you see, the manufacturers sell the silk by the weight," said Krattiger.

Also, these manufacturers have machinery for stretching the silk before weaving. This makes harder work for the weaver and makes silk cloth that will tear or wear out easily. "I have never," said Krattiger, "in the ten years that I have been a weaver, never have I woven pure silk, such as that made before the mills began this adulteration, the kind that was made many years ago and that would last a lifetime."

Charles Ashleigh, who, by order of Judge Landis, had previously acted as sworn interpreter for the Spanish witnesses, was again summoned to interpret the testimony of Elias Castellano, who was recalled to the stand. Castellano said that after he left the court the previous Thursday he was arrested along with two other Spanish witnesses. Crege and Paredes. An officer named McDonough had taken them from the I. W. W. headquarters on West Madison street, over Castellano's protest that he was still under subpoena and had, also, to catch a boat he had signed on as a sailor, soon to leave from the Atlantic coast. Castellano was taken somewhere and questioned, he said.

"What did they do to you?" asked Judge Landis through Ashleigh.

The answer came: "They tried to make us declare things not true by means of threats."

Castellano said he had shown McDonough his seaman's passport to identify himself and prove his occupation.

Judge Landis had sent for McDonough and now summoned him to the witness chair. Between the

grilling Landis gave him and the questions of Vanderveer McDonough writhed and twisted about on the witness chair, and when he left the stand everyone in the room, including McDonough himself, was surely convinced that McDonough was a liar and a sneak and several other things. His name was Lawrence McDonough, he said, and he was a city police detective attached to the "anarchist and bomb squad," and since the war declaration assigned to work under the direction of Hinton G. Clabaugh of the Department of Justice. Since he had arrested the three Spanish witnesses because they did not answer questions he asked them, although he did not recall one of them said he believed in "destruction of property." He never had the least idea, so he said, that they were witnesses. He never saw any passport of Castellano; the only thing Castellano showed him was a credential as organizer in the I. W. W., he said. But Castellano stood in front of him in the courtroom and swore he never had such credential. McDonough said he visited Krattiger's room at the Washington Hotel "looking for a soldier absent without leave," but never knew Krattiger was a witness and denied speaking to Krattiger about "telling a lot of lies," or saying anything about Quinlan or Ettor, although Krattiger stood before him and stoutly reaffirmed that he had done so. McDonough stated that he was accompanied on that occasion by D. A. Charette, an agent of the American Protective League, also by the house detective at the Washington Hotel.

Vanderveer asked McDonough: "You were once a member of the I. W. W., were you not?"

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you joined the organization while you were a police detective to spy upon it?

A. Yes, sir. I was assigned to do so. I wanted to see that those connected with the organization did nothing criminal.

Q. You were such a good I. W. W. that you became secretary of Local 85, Branch No. 6, here?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you didn't want the organization to get in bad with the law, did you?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Then maybe you can explain why it was that when there was a strike on here in Chicago, over on the North Side, you came to Bill Haywood and, as secretary of the Branch, you suggested that the strike was "too tame, and a little rough stuff would help?"

A. Oh, I know what you mean; no, I never said anything of the kind; no, sir, I never said—

Q. And Haywood told you to forget it; told you that stuff didn't go with the I. W. W., didn't he?

A. No, sir, I never said anything of the kind; positively, I never did.

Q. And you were later expelled from the I. W. W., weren't you?

A. I was; I quit the organization. I was assigned to other work.

Judge Landis dismissed McDonough from the stand and issued bench warrants for the two men McDonough said had accompanied him to Krattiger's room, Charette of the American Protective League, and the house detective of the Washington Hotel, whose name McDonough said he did not know.

Proceeding with the case, Defendant J. H. Beyer took the stand. Beyer was a passenger on the Steamer Verona on the 5th of November, 1916—"Bloody Sunday"—when that boat was fired on by Sheriff Don McRae and Lumber Trust Commercial Club Vigilantes as it drew in at the docks at Everett, Washington. Beyer told his story graphically and in all its bloody detail; how five members of the I. W. W. had died, murdered; how they died singing, some of them singing as their blood ran in crimson streams over the decks and down the white sides of the Verona to mingle with the waters of the Western Sea.

Beyer also told of his experiences in the army years ago when he was sent to Chicago in the A. R. U. strike and later when, as a trooper, he went through duty in the Coeur d'Alene strike. He corroborated Haywood as to what had happened when troops were sent into that district.

Joe French, the next witness, is French both by birth and by name, but had been in this country many years working as a migratory laborer on farms and in the woods and on construction work. French told first of job conditions, then in detail of how he and others had been beaten up by Commercial Club thugs and the chief of police at Aberdeen, South Dakota, in the summer of 1917, and the strike lines drawn around Aberdeen by the I. W. W. in retaliation.

Vanderveer: Did you get that kind of treatment somewhere else, Joe?

A. Yes, sir. When I came down to Tulsa, Oklahoma, looking for work in the oil fields.

Q. Tell us what happened to you there.

A. On the 5th of November I came to Tulsa looking for work. I didn't have any place to go, so I went to the I. W. W. hall. I was there about 9 o'clock in the evening, and maybe ten or twelve of us were there; and a bunch of detectives comes in there and looked around the hall and talked to us for a while, and called the wagon. They took us to jail and put a charge of vagrancy against us, although we had money and good clothes on. The next day they started to give us a trial. They only asked me a couple of questions. On the 10th or 11th they returned a verdict and we were fined \$100 for vagrancy.

Q. Did you pay the \$100?

A. They never asked us to pay it. We never had the money in the first place. They put us all back in jail again, and two hours afterwards they came and took us out again and loaded us up in an automobile and took us about four blocks from there to

a railroad crossing; and when they got there the car stopped all at once and a bunch of men came out from the corner all dressed up in black and black masks over their faces and rifles and shot guns and revolvers and everything.

Q. What did they do?

A. They tied us up with our hands behind our backs and led us back into the cars again.

Q. Then what did they do with you?

A. They drove for about three miles into the Osage Hills. They there made us undress to the waist and made us stand up by a tree and they beat us up with a half-inch pipe from the neck down, and then tarred and feathered us. After they got through, they lined us up facing a barbed wire fence about fifteen feet ahead of us, although it was dark and we couldn't see it. Then they told us if they set eyes on us in the morning, every I. W. W. that could be found in Tulsa would be shot on sight. Well, they turned us loose and we ran across that barbed wire fence and we cut ourselves all to pieces. They burned all our clothes except our pants and shoes.

Q. Did you have any money in your clothes?

A. Yes, sir. My money, I pinned it in my coat pocket, inside—about \$25.

Q. Did they burn your money?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What time of night was this?

A. About 2 o'clock in the morning.

Q. Was it warm or cold?

A. It was cold. You could see the frost on the railroad ties.

The above story, in the simple language of a worker, is the victim's account of the acts of the infamous "Knights of Liberty," who were touted throughout the nation by the press as champions of the "women and children of suffering Belgium."

French continued and told how they finally got

some clothes from a friend and went about forty miles from there to work on a pipe line.

Vanderveer: What did those people beat you and tar and feather you for?

A. Well, just because I carried an I. W. W. card.

Q. Had you done anything around Tulsa?

A. No, sir; I just got there that same day.

Q. Had anyone done anything around Tulsa?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Ever hear of anybody being prosecuted for doing anything to you boys?

A. No, sir.

The first witness called on August 15th was Paul Pika, a defendant who was discharged at the end of the prosecution's testimony. He was and still is a member of the International Association of Machinists, but joined the I. W. W. because he favors its principles. During 1917 he had lived in Chicago and was around the General Headquarters a good deal. He knew Haywood and many others intimately, and he never heard any conspiracy broached about, although he thought if anything like that existed he would have known of it.

Otto Justh was another discharged defendant called and he, too, claimed to be very familiar with many defendants, having joined the I. W. W. in 1905—as soon as it was started—and had done all he could to forward its aims, taking part in the big Studebaker strike at Detroit, which won out on all demands. Although in the confidence of many defendants, he had heard no conspiracy.

A. D. Kimball, a defendant whose case was severed and continued by the court on account of his being nearly dead with tuberculosis before trial began, took the stand. Born at Cambridge, Mass., an unskilled worker, Kimball had joined the I. W. W. in 1913, and was secretary at Bisbee, Arizona, at the time of the deportation, July 12, 1917. Kimball said the government had all his correspondence and

there was nothing in it opposing or even speaking about the war. He was asked about what happened when he and 1,185 others were deported.

Vanderveer: Did you see any machine guns?

A. Yes, I saw one in Sheriff Wheeler's automobile; also one mounted on the Copper Queen dispensary, and down below at Warren Ball Park, and I saw them mounted on the Calumet & Arizona Company's offices; another on the way to Douglas on a water tank, mounted opposite the track; also one in an automobile.

Q. Did you get a good look at these?

A. Yes.

Q. Close enough inspection to tell whether they were the same kind of guns, new guns or old guns, or anything about them?

A. They appeared to be new guns.

Q. All of them.

A. Yes.

Q. As far as you know, had the sheriff ever owned a machine gun, or the county?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Did you ever hear about where those machine guns came from, or who bought them?

A. I saw an account in the Arizona Labor Journal, a labor paper, a reproduction of a bill of sale, that the Copper Queen Company had bought them.

Q. When?

A. In April, 1917.

Q. Now, that was about two months and a half before the strike?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any disorder then?

A. No, sir.

Q. Any trouble whatever?

A. None whatever.

Q. This condition of discontent with conditions among the miners existed, did it?

A. It existed, yes.

Q. What use did the Copper Queen Mining Com-

pany of Bisbee, Arizona, have for machine guns in April, 1917?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you believe that the people employed by the Copper Queen and the Copper Queen have anything in common?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did anybody ask you, on the date of deportation, or did you hear them ask anyone else about their willingness to go back to work?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who asked these questions?

A. Mostly the shift bosses and the mining company officials.

Q. If a man said, "Yes, he would go back to work," what did they do?

A. They just told him to fall out and allowed him to remain.

Q. Do you remember how many of those deported men held Liberty Bonds?

A. I can't say positively, but I know there were a great many.

Q. Do you remember whether any of them were registered for the draft?

A. Yes, 425 registered. I think more than half of the 1,185 had contributed to the Red Cross.

Q. After the deportations, and after the camp in Columbus broke up, where did you go?

A. I went to Old Mexico.

Q. You were a citizen of the United States?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of you went to Mexico?

A. About ninety.

Q. Why did you go to Mexico?

A. Because we got tired of conditions on this side of the line, especially the Copper Queen brand of democracy. I thought I would like a change. There was no place we were safe anywhere along the border looking for work.

Page Two Hundred Two

Q. No place where an American workingman could go but Mexico?

A. That was my view.

Q. How were you received; how were you treated down there?



CHAPTER XIV.

NEBEKER concluded his speech at 10:33 a. m., and the crowded courtroom listened expectantly for Vanderveer to open the floodgates of oratory. Nebeker had used less than one hour of the two allotted to the prosecution, and his assistant, Claude R. Porter, was to finish the presentation of their side with a flag-waving broadside of denunciatory eloquence that was not only to sway the jury, but was intended to elect him governor of Iowa. For, thoughtful of his campaign in that state, he had on the previous day sent advance copies of his speech to a great many of his partisan papers in Iowa for release on that day, when he intended to talk himself into immortality. Judge, oh, ye gods! how deeply he was wounded when Vanderveer forbore to orate, only rising to thank the jury for their patience during the long trial and asking their consideration for a "Christian judgment." The spectators were nonplussed at such an unusual situation, while Porter, pale and stunned, sat voiceless, trying to grasp the fact that Vanderveer, by refusing to address the jury, had cut off further argument, and that he, Porter, was up against wiring those Iowa papers to kill his oration, already going into the presses.

Judge Landis, accepting the strange conclusion of the defense, leaned over the bench and informed the jury that he would adjourn until 2 p. m., and at that time would give his instructions.

About twenty defendants who were out on bail, and nearly seventy who had been released on their own recognizance from time to time, were now taken, with the nine remaining in custody, to the "dining room," No. 603, under guard. Here all were served with a noonday meal, and afterward

mingled with their friends, wives and sweethearts, who gathered in the crucial hour. During this period there was noticed a heavy addition to the guard, a great number of police from the city mounted reserves filling the corridors.

At 2 p. m. the visitors were put out and the defendants, in pairs, marched through the corridors into the courtroom, No. 627. On the way through the corridors each defendant was stopped and searched, a somewhat ominous proceeding that resulted in nothing at all being found more dangerous than a newspaper.

It was 2:20 p. m. when Landis entered and the clerk called the roll of defendants. The "learned" judge then proceeded to read his instructions to the jury,* which occupied an hour and thirty-five minutes, being concluded at 3:55 p. m. At 4 o'clock the jury filed out and then the defendants were again taken to Room 603 and again a meal was brought in. But there was no time to dine at leisure; the writer, in fact, being cut short in the middle of a gustatory process at 4:50 p. m., when the word came to return to court.

What had happened? What did it mean? Was the jury going to ask for further instructions? Was it possible that a verdict had been so quickly agreed upon? A hubbub of interrogation arose as the defendants dropped their knives and forks and again lined up in pairs for the march through the corridors. There was some delay in separating and seating the visitors, but by 5:15 p. m. the defendants were in their seats again.

Again the guarding force had been strengthened and a line of uniformed police surrounded the big room, while the entrance of the court was a solid mass of blue, brass buttons and gleaming stars. U. S. Marshal Bradley and a squad of deputies stood guard between the groups of defendants and the

* See Appendix

yet empty jury box. Immediately in front of the bench, at the prosecution's table, sat Porter and an assistant. Nebeker was not present. A few feet further the long counsel table of the defense was vacant at the end toward the jury, usually occupied by Vanderveer, Christensen and Cleary. At the other end, Haywood, J. A. McDonald, Ray Fanning and the writer sat, awaiting the necessary presence of defense counsel and whatever further was to come. Still the atmosphere of interrogation prevailed and the defendants whispered their conjectures to each other. "A verdict?" "Impossible!" "A blanket verdict?" "It may be." "Where are our attorneys?" "Where is Vanderveer?" "He must not have expected so hasty a summons."

The head bailiff of the court in charge of the jury came in hurriedly from the jury room and asked Fanning for Vanderveer's telephone number. McDonald inquires: "Is there a verdict?" "Yes," replies the bailiff, and rushes away. At this moment Defense Attorney Christensen enters and an attendant calls the jurors, who re-enter the box at 5:25 p. m. Their faces are void of expression, but there is one bad sign—they do not, or dare not, look toward the defendants, who eye them dubiously.

Down in Adams street, in front of the British recruiting station, to catch the homebound thousands, a band struck up, and the quaintest question enters my mind—"Is It 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,' or is it 'God Save the King'?"

Judge Landis enters and seats himself. His long and narrow face is the usual palid mask, the bleached shroud of a conscience which lies within. He asks:

"Gentlemen of the Jury, have you arrived at a verdict in this case?"

There is no spoken reply, but the foreman of the jury, F. W. Brayton, of Morris, Illinois, rises and

hands the bailiff a paper which is given over to Court Clerk Sullivan to read.

The clerk, reading in a strong, clear voice, begins: "We, the jurors in the case of the United States versus William D. Haywood et al., find the defendants, Carl Ahlteen, Olin B. Anderson, A. V. Azuara," and goes on down the alphabetical roll—

"Charles Ashleigh." One of the defendants whose guilt could be predicted solely on membership, as he was out of all touch with organization work during 1917—

"William D. Haywood." It is plain now that a blanket verdict is coming, but what is it?

"Clyde Hough." It flashes to mind that this boy, a lad against whom not a line of evidence, written or spoken, was offered, could not be found guilty of violating the Espionage Act, a law passed by Congress on June 15, 1917. It was incredible that this boy, Hough, who had been in jail every day since June 6, 1917, could be convicted of breaking the Espionage Act, shut off as he had been, by bars and locks since a week before the law was passed!

But what was the verdict? The time consumed in reading those one hundred names seems interminable.

"William Weyh." The last name on the roster, and the funereal silence of the court was broken only by the dull, forgotten roar of the city. The clerk paused before the final line of the verdict, a verdict which had a parallel significance with Pilate's submission to the mob, or the spurned petition of Brutus kneeling at the feet of Caesar, or the Dred Scott decision, a verdict to make or mar a nation as the abiding place of "Justice."

It was 5:30 by the courtroom clock as that final line fell from the lips of the clerk:

"Guilty as charged in the indictment."

Not a word of demonstration.

The defendants sat quietly while the judge addressed the jury, thanking and dismissing them.

Here and there appeared an ironical smile on the face of a defendant. The countenance of Haywood, who was sitting beside me, was flushed, but there was no other trace of emotion. Christensen, phlegmatic as a rule, wore a look of agony on his round, red face. A reporter of the City News Bureau nervously clasped my arm. He seemed to ask apologetically, "What do you think of the verdict?" He was more distraught, to all appearances, than any defendant, and the writer laughingly reminded him that he, the reporter, was not going to jail. As to the verdict:

"If America can stand it, I am sure the I. W. W. can."

Christensen stepped forward to speak to the judge as Vanderveer entered, bowed a little by the weight of the dead hope whose shadow appeared in his eye. Immediately he was surrounded by "the boys," the boys who ran up to shake his hand, to laugh at the whole world as they slapped him on the back and exclaimed, "You did your best. It was sure some scrap, anyhow!"

David Karsner, reporter for the New York Call, a real writer and a real friend, ran in. A word with Haywood, and the boy collapsed as if wounded, his face ashen as he sank into a chair. He forced himself to rise as the boys passed out to shake hands in farewell, but his fingers had no grip and his voice was gone.

The prisoners passed out, two by two, through the doorway. In the corridor stood that brave and big-hearted little woman whose unnoticed work now seemed to have been in vain—Caroline Lowe, assistant attorney for the defense. The lawyer had gone and only the woman stood there. She nodded to us as we passed and smiled bravely through the tears she could not conceal.

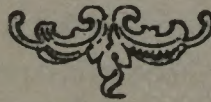
Queer? Everyone was crying or nervous or distraught, except the prisoners. They seemed half gleeful, half nonchalant, in a sort of grim defiance.

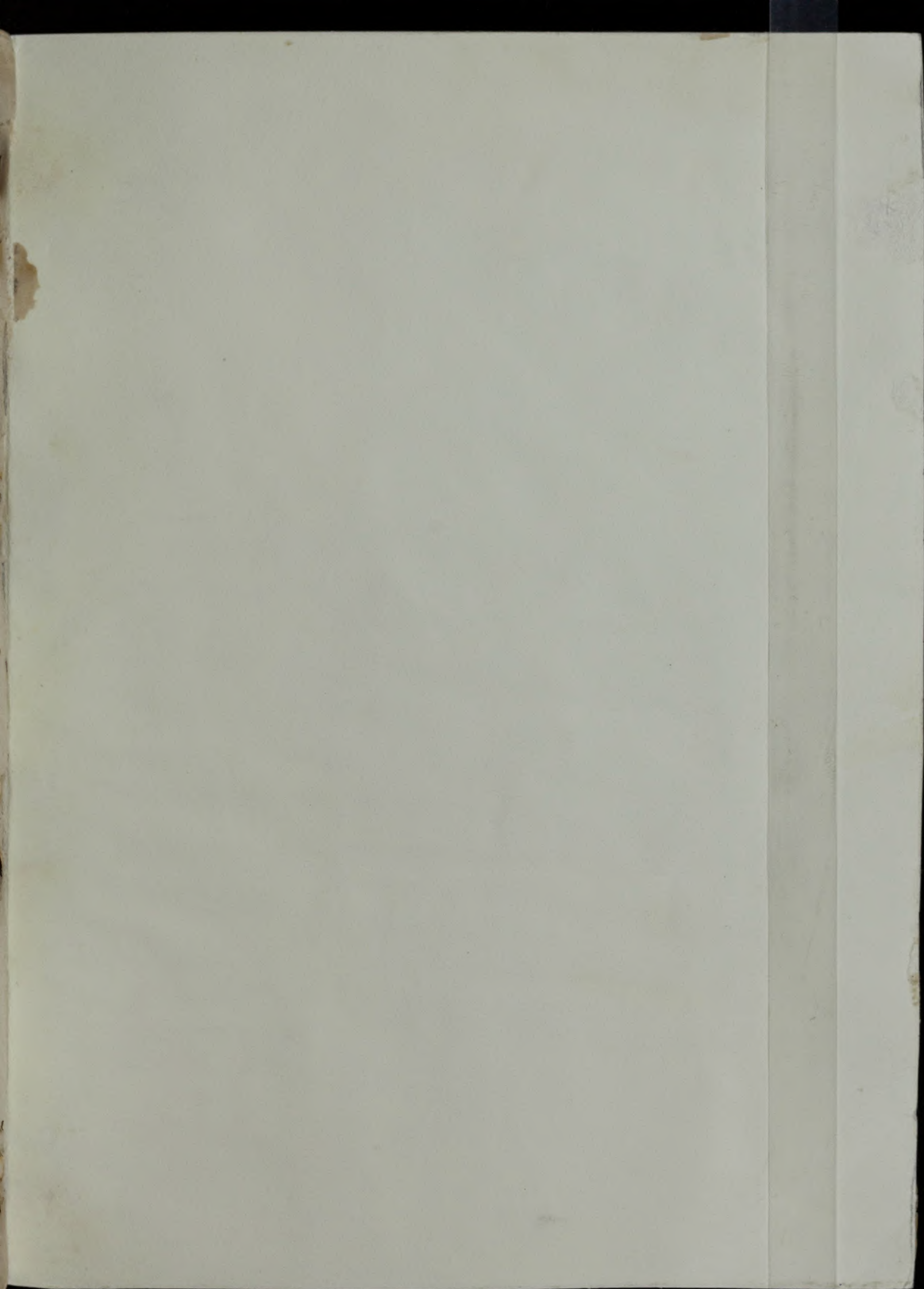
A few minutes more and, in groups of ten, handcuffed in pairs, the prisoners were taken down in elevators to the ground floor and loaded into automobile patrols. The news spread and the streets were packed beyond the police lines, drawn to hold back the crowd. The prisoners laughed, passing remarks with one another.

Delayed while a way was made through the crowd, an auto load of prisoners sat at the curb. The boys inside the patrol, with the spirit which cannot die—the spirit of the I. W. W., which sings in the face of defeat—struck up the song, “Hold the Fort.” Then, as the automobile turned into Dearborn street, on the road to the Cook County jail, they took up that historic song of revolt, “The Marseillaise.”

Doubtless the thoughtless thousands in the streets wondered as the police auto sped clanging by what it all meant—those men on their way to prison exalted by song.

“Oh, Liberty, can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame;
Can dungeon bolts and bars confine thee,
Or whips they noble spirit tame?”





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